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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1837.

ART. I.—*The Book of the New Covenant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; being a Critical Revision of the Text and Translation of the English Version of the New Testament.*
2 vols. 8vo. London: Duncan. 1837.

It is a somewhat startling assertion of the author now before us, that although we have, by public authority, a *standard* English version of the Bible, yet there exists no *standard* Greek text for the original of that version. And yet, strange as it may appear, the assertion is one which it would be much easier to contradict than to refute. It is undeniable, that what is called the *Textus Receptus* furnishes us with no such authority. For, what is the basis of the *received text*,—but the first edition of Erasmus, printed in 1516, and formed on four manuscripts, not one of which was an *uncial* manuscript, nor older than the tenth century? And what is it which constitutes the text subsequently *received*,—but the edition of Erasmus, as successively corrected by himself, by R. Stephens, by Beza, and finally by Elzivir, according as more ancient copies were discovered and consulted? What ground, then, can there be for the affirmation of Archbishop Newcome, that the text of the New Testament, as we now have it, has been transmitted to us in as much perfection as could be *expected* or *desired*? That it has been transmitted in as much perfection as could be *expected*, nay, in much greater perfection than, under all the circumstances, could reasonably be hoped,—may be most thankfully acknowledged. But subsequently to the publication of the earliest editions, a vast store of additional manuscripts has been discovered; some of them far more ancient than those from which the earliest editions were formed. Why, then, should we repress our *desire* for such further approaches to perfection, as the use of these additional materials may enable us to achieve?

In the application of the materials in question, one thing must
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always be kept in mind,—that one manuscript, of very early date, *may* be incomparably more potential in authority, than a whole series of manuscripts belonging to a much later age. “It is with “manuscripts, as with every thing else; the oldest are necessarily “the fewest, from the perpetual action of decay:” while, on the other hand, the later copies may frequently chance to be mere transcripts one from another; and may, consequently, multiply number, without increasing the weight of testimony. Besides, the corruptions which were perpetually creeping both into the Greek and Latin copies, between the sixth and the fifteenth centuries, are too well known to leave the manuscripts, written in that interval, in full possession of that respect and confidence which might, otherwise, be due to *multitude*. It therefore becomes a matter of extreme importance to find a text, “which “can exhibit credentials of the highest attainable antiquity.” And, to accomplish this purpose, is one among the tasks of that new science,—the science of biblical criticism,—which has been growing up, to wonderful perfection, from the time of Erasmus to the present day.

It is possible that this statement may fill some honest hearts with astonishment and dismay! What, it may perhaps be asked, are we living in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and have we yet to seek for the genuine text of the Scriptures which are to make us wise unto salvation? Are critics for ever to be tampering with the words of eternal life? Is there to be no end to this busy process of collation, and conjecture, and correction? Is there no “sure and firm-set” ground, on which the faith of a Christian man may rest, without a sense of insecurity and vacillation? Now, to all this anxious questioning, there is, happily, one very plain and comfortable answer;—namely, that although it is true that no two ancient copies of the New Testament have been found to correspond, *verbatim* and *literatim*, throughout, yet is it, likewise, true, that among all the multitude of known manuscripts, there never yet has been discovered one which can be called an heretical manuscript. Nay, there never yet has been found a copy which, if it were adopted as a standard, would materially darken or deface one lineament of God’s revealed truth. In the midst of a swarm of insignificant discrepancies and variations, (which, however, bear no proportion to the vast body of concurrent and unvarying testimony,) the fundamental doctrines and vital precepts of Revelation are almost as clearly legible, as if they were engraved, by the finger of God himself, in tables of imperishable granite. And, marvellous indeed must this appear in our eyes, when it is recollected, that “all those copies were “written in various and distant countries, under different and

“independent authorities, and not subjected to any general and “censorial supervision.”

It is probable that, if we had before us the very autographs of certain of the great masters of classical antiquity, they would produce no *essential* alteration in the impression of themselves, which those mighty minds have left upon all succeeding generations. The possession of those originals would, doubtless, relieve us from an enormous load of critical perplexity and toil; and it would, as certainly, enhance the facility and the delight of our progress through their writings. But we scarcely can imagine that it would materially affect our general estimate of their powers, or greatly improve our judgment as to the mould, and features, and complexion of their genius. If we descend to later times, what writer has suffered so much from the carelessness of copyists and printers, as the foremost genius of all the world? And yet, if Shakspeare were to revisit the earth, as the editor of his own dramas, we doubt whether his position in our literature would be perceptibly altered by his labours. Apply these considerations to the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists. Reflect on the vast multitude of transcripts and of versions, in which their testimony has been preserved; together with the solemn interest which has, throughout a long range of centuries, attached itself to the task of perpetuating the Sacred Record. And then, suppose that the writers were now on earth, to correct the *received text*, according to the original verity which was given under their own hand. Can any man believe that the great truths of Christianity, as now understood, would be essentially affected by the process? There might, *possibly*, be, here and there, an apocryphal passage expunged, or a sentence restored to greater propriety and force, or a precept more exactly and intelligibly delivered. Perhaps, there might be recovered some few and minute fragments which, in the course of ages, had casually dropped from the context, and the loss of which had partially disfigured its symmetry and completeness. But, even though this might turn out to be so, there yet is ample ground for the most confident persuasion that the grand Mystery of Godliness, with all its subsidiary truths, would still present themselves to our conceptions with unaltered form and aspect. They who are most deeply conversant with such studies and inquiries, will see most reason for grateful wonder at the actual integrity of the Sacred Text. The damage which it has suffered from time, and accident, and carelessness, and other causes, is positively insignificant, when compared with the mutilations and corruptions which have befallen many of the reliques of the profane writers of classical antiquity. We really believe that it would be no

exaggeration to say, that the errors which have thus found their way into the Sacred Volume, are of infinitely less account, when considered with reference to the undoubted truths which the modern text exhibits to us, than the residual phenomena of the solar system, in comparison with the stupendous sweep of its primary movements and revolutions.*

We are distinctly aware that there are some, upon whom these considerations may be urged almost in vain; some, who may contend that, unless the text we have before us, be, not only almost, but altogether and *all over*, the word of God, we must be left to wander in a labyrinth of perilous, and perhaps fatal, uncertainty. Now, whatever may be the *peril* here described, it cannot, for one moment, be denied, that, in this *peril, such as it is*, we do actually stand. For, as we have already seen, nothing can be more certain than this—that the text we have before us is *not, all over*, the Word of God. If it were, there would be an end of all the labours of *one* grand department of Biblical Criticism. Whatever necessity there might be for diligence, and sagacity, and learning, in fixing the correct interpretation of the word, there could be no necessity whatever for an hour's thought or inquiry, in ascertaining the word itself. The fact, however, is, that we do not precisely know, *to every tittle and iota*, what was written by God's inspired servants. And, therefore, even if we could be secure from errors of interpretation, we still cannot be *wholly* secure from error, as to the perfect identity of the thing to be interpreted. From errors of this description it is scarcely conceivable that any thing could ever have preserved us, but the possession of the sacred autographs themselves, or of copies made and multiplied under divine guidance and superintendence.

But, further than this, we are quite unable to comprehend how any thing, short of a perpetual miracle, could have entirely guarded us, even against errors of interpretation. We will suppose, for a moment, that the human race had been originally of *one speech and one language*, and had so continued to the present day; that, consequently, the whole of the Sacred Oracles had been recorded in one and the same living tongue; and that the record had been preserved to us, in that tongue, without the loss or change of a single word, or a single letter. In this case, we should have had the whole counsel of God delivered to us, stereotyped, as it were, in imperishable signs and symbols. But still, the question must occur,—would these signs and symbols

* On this subject, it can scarcely be necessary to direct the reader to the terrible castigation inflicted on the Free-thinker, by Bentley, in his *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, part 1, sect. xxxi. And, that which demolishes the caviller, will, of course, administer proportionate assurance to the humble-minded inquirer.

have continued to convey, throughout a long succession of ages, *precisely* the same impressions which were conveyed by them at the first? Can we imagine even a perpetually living language to be so thoroughly and intensely instinct with life, that its spirit and its magic should remain, for centuries together, totally independent of local and fugitive associations; and of the ten thousand nameless circumstances which give to words, and to phrases, and to idioms, an influence, in one age or generation, which is enfeebled, or well-nigh lost, in another? An incessant superhuman agency might, of course, maintain a language in this condition of unfading youth and energy. By such control, the expressions, and the images, and the allusions, and the combinations which stirred the heart, and illumined the understanding of one generation, might have been invested with an immortal power over the feeling and the mind of another generation, ten thousand years remote. But, in the absence of any such continued miracle, the office of the expositor must, inevitably, have become, from age to age, more toilsome, more perplexed, and more liable to error. The record which was, originally, *all over*, the Word of God, might, gradually, lose *something*, at least, of its distinctness. It might, now and then, chance to *render an uncertain sound*: and this, purely in consequence of the imperfect and perishable nature of the instrument employed for the conveyance of its utterances.

It so happens, however, that languages are indefinitely various, and changeable. The speech of one age, or of one country, is a subject of laborious study to another age, or another country. And hence it is, that both commentary and translation are in constant requisition for the general diffusion of sacred truth. The illustration of a dead language demands the profoundest resources of erudition. The effective transfusion of the sense from one language to another, demands, in addition to deep learning, the keenest sagacity, the most refined taste, and the soberest judgment. They, each of them, demand qualities and attainments, which never have been, and never will be found, in perfection, while the world endures. It follows, therefore, that, to the end of time, we *must* be content with something less than a completely faithful and intelligible transcript of the mind of the Spirit. It may be very easy to put forth a tragical exposition of the danger and calamity incident to such a state of things. But volumes of awful declamation will not alter the fact. It is wiser, therefore, to look the fact intrepidly in the face; and to estimate, as nearly as we can, the amount of the difficulty, and the disadvantage, which has thus been laid upon us, for the trial of our faith, our humility, and our diligence. And the result of that courageous encounter will assuredly be such as to satisfy us, that although we may not be

in possession of God's revelation, exactly, and in every point, as it came forth from Him,—we *are* in possession of such an approximation to it, as will answer all the purposes for which it was vouchsafed, if we use the gift in that spirit which alone can make any of his gifts a blessing to us. It is highly probable that, in this, as well as in every other department of probationary exertion,

“Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit.”

He has thrown difficulty enough into the work of scriptural research to maintain a constant sense of our immediate dependence on His aid and guidance. He has left facility enough to encourage the labours of the simplest and most unlettered inquirer after saving truth.

But to return to the matter immediately before us. The publication of Mr. Penn consists, *first*, of “A Critical Revision of the Text and Translation of the English Version of the New Testament; with the aid of the most ancient manuscripts, unknown to the age in which that Version was put forth by authority:” and, *secondly*, of a volume of Annotations, compiled chiefly with a view to the vindication of those changes, or omissions, which have been introduced by him into his Revision. The rules adopted by the author, in the execution of his work, are—first, to take the most ancient copy of the Christian Scriptures as the standard; secondly, to correct by authority, whenever authority can be found; and, lastly, to resort to conjecture, only where authority is absolutely and altogether wanting. The soundness of these canons will hardly be disputed. Their value, however, in use and application, will mainly depend upon the personal qualities of the critic himself. He must be one, as the writer justly remarks, who “holds a most rigid medium between presumption and timidity: by the former of which, we induce error upon truth; and by the latter, we consent to remain, for ever, under the dominion of error, and in the power of chance, ignorance, and artifice.” To these qualifications another must, undoubtedly, be added. The biblical critic must not only be endowed with the soundest judgment, but accomplished with the ripest scholarship. He must be perfectly master of the genius and idiom which pervades the text before him. A deficiency in this essential qualification must, at once, be fatal to all hope of establishing himself in the confidence of the literary world.

Now, we must frankly avow, that we have risen from our perusal of this work with certain grievous apprehensions that Mr. Penn might find a rigorous trial by this standard extremely in-

convenient. We have the most unlimited reliance on his good intentions, his diligence, his integrity, his orthodoxy, and his piety. We have not the faintest doubt of the sincerity and zeal with which he has addressed himself to his task. There is, throughout the work, abundant evidence of his perfect singleness of heart and purpose. We, nevertheless, must not hesitate to declare, *first*, that he does appear to us to have deviated much oftener than could be wished from the "rigid medium" which he himself has prescribed; and, that these deviations have been rather on the side of rashness than timidity; and, *secondly*, that there are, here and there, certain very awkward phenomena in his volumes, which indicate that his knowledge of Greek is very far from being distinguished by the needful accuracy or profoundness.

But, although such is our impression, we are bound to add, that the labours of Mr. Penn are not without very considerable value. His volumes must, assuredly, find a place in the libraries of mightier critics than himself. And if, at any future period, an authoritative revision of our great National Translation should be thought expedient, there can be little doubt that these volumes will be always respectfully, and sometimes very profitably, consulted, by the persons to whom that undertaking may be committed. It will be found, more especially, that excellent use may be made of his attentive study of the Vatican manuscript. He seems, indeed, to have been smitten with an almost passionate devotion for that venerable document. And, indisputably, *if* any *single* manuscript could properly be made the basis of a complete revision, that is the copy which would best be entitled to such a distinction. By some eminent critics it has been assigned to the *fifth* century; and Hug has contended,—and, in the opinion of Schulz, has proved,—that it was written before the middle of the *fourth* century. In the judgment of Bishop Marsh, "the *Codex Vaticanus* is almost entirely free from those undeniable interpolations, and arbitrary corrections, which are frequently found in certain MSS. adverted to by Wetstein; and, therefore, may be applied as a means not only of confirming the genuine readings, but of detecting, and correcting, those that are spurious."* But, awful as the antiquity of this document may be, it must not be allowed absolutely to *tyrannise* over all other authorities. It may, justly and fitly, be exalted to the amplest honours of pre-cedency, as the patriarch of manuscripts. But the Church, as represented by her learned men, will hardly be prepared, like Mr. Penn, to invest it with something approaching to papal supremacy and infallibility.

* Michael. Introd. vol. ii. p. 808.

A complete examination of Mr. Penn's *Tentamen*, would demand a copious and elaborate treatise, rather than a brief essay. Our office must be to select, from the *congeries* before us, such prominent matters as may appear to require the most patient and cautious attention; and so, to assist the public in settling the degree of confidence, with which they may safely venture to surrender themselves to the guidance of this laborious and sound-hearted, but somewhat too confident, investigator.

The very first thing that strikes us, on opening the book, is the rejection of the word "Testament," and the substitution of "Covenant" in the place of it. That this change would be an improvement, if its legitimacy could once be fairly established, will scarcely be denied. It cannot be questioned, that the Latin term, *Testamentum*, has brought much confusion and perplexity into the text; and that, in our own version of the Christian Scriptures, there is, positively, an appearance of unaccountable caprice, in the use, sometimes of the word "Testament," and sometimes of the word "Covenant," to represent the unvarying original, διαθήκη.* It may not, perhaps, be altogether useless to inquire by what process the term *Testamentum*, the origin of these vexatious difficulties, probably found its way into the text of the Latin Church.

The word διαθήκη, then, does not, primarily, signify a covenant or contract, between two co-ordinate parties. It does not, necessarily and *ex vi termini*, signify a covenant at all. It properly denotes merely an appointment, or disposition, of any kind; and this, without reference to the question, whether the disposition were made by the joint act of two parties, or by the sole act of one. A testamentary appointment would, accordingly, with great fitness, be termed a διαθήκη. And, in this sense the word actually came, in time, to be, most generally, though not exclusively, employed by the writers of classical Greek. On the other hand, the word συνθήκη,—or, more frequently, the plural σύνθηκαι,—was used to denote a contract properly so called: a convention, or treaty, if between nations; an agreement, or mutual stipulation, if between individuals.

Now, there seems to be no reason whatever for believing that the Hebrew word בְּרִית conveyed to the Septuagint translators the notion of any thing analogous to a last will or testament.

* A similar appearance of caprice pervades the Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic versions, if they are rightly represented by the collateral Latin translations attached to each of them, in Walton's Polyglott, for, in those translations, we find the words *decretum*, *lex*, *fœdus*, *pactum*, *testamentum*, used in various places respectively, where the Greek has διαθήκη. The words *decretum* and *lex* correspond to the sense given to καινή διαθήκη, by Euthymius, who calls it νομοθεσία νέα. See Penn's Annotations, p. 5.

And yet, it does so happen, that, in the Septuagint, the word *συνθήκη* (so far as we are aware), never once occurs, as denoting that which we habitually speak of as the *Covenant* of God with his people. The term, we believe, will be found to be, uniformly, *διαθήκη*. It does not appear to us very difficult, at least, to *imagine* a reason for this. The covenant between Jehovah and his people, was *not* in the nature of a contract between two equal and co-ordinate parties. Neither was it an agreement which the inferior party was at liberty to ratify, or not, as he might be pleased. It was an *engagement*, indeed, on the part of God, to bestow certain high privileges and blessings on a peculiar family, and race; privileges and blessings, however, the offer of which, though attended with manifold conditions and obligations, could not be rejected without the maddest impiety. The proceeding, though unspeakably gracious, was, nevertheless, imperative, and “without repentance,” on the part of God. It might, therefore, be, much more appropriately, called an appointment, than a voluntary compact, or what we call a covenant. It was a scheme ordained by his determinate counsel, and sovereign disposing wisdom; and might, therefore, with signal propriety, be termed a *διαθήκη*; as denoting, not a *last will*, but rather a *dispensation*, which resembled a will in the single circumstance of its being eminently sacred and inviolable. We are by no means sure that the word *συνθήκη* could have been becomingly or reverentially applied to a transaction between the Omnipotent Benefactor, on the one side, and his unworthy creatures, on the other. The inequality of the two parties might be thought too vast to admit the use of a phrase, which would seem to imply a close and exact resemblance between the Covenant of the Lord with Israel, and the dealings, or bargains, which take place between man and man. The word *διαθήκη* was not open to the same objection; for it did not *necessarily* involve the notion of two independent contracting parties.*

Such may, *possibly*, have been the thoughts, which influenced the Septuagint translators, in choosing the word *διαθήκη*, in preference to *συνθήκη*, as the representative of the Hebrew בְּרִית. In the next place, then, what was the condition of the old Latin translators? Had they found *συνθήκη* in the Septuagint, it is probable that the word *fœdus*, or *pactum*, might have stood for it, in their versions. But they found *διαθήκη* there. And, ignorant as they appear to have been of the niceties either of Greek or

* The words of Isidor. Pelusiot. are nearly conformable to these views: τὴν συνθήκην, τουτέστι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, Διαθήκην ἡ θεία καλεῖ γραφὴ, διὰ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἀπαράβατον. Συνθήκαι μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἀνατρέπονται, Διαθήκαι δὲ νόμιμοι, οὐδαμῶς. Epist. excvi. lib. ii. p. 215, cited in Suic. Thes. tom. i. col. 855.

Latin, they were, probably, betrayed into the mistake of adopting the term *testamentum*, purely because it was, then, most usually employed to represent the Greek word διαθήκη. Whether *testamentum* were capable, like διαθήκη, of signifying an appointment, or disposition, generally,—or whether it were restricted to the sense of a disposition to take place after death,—they seem not to have known, or inquired. If this be not the true account of their blunder, it is difficult to imagine any other; since there is nothing in the elder Scriptures, which could possibly have suggested any analogy between the Old Covenant and an appointment to be “*of force after men are dead.*” And, that Jerome rejected the notion of any such analogy is manifest from the fact, that, in his new edition of the old Latin versions, he substitutes *fœdus*, or *pactum*, in the Old Testament,—as the rendering of διαθήκη,—instead of *testamentum*.

To the New Testament, the word συνθήκη is utterly unknown. It follows the Septuagint in the adoption of διαθήκη: but, in the Latin version of the New Testament, the word *testamentum* has, throughout, been suffered to remain, as the representative of διαθήκη. It may be difficult to account for this, otherwise than by the supposition that the correcting hand of Jerome was not so carefully applied to the New Testament as to the Old Testament.* There is, indeed, one passage in the Christian Scriptures, and only one, which seems to demand this rigid adherence to the old Latin version, and to bind down the word διαθήκη to the sense of a *testamentary* disposition; namely, the 15th, 16th, and 17th verses of the ninth chap. of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In our version, they run thus: “For this cause, he is the Mediator
“ of the new *testament*, that, by means of death for the redemption
“ of the transgressions that were under the first *testament*, they
“ which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheri-
“ tance. [For, where a *testament* is, there must also of necessity
“ be the death of the *testator*. For a *testament* is of force after
“ men are dead: otherwise, it is of no strength at all while the
“ *testator* liveth.”] Then follows the 18th verse,—“Whereupon,
“ neither the first *testament* was dedicated without blood.” It would be superfluous to point out the difficulty and confusion which seems to be introduced into this passage, by the words which we have placed between brackets, and the apparent inconsequence of the verses which immediately follow them. Let us see, then, for a moment, how the whole would run, if those words were omitted, and if the word *Covenant* were substituted

* See Walt. Polygl. Proleg.; Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 124.

for *Testament*, in the remainder of it. With this omission, the original would stand thus :

Καὶ διὰ τούτο, διαθήκης καινῆς Μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως,—θανάτου γενομένου, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων,—τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας. Ὅθεν, οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη χωρὶς αἵματος ἐγκεινίσται : κ. τ. λ. which may be thus rendered :

“ For this cause, He ”—(who offered himself without spot, v. 14,)—“ is the Mediator of a new Covenant (or Dispensation) : “ in order that,—death having been, (or, having intervened,) for “ the ransom of transgressions *that were* under the first Cove- “ nant,—*so*, they which have *now* been called, might receive,” (through his blood, v. 14,) “ the promise of the eternal inherit- “ ance. And hence *it is*, that not *even* the first Covenant was “ instituted without blood, &c. &c. &c.”

The statement, now, is intelligible and complete. As the death of victims was essential to the remission of transgressions under the Old Dispensation, even so is the blood of the spotless sacrifice essential to the work of redemption under the New. And the shedding of blood was, accordingly, indispensable to the former Covenant, which was, throughout, prefigurative of the latter. One might, therefore, be almost tempted to suspect that the 16th and 17th verses did not, originally, belong to the text ; but that they were the marginal annotation of some one who mistook *διαθήκη* for *testament*, and was beguiled into his commentary upon it by the assertion, in the 15th verse, that the benefits of it could accrue only by the intervention of death, (*θανάτου γενομένου*). But,—although it does appear to us that the text might well spare these two verses,—far, very far, from us be the temerity of proposing their rejection, upon the mere strength of a conjecture, in opposition to the uniform consent of manuscripts and versions. It is much better to bow submissively to the difficulty, than to venture on dangerous tamperings with the text, as it has, hitherto, been delivered down to us.

The verses, then, being retained, the question is,—what is to be done with them ? Must we, likewise, retain the word *testament*, as a fit rendering of *διαθήκη*,—apparently to the utter confusion of the Apostle's argument ? And, if not, how are we to dispose of the words which seem to speak of the death of the testator ? Mr. Penn is at no loss, in this difficult emergency. The passage has, hitherto, been considered as the most perplexing in the New Testament. But he assures us, that the perplexity is not in the Apostle's text, but in the minds of his interpreters. The following are his expedients for our extrication :

1. He contends, (and we think not altogether without some fair and reasonable grounds,) that *θανάτου γενομένου* may be a

sacrificial phrase, denoting the favourable acceptance of the propitiatory offering.

2. Instead of διαθεμένου (*testatoris*), on the authority of some manuscripts, he substitutes διατιθεμένου; and, to this he gives the sense of “interposed,”—some animal being understood, as the victim immolated between the contracting parties.

3. Lastly, he rejects the authorized translation of the words ἐπὶ νεκροῖς, “when men are dead,” (which, in truth, sounds harshly and awkwardly enough); and gives, as the correct version,—“over lifeless bodies;” that is, over slaughtered victims. The effect of these changes will be best seen from the whole passage, as it stands in the Revision :

“For this cause, he is the Mediator of a New Covenant; that, as *his* death was accepted as a ransom from the transgressions under the first Covenant, so, they who are *now* called, may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance. For, where a Covenant is *made*, the death of the interposed (διατιθεμένου) *sacrifice* must, of necessity, be endured: for, a covenant is confirmed *only* over lifeless bodies (ἐπὶ νεκροῖς); since it hath no force while the interposed *sacrifice* is living. Wherefore, neither was the first Covenant instituted without blood, &c. &c. “&c.”

It will, here, be observed that, according to the above translation, the first part of this passage virtually affirms the *death of Christ* to be the ransom for transgressions under the first covenant. But, although such an affirmation would contain no more than the truth, we conceive that it was not *the* precise truth actually in the contemplation of the Apostle. It appears to us that he had in his mind the analogy between the two covenants, in each of which, *death* was the visible medium of redemption: the *death* of Christ himself, under the New; and, under the Old, the *death* of slaughtered animals,—not indeed, by any worth, or virtue, inherent in their blood, but, purely, as representing the full and perfect atonement, which was to be offered when the fulness of time should come. But—be this as it may—the reader has now before him the critic’s mode of dealing with this “most perplexing passage.” It is, substantially, the same as that which was suggested by Macnight; to whom Mr. Penn fully allows the credit of being “the first to restore this important context to its primitive Apostolical perspicuity.” The method is, undoubtedly, ingenious. We, nevertheless, apprehend that future interpreters will hardly venture to congratulate themselves upon a deliverance from all embarrassment. Considerable doubt must still hang over the sense here assigned to the words ἐπὶ νεκροῖς. And, much more must be done, before the learned world

shall be satisfied that διατιθέμενος, (if it be allowed to displace διαθεμένος,) may be used to denote a victim *interposed* between two covenanting parties. For ourselves,—we are not ashamed to confess that the passage, as it stands, is very far beyond our skill! And, unless further light can be thrown upon this main difficulty, we should hardly deem it expedient to disturb the mere titles, “Old Testament,” and “New Testament,” which have, for so many ages, been in possession of the public eye and ear.

So much, then, for the title of the work,—“The New Covenant.” With regard to the work itself, we must, with all imaginable deference for the judgment of Mr. Penn, protest against the form in which his Revision is put forth. The reader has before him, in fact, a new version of the Christian Scriptures. This version, it is true, most frequently coincides with the old. But, then, it appears in a volume by itself; which volume contains no notice whatever, to mark the departures from the authorized Translation. It would have been more modest, and infinitely more useful, if the authorized text had been printed, in its integrity; and if the altered text had been introduced, either at the foot of each page, or, (what might have been still better,) in columns parallel with the authorized text. This method, it is true, would have added something to the bulk of the work. But that disadvantage would have been greatly overbalanced by the manifest convenience and propriety of the arrangement. The work would, in that case, have come forth merely as a commodious *prospectus* of those changes which he, the critic, would be inclined to submit to his colleagues, if he were one member of a body solemnly appointed to the office of revision. As it is, the volume stands before the world, as something which the public are invited to adopt, by way of a substitute for the national translation; and this, not upon the authority of a convocation of learned men, but solely upon the authority of one individual. There is, in all this, at least a *semblance* of temerity and arrogance, which would have been much better avoided, in this age of headstrong innovation. Even if a revision were clearly desirable, and if the temper of the time were, in all respects, most propitious to the safe accomplishment of such a work, it is a task which might well demand the associated labour of a whole synod of divines and scholars; and which, with the best appliances and means, could scarcely be completed in less than five years, *at the very least*: and if ten years were devoted to it, it would scarcely be too much. But, it is a work which greatly surpasses the might of any one man; even though he should devote to it the whole of a laborious life, and be gifted with capacities of the

very highest order. It is true that we are unspeakably indebted to many illustrious *individuals* of the ancient time, for the wonders they have achieved in this department of exertion. But, in the present state of critical science, with all its vast accumulation of materials, nothing ought to satisfy the public, short of the concentrated authority of a great Theological Board.

But, not to dwell longer upon this, let us proceed, at once, to the examination of some few of the experiments which Mr. Penn has adventured to make upon the received text. And let us begin with Mark, xiii. 32, of our common version, or Mark, xv. 32, of Mr. Penn's Revision. In the Greek *textus receptus*, the passage stands thus;—Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἢ τῆς ὥρας, οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. The authorized version of these words is as follows;—*But of that day, and that hour, knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* The sense of the passage, as it now stands in the received text, will, perhaps, be better understood, if we throw a portion of it into parenthesis, and venture upon the freedom of rendering the words εἰ μὴ, by “except;” and of substituting the words, *no one*, for, *no man* (a freedom perfectly warranted by the original, οὐδεὶς). And, then, the sentence will run thus;—“But of that day, and that hour knoweth *no one*—(no, not the angels which are in heaven, nor the Son)—except the Father:” or, by a slight transposition;—“Except the Father, *no one* knoweth of that day and hour; no, not the angels, nor the Son.” It would be utterly superfluous to dilate upon the difficulty which arises out of this statement. It has always been felt by the expositors of Scripture; and no exposition has ever yet been offered, which very materially lowers the demand upon our humility and faith.* It is more to our present purpose to remark that Mr. Penn has found the difficulty utterly indigestible; and that the pangs inflicted by it have driven him to a violent effort for its removal. Having, first, accumulated the passages, in which it is declared, that the Father hath committed all judgment to the Son,—that whatsoever things the Father doth, the Son doth likewise,—that the Spirit was not given to the Son by measure, &c. &c., he exclaims;—“And yet “we are called on to believe, from this single sentence, from one “word, or rather one letter, of this sentence, that he is ignorant “of the day and the hour of that judgment which he himself is to “execute.”

Of course, we shall be exceedingly thankful to Mr. Penn if he can extricate us from this perplexity. The procedure by which

* The efforts of the Fathers to extricate themselves from the difficulty may be seen in Suic. Thes. tom. ii. col. 164—170, in voc. κρίσις.

he undertakes to effect our deliverance, is, to omit a single letter and to read the material words of the passage thus;—οὐδὲ οἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἄγγελος ἐν οὐρανῷ· οὐδὲ οἶος, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. And his translation, accordingly, is as follows;—"But of that day, or hour, no one knoweth, not an angel in heaven; *neither can* know, but the Father:" an affirmation which, since it does *not* exclude the Son from participation in the knowledge of that day, gets rid of the difficulty at once.

For this alteration he has not, indeed, the authority of a single manuscript to produce. Even the *Vatican MS.* renders him no assistance, save that of reading ἄγγελος, instead of οἱ ἄγγελοι. But, then, he reminds us that the words ὁ υἱός, when uncially and continuously written, appear thus,—ΟΥΙΟΣ. And he maintains that the insertion of the Υ was probably nothing more than a transcriptional mistake, "partly caused by the frequent alternations of ΟΙ and ΟΥ, in the preceding context;" and that, thus, the true and original reading ΟΙΟΣ, accidentally grew into ΟΥΙΟΣ. Now, it cannot be denied that this is an error of transcription which might easily have occurred: but, however ingenious the conjecture may be, after all it is merely a conjecture; and we doubt whether it is a conjecture which would have recommended itself very strongly to any sound Greek scholar. It is, indeed, beyond all question, that οἶος, with the particle τε,—or, even without it, if followed by an infinitive mood,—is frequently used by the Attic writers to signify ability, or potentiality, or qualification; the word τοιοῦτος being, previously, either expressed or understood. But, surely, it must have far exceeded even "the abruptness characteristic of St. Mark," to introduce the solitary dissyllable οἶος, as conveying this sense; stripped as it is, to utter nakedness, both by the omission of τε, and by the triple ellipsis of τοιοῦτος, ἔστιν, and εἰδέναι! Be this, however, as it may, we doubt whether another instance of the very classical phraseology in question, can be produced from any Hellenistic writer. At all events, the Septuagint, if Schleusner's Lexicon may be credited, is without a single example of it. The Greek Testament, indeed, is supposed by some interpreters to have furnished *one*; but even that one is extremely doubtful. It occurs in Rom. ix. 6, where the Apostle, after his burst of sorrow for his brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh, adds, οὐκ ΟΙΟΝ δὲ, ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ—which some would render (as Mr. Penn has actually rendered it) thus;—"It cannot be, that the word of God hath failed of effect." This, however, is not the version adopted by our own translators. They understood the words as they were understood by every Father, we believe, who has referred to the passage; and they have, accordingly, rendered them,—"*Not as*

“*though* the word of God had taken none effect.” And that this is the correct sense, in our humble judgment, is indisputable. We are, therefore, quite unable to sympathise with the confidence which has prompted Mr. Penn to introduce this momentous change of meaning into the text of his Revision : and, until some mightier authority shall come to our relief, we must be content to struggle with the difficulty imposed by the text as it now stands ; and as it has certainly stood from the time of Irenæus to the present hour.

But Mr. Penn has girded himself up to another adventure, still more hazardous, if possible, than that which we have just been contemplating. He is dissatisfied with the received reading of Matth. xi. 12. The text of which, as given by *all* the Greek manuscripts, runs thus,—‘Απὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ, ἕως ἄρτι, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ΒΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ, καὶ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν. The following is the parallel passage in Luke, xvi. 16,—‘Ο νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου· ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΕΤΑΙ, καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτήν βιάζεται. A comparison of these two passages with each other suggests to Mr. Penn the absolute necessity of substituting for the word βιάζεται in St. Matthew, some word or other corresponding, in sense, to the word εὐαγγελίζεται in St. Luke. Now, in the first place, we confess ourselves quite unable to discern any such necessity. The sense of both passages, as they stand, is essentially the same. The object of our Lord apparently was, to present a contrast between the spirit of the Jewish Dispensation and the spirit of the Christian Dispensation. Up to the time of John, the law and the prophets were in the ascendant. During their predominance, the elect of God were one peculiar race ; and, to them, their glorious privileges were in the nature of an inheritance. But it is not so with the kingdom of God. A very different order of things has now arisen. They who seek a part or lot in the Messiah’s kingdom, must seek it rather in the spirit of conquerors, than of heirs. Mén must no longer think of stepping into it, as a thing to which they, exclusively, were born. They must struggle, as multitudes are now struggling, to force their way into it. They must win it by a strong personal effort. If they attain to it at all, it must be (to use the language of our own law) not by *inheritance*, but by *purchase*. Each man must *acquire* it for himself, without reliance on the merits, or the privileges, of his forefathers. And, more than this, the whole world, without distinction of families, or tribes, is now openly invited to this holy and blessed enterprise. Such, as we humbly apprehend, is the true spirit of this passage. And the only difference between Matthew and Luke is this,—that Matthew dwells, with emphatic repetition, upon this dis-

tinctive peculiarity of the Gospel, as contrasted with the Law and the Prophets; whereas Luke first introduces the general proclamation of the gracious tidings. And, if so, where is the necessity for a violent process of emendatory criticism upon the *received text*?

But, secondly, let the necessity be what it may, we greatly doubt whether any master of emendatory criticism will be prevailed upon to listen, with common patience, to the expedient proposed by Mr. Penn. St. Luke, he tells us, has the word *εὐαγγελίζεται*, in his report of this saying of our Lord. And, *therefore*, some word of similar import *must* be found, to replace the erroneous reading of *βιάζεται* in St. Matthew. The manuscripts, it is true, help us to no such substitution. But, then, we are admonished that the manuscripts abound in abbreviated forms of writing; and that, consequently, we are at liberty to supply, for *βιάζεται*, any appropriate word which begins with *β* and ends with *ται*, (*β—ται*)! Now, such an appropriate word, we are further assured, is irresistibly suggested by certain passages of the Evangelists, in which the Baptist is styled the *voice of one crying* in the wilderness,—*φώνη βοῶντος*, κ. τ. λ. For, if the herald of Christ's sovereignty be thus designated, why should not the *proclamation* of his reign be adverted to in similar language? And how then can we hesitate to read the passage thus,—*ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου, ἕως ἄρτι, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βοᾶται*,—"the kingdom of heaven is *cried or proclaimed*?" Now we ask once more,—can this hardihood of change be brought within the due limits between timidity and presumption? Will the critical authorities endure this daring defiance of confederate manuscripts? And, lastly, is Mr. Penn certain, after all, that *βοᾶμαι* can be legitimately used in the precise sense for which he here contends? The passive verb may, doubtless, be employed to denote that a thing is loudly and generally spoken of by multitudes;* and thus, *βεβοημένος* may signify *celebrated*. But it is incumbent on Mr. Penn to satisfy us that *βοᾶσθαι* is ever used, where the meaning is, that a thing is openly proclaimed or taught by individuals.

We have already adverted to Mr. Penn's unbounded veneration for the *Vatican* manuscript. One notable instance of this occurs in the Acts, vii. 38. In that passage the *Vatican*, and the *Vatican* alone, gives the word *ἐξελέξατο*, instead of the received reading *ἐδέξατο*. The discourse of Stephen, it will be recollected, relates to Moses, as the prophet and lawgiver of Israel; of whom

* "*Βοᾶσθαι* Græcis res dicitur, quæ sermonibus omnium celebratur: v. c. Theoph. "Charact. viii. 2." Schlensner, Lex. Nov. Test.

it may be said, with unquestionable truth, that he *received* the lively oracles, to give unto the people. There is nothing, therefore, in the text, as it stands, which cries out for alteration. Nevertheless, in obedience to the Vatican, although not followed by a single other manuscript, ἐξελέξατο is substituted for ἐδέξατο, as referring, not to Moses, but to the angel mentioned in the same verse. The passage is, accordingly, thus rendered in the Revision,—“The same Moses is he who was in the congregation “in the wilderness, with the angel that spake to him and to our “fathers on the Mount Sinai, and that *chose out* living oracles, to “give unto us.” The *living oracles*, Mr. Penn conceives to be the Ten Commandments, as distinguished from the ordinances subsequently imposed, the “statutes which were *not good*, and the “judgments whereby they *should not live*.” And these *living oracles*, he maintains, are here pointedly described as *chosen out*, or selected, by Jehovah himself. Now, undoubtedly, the Decalogue might, fitly enough, be described as a collection of rules, selected by the Almighty himself, for revelation to the Israelites. And if the reading, ἐξελέξατο, were sufficiently supported, the sense here given to the words would be altogether unexceptionable. But, still, we are unable to understand why the solitary dictate even of the Vatican manuscript itself, should be allowed to force such an alteration into the text; especially, when no essential advantage is to be gained by it. The common reading leaves us in full possession of the fact, that God alone was the author of the *living oracles*; although it points to Moses as the person commissioned to receive and to communicate them.

Again,—in the latter part of v. 6, Rom. xi., the received text has, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔσθιν’ ΕΡΤΟΝ. Not so the Vatican: for, there, the reading is, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἐστὶ ἔσθι ΧΑΡΙΣ. And, even so reads the submissive and faithful critic! The fruits of his obedience are manifest in his translation,—“but, if it be of “works, then it is not of grace, since the work is not a grace;” that is, as he paraphrases the sentence in his note, the work is not *gratuitous*, but claims a return. The passage, it cannot be denied, is sufficiently perplexed, with either reading; so much so, that one would almost be glad to follow the Vulgate, which omits the words altogether, and concludes the translation of the sentence with “*alioquin, gratia non est gratia.*” But if the words are to remain, we are unable to perceive what improvement is effected by the alteration contended for. The reasoning of the Apostle seems to be this:—the *election* (ἐκλογὴ, of which he had been speaking), is either an unmerited grace, or it is the reward of meritorious works. If it be of grace, it cannot be in the nature of a recompence for the doings of the elect; for, if it were,

then the boon bestowed, however precious in itself, would no longer be a favour, properly so called. If, on the other hand, it is conferred in consideration of good works performed, it cannot be in the nature of a blessing gratuitously vouchsafed; for, in that case, what are called works would be stripped of all desert, and would no longer be entitled to the name. It is manifest, that, throughout the whole passage, *grace* on the part of *God*, is contrasted with *works* on the part of *man*. But, if we are to *obey* the infallible manuscript, the word *χάρις* must be introduced at the close of the passage, entirely with reference to the acts of *man*, and not at all with reference to the counsels of God. The authority ought indeed to be overwhelming, which should reconcile us to such strange disturbance of the order of the Apostle's statement.

It happens, sometimes, however, that the critic is tempted to rebel against the Vatican MS. itself. Among other instances,—his allegiance fails him at the 9th verse of Hebr. ii. In common with the received text, the Vatican reads as follows,—ὅπως, XAPITI ΘΕΟΥ, ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσεται θανάτου. It must be confessed that the words, *χάριτι Θεοῦ*, read very much as if they did not originally belong to the context. Not that they convey a sense in any respect objectionable; but, that the sense is conveyed in an abrupt, and somewhat incoherent manner. But, be this as it may, their title to a place there, rests upon the authority of all the manuscripts, with the single exception of Cod. 53, Wetst. And even this manuscript does not leave their place unoccupied; but instead of XAPITI ΘΕΟΥ, it gives ΧΩΡΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ; which reading is confidently adopted by Mr. Penn, in utter disregard of the authority of the *Vatican*. He is emboldened to this act of resistance, by the circumstance, that “in Griesbach’s collation “ of Origen’s readings of this passage, that father has *χωρίς*, as “ the standard reading, *five several times*; though he observes, in “ one place, that, in some copies, it is written *χάριτι*.” That this latter reading, however, had pretty generally established itself in the following century, appears from the words of Jerome,—“ *Christus, gratiâ Dei, sive, ut in quibusdam exemplaribus legitur, “ absque Deo, pro omnibus mortuus est.*”

Somewhat or other, we feel an almost insuperable repugnance to the admission of this reading, *χωρίς Θεοῦ*; in spite of Origen, and his fivefold repetition of it. There is an odd, suspicious, intrusive appearance about it. We are strongly tempted to the surmise that its original position must have been in the margin of some very old manuscript; and that it was placed there, as a brief note, by the pious solicitude of its possessor. The good man might be smitten with a desire to guard against the notion that

the Deity could *taste of death*, and be party to the sufferings of the man Jesus; or else, to intimate that, for some time during the crucifixion, there was an actual interruption of the communion between the divine and human natures. The words, *χωρὶς Θεοῦ*, "*apart from God*," would be sufficient for the purpose of such a marginal memorandum: and, from the margin, they might, in the course of successive transcriptions, have easily crept into the text of certain manuscripts; and, perhaps, may have supplanted the original reading. That such things have happened, seems beyond all reasonable doubt: although the severest caution is always necessary in the application of this conjectural method of cure, to *affected* passages. In the present instance, no thought of any such method of cure has occurred to Mr. Penn. Without the slightest hesitation, he has re-instated the reading of Origen; and has translated it, accordingly, in his Revision, thus,—“that he might taste of death, *apart from God*, for every one.” Our persuasion, nevertheless, is, that if he had been one of King James’s translators, and if that body had been in possession of all our present materials, he would have found himself in a decided minority as to this matter. With them, the overpowering consent of manuscripts would, most probably, have been irresistible; and the reading, *χάριτι Θεοῦ*, would have retained the post which it, at present, occupies in their version.

But we must, now, proceed to the consideration of another demand on our obedience to the authority of the *Vatican* manuscript, supported, as it is, by the next most ancient copy, the *Alexandrian*. The reply of Agrippa to Paul, (Acts, xxvi. 28,)—*Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*—is in the mind of every reader, and every hearer, of the Scriptures. It is, as Mr. Penn observes, one of “our favourite texts.” Nevertheless, he tells us that, in its present form, we must renounce it for ever. And this he does without the slightest remorse or regret, because the sentiment it expresses is one, to which, even if he entertained it, King Agrippa would never have ventured to give utterance, in such an auditory; sitting, as he then was, with Festus, and Bernice, and surrounded with the pomp and circumstance of a heathen court.

Now—without stopping to consider the possible influence of Festus, and Bernice, and the other illustrious personages who might be present on the occasion—we shall proceed to discuss the question, purely as an affair of criticism and philology. The reading, then, of the *textus receptus* being,—*Ὡς ὁλίγωρ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν γενέσθαι*,—the *Vatican*, instead of *γενέσθαι* reads *ποιῆσαι*. So, likewise, does the *Alexandrian*; but, instead of *πείθεις*, it gives *πειθῇ*. Now, says Mr. Penn, only detach the final *ς* from *πείθεις*,

in the *Vatican* text, and supply a dash over the σ , and then we shall have $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\tilde{\epsilon}$, which, written at length, will be $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon$. The result of this simple process will be the following reading— $\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\ \mu\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\ \nu\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$; which Mr. Penn translates thus,—“Art thou persuaded that thou wilt *soon* make me a “Christian?” And if, with the *Alexandrian*, the word $\sigma\epsilon$ is altogether omitted after $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota$, or $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\eta$, the import will be just the same. The reply ascribed, by Mr. Penn, to St. Paul, is,—“I would to God that, *soon or late*, ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega$), “not only thou, but all who hear me this day, may become such “as I am, except these bonds.”

Here, then, arise three questions. *First*, is the collocation of the words, which this emendation puts into the mouth of Agrippa, satisfactory to the mind and ear? To us it appears that, in order to bear the sense assigned to it by Mr. Penn, the passage should run thus,— $\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\ \pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\ \nu\acute{o}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$;

Secondly, is it, after all, necessary to bow down before the authority of the *Vatican* and *Alexandrian* manuscripts; and to read $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$, instead of $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, with as much confidence as if we had the sacred autograph itself before our eyes? *We*, at all events, are by no means prepared for capitulation. The *Vatican*, we will suppose, was written about the middle of the *fourth* century. But, whatever may be the respect due to this venerable antiquity, it must not close our eyes to the undoubted fact that $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ was still a current reading, at a period not much later than that: for $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is actually the reading of Chrysostom.* And, if it should appear, that the *Vatican* was not written till the middle of the *fifth* century, $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ will be the more ancient reading of the two.

But, *thirdly*, there remains a much more important question still to be determined; namely, whether the phrase $\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$ will properly bear the signification given to it by our authorized version,—“*almost* thou persuadest, &c., &c.?” That the phrase is good Attic Greek, is unquestionable: for it occurs in Plato, (*Apolog. Socr. s. 7*), where Socrates, in speaking of the poets, observes, $\xi\gamma\gamma\omega\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tilde{\iota}$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ But, even here, strange as it may seem, the commentators are not agreed as to the import of the words $\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$. Most usually, however, it is supposed to signify, “in a short time.” And, if that be its true signification here, the reply of Agrippa may, after all, be nothing more than an expression of somewhat scornful and splenetic impatience, at the haste and eagerness of the Apostle. And, on that supposition, the dialogue will run thus: St. Paul.—“King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets? I know

* Hom. iii. Acts, ad loc.

“that thou believest.” Agrippa.—“Why, thou art for persuading me to become suddenly a Christian:” or, (according to another interpretation of the phrase ἐν ὀλίγῳ,)—“In short, thou art for persuading me to become a Christian!”

It is remarkable, that Chrysostom affirms the Apostle to have been betrayed into a mistake of Agrippa’s real meaning, by his own want of familiarity with the proprieties of the Greek language. He supposes that St. Paul confounded the expression ἐν ὀλίγῳ, *shortly*, with ἐξ ὀλίγου, *almost*; and that he replied accordingly. The words of his reply, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ, certainly afford some countenance to this assertion; or, at all events, they seem to show that there was some ambiguity in the expression, which the Apostle seized upon, and turned to his advantage, in his answer: “I would to God that, not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were, *both in little, and in much*,—(that is, *both almost and altogether*),—such as I am, except these bonds.” For, had St. Paul intended to express a wish that all present might, “*soon or late*,” become as he was, his words, surely, would have been Ἡ ἐν ὀλίγῳ, Ἡ ἐν πολλῷ, and not ΚΑΙ.

On the whole, then, if ever a revision of our translation should be undertaken by authority, it may become necessary to consider, gravely, whether, or not, King James’s divines have failed to seize the true sense of this passage. And if it should be thought that they have failed, it will evidently be a matter of comparatively small importance, whether we retain the word γενέσθαι, or adopt the reading, ποιῆσαι, from the *Vatican* and *Alexandrian*. For it can signify but little, whether the words of Agrippa be,—“Art thou persuaded that thou canst suddenly make a Christian of me?” or, “thou wouldst persuade me suddenly to become a Christian!” The whole will mainly depend upon the true import of the expression, ἐν ὀλίγῳ.

Among the conjectural attempts of Mr. Penn, there are few which demand more cautious consideration than his dealing with the celebrated text, (Matt. xvi. 18,) which forms, as it were, the chief foundation stone of the fabric of Romish supremacy. The received text is, Καὶ γὰρ δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι σὺ εἰ Πέτρος. Now, the three latter words, he apprizes us, in the uncial, continuous, and abbreviated form of writing, would appear thus, CTEIHC. And this compend, as he maintains, is resolvable, either into CT EI HC; or, into CT EIH C: the one of these being equivalent to CT EI ΠετροC; the other to CT EIH αC. If the former be the true reading, the Romanists will continue in possession of a weapon, which they have most portentously abused. If the latter, the

weapon will be wrested from their hands for ever: since, in that case, the reply of our Lord will be, (as Mr. Penn has rendered it in his Revision,) “and I moreover tell thee, that *thou hast said* ;” that is, (according to the well known Hebraism,) *thou hast said the truth*,—thou hast answered rightly,—in declaring that I am the Christ, the Son of the Living God: “and on this rock will I “build my Church, &c.” Thus, at least, we suppose, Mr. Penn would reason. For, though he professes to discuss the question “without any reference to controversy,” it can scarcely be imagined that he considers the issue of his attempt as a matter of small moment, with reference to the claims of the Pope, as the successor of St. Peter.

This is a very bold venture! But the critic, as usual, is full of confidence; for he imagines that certain traces of the reading for which he contends are to be found, both in Augustine and in Jerome. And, first, in his Sermon *In Die Pentecostis*, (tom. v. p. 1097), the words are thus cited and explained by Augustine, “*Et ego dico tibi, quia TU DIXISTI*;—(mihi dixisti, audi; dedisti confessionem. Recipe benedictionem, ergo);—*Et ego dico tibi, TU ES PETRUS; et super hanc petram, &c.*” The citation and commentary of Jerome are much to the same effect,—“*Et ego dico tibi, quia TU DIXISTI* (tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi), *et ego dico tibi*, (non sermone casso, quia meum dixisse, fecisse est), *quia tu es Petrus; et super hanc petram, &c.*” And, from all this, he infers that two distinct readings, (CY EΠΙΑC, and CY EI HETPOC,) must have grown up, out of the one original and abbreviated reading CYEΠHC; and, that both these readings had, somehow or other, in process of time, established themselves in the text. Of one of the readings in question, CY EΠΙΑC, he fancies that he sees a translation in the words of Augustine, and of Jerome, TU DIXISTI. And, since only one of the two can really have been spoken by our Lord, he conceives himself at liberty to reject that to which such lofty importance has always been attached by the Church of Rome.

Surely, the critic is walking, here, in the midst of shadows! The words, *tu dixisti* would, undoubtedly, be a correct version of σὺ εἶπας. But the mere occurrence of those words, in the commentary of the two Fathers, can afford no substantial ground whatever for the conclusion, that they actually had σὺ εἶπας before them, in the text. In a strain of familiar exposition, they are showing the connexion between the confession of Peter and the reply of our Lord: “As thou hast said unto me, Thou art “the Christ, &c. so do I now say unto thee, Thou art Peter, &c.” As for the repetition of the words, *et ego dico tibi*, it is just nothing more than what might be naturally expected to occur, where the

commentator uses a colloquial freedom, and explains as he goes along. It is idle to suppose that any such repetition was found in the copy either of Augustine, or of Jerome.

Besides, even if the reading $\sigma\upsilon \epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\alpha\varsigma$, were once irresistibly established to the exclusion of the other, we do not know that the substitution would very much weaken the Papal pretensions, so far as they can be founded on this single text. In order to judge of this, we must look to the language in which our Lord actually spoke, and not merely to the language in which his words are recorded. How, then, does the case stand? In the early part of his ministry, a man called Simon is presented to our Lord, who, immediately on seeing him, said, Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: but, henceforth, thou shalt be called *Kephas*, (the Syriac word for *Rock*). About two years after this, the same man, now known by the name of *Kephas*, openly proclaims Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of the Living God. In reply to this,—(and here, for a moment, we will adopt the reading of Mr. Penn,)—Jesus says, “I tell thee thou hast spoken truly; and on this “*Kephas* (Rock), will I build my Church.” We are unable to discern how the advantages, which the See of Rome professes to derive from this dialogue, would be fatally impaired by this representation of it. We should still have our Lord pronouncing his judgment, by a significant allusion to the name which he himself had *already* assigned to the Apostle. And it cannot be said that the words, $\sigma\upsilon \epsilon\dot{\iota} \Pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$, (*Kephas*), which Mr. Penn is anxious to get rid of, are absolutely indispensable to the clearness of that allusion. And if so, the critic has been tampering with the passage to no purpose. We have only to add, that the whole will become more intelligible, when we recollect, that the one word *Kephas*, in Syriac, (like *Pierre* in French), corresponds to either of the Greek words, $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$, or $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$.

But, lastly, Mr. Penn has hitherto produced nothing but his own assertion to satisfy us, either that $\Pi\bar{\Sigma}$ is a usual compend of $\Pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$, or $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\Pi\bar{\Sigma}$ of $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\Pi\tau\alpha\varsigma$. And, unless he can establish both these points, his whole conjecture must, of course, fall to the ground. Now, it is certain that these two forms of abbreviation are not among those which are enumerated by Wetstein as constantly occurring in the oldest manuscripts; such as $\Theta\bar{C}$, $\bar{K}C$, $\bar{I}C$, $\bar{X}C$, &c., for $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$, &c. And we would, further, remind Mr. Penn of the protest put forth by the same critic, against the rashness of certain divines, who, whenever they met with a difficulty, which they knew not how otherwise to dispose of, resorted, without scruple, to imaginary modes of compendious writing in the MSS., as

expedients for moulding the text to their own fancy ; or, to use his own phrase, “ for converting the Scripture into a nose of “ wax.” (Wetst. Proleg. p. 3.) Our conclusion, therefore, is, that the Pope must have remained, unshaken, in full possession of his œcumenical prerogatives, if they had never been assailed by any thing more formidable than this experiment of our faithful Protestant critic !

We now come to what Mr. Penn himself points out as “ the “ most important circumstance in his Revision,”—the restoration, to St. Matthew, c. xxvii., of the sentence which relates to the piercing of our Saviour’s side. His note upon the subject amounts almost to a dissertation ; through the whole of which it is impossible for us to attend him. The following are the principal grounds on which he justifies this startling innovation upon the received text :—1. The passage in question stands in this place, in the two most ancient surviving manuscripts, the *Vatican* and *Ephrem*. 2. It so stood in the copies of Diodorus, Tatian, and various other holy fathers ; as we learn from *Schol. Cod. 72*. 3. It is contained in the ancient Jerusalem-Syriac and Ethiopic versions. 4. It was received as the true original text by the great Chrysostom, whom Barrow entitles the *Prince of Interpreters*. 5. It occupies the same place in one uncial, and five other, Greek manuscripts. Its disappearance from the copies of the early Greek Church, is ascribed by Mr. Penn to the undue influence of a false criticism of Origen ; and its continued banishment, to the *anathema* of the Latin Church in the fourteenth century. Lastly, the acquiescence of the reforming divines, in this sentence of expulsion, is attributed by him to their want of acquaintance with the various ancient documents which have since been brought to light.

The text, with this sentence introduced, appears thus in the Revision :—“ The rest said, Let him alone ; let us see whether “ Elijah will come to save him. *But another, taking a spear, “ pierced his side : and, straightway, there came forth water and “ blood.* And Jesus, crying out again, with a loud voice, expired.” So that, as Mr. Penn maintains, “ the great historical “ fact preserved in this passage is, that our Lord received the “ wound of the spear *previously to his death*, and *not* his body, “ after his spirit had relinquished it.”

Now, without venturing into the labyrinth of critical research which this question lays open, we must content ourselves with offering one or two brief remarks. First, then, it is extremely difficult to understand by what inducement any bystander could have been impelled to this peculiar act of violence. One can easily comprehend that a brutal soldier, on finding Jesus

apparently dead, should pierce his side with a spear, in order to see whether the wound would be followed by any sign of sense and life; and, so, to reduce the matter to a certainty. But Jesus was then, manifestly, alive; for he had recently cried out, with a loud voice,—invoking Elias, as the hearers imagined. It might, therefore, be naturally expected that he would be left untouched, like the two malefactors, until the moment should arrive for breaking the legs of all, previously to their removal from the cross.

But, secondly, we are quite at a loss to perceive how the narrative of St. Matthew, as now completed and *restored*, can be made to agree with that of St. John; which, in the common version, is as follows:—"When Jesus, therefore, had received the "vinegar, he said, It is finished; and he bowed his head and gave "up the ghost. The Jews, therefore,—that the bodies should "not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day,—besought "Pilate that their legs should be broken, and that they might be "taken away. Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the "first, and of the other that was crucified with him. But, when "they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they "brake not his legs: *but* one of the soldiers with a spear pierced "his side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water." The difficulty, however, of reconciling this statement with the restored text of St. Matthew, gives marvellously small embarrassment to Mr. Penn. He disposes of it simply by the substitution of "*for*" instead of "*but*," at the beginning of the last-cited verse; thus—"For one of the soldiers *pierced*"—(in the sense, we presume, of *had pierced*)—"his side with a spear:" as if this *antecedent* fact was introduced here, by the Evangelist, merely in order to account for the circumstance that Jesus was already dead. Now, in the original, the word with which the sentence begins is ἀλλὰ: and we know not upon what authority Mr. Penn has given to that word the sense expressed by the English causative, *for*. Besides, if the wound had been inflicted while Jesus was yet alive, it is inexplicably strange that St. John should have omitted all mention of so important and remarkable a fact, in the passage which describes his dying moments; and should have introduced it afterwards, in this indirect and incidental manner, purely to explain the unusually short duration of the Saviour's sufferings upon the cross. For our own part, therefore, until we shall have been provided with a satisfactory solution of these difficulties, we must suspend our assent to the insertion of this passage in the narrative of St. Matthew.

There remains a very ungracious part of our task to be performed; namely, the exhibition of some specimens of criticism,

which have raised up, within us, certain “saucy doubts and fears,” relative to the soundness and accuracy of our critic’s scholarship; to say nothing of the correctness of his taste. Our examples will be taken almost at random. And we shall begin with his experiments upon the Greek verb ἀπέχω.

This verb, he tells us, in its genuine and primitive sense, signifies *averto, procul teneo*. And some such transitive sense does, undoubtedly, belong to it, when used to signify the action of one person, with reference to others. In cases of this description, its meaning may be expressed by the English word “withhold,” or “hold off;” as in the following line—οὐδ’ ὄγε πρὶν λοιμοῖο βαρεῖας χεῖρας ἀφέξει. But Mr. Penn maintains that it may, likewise, have this transitive force, when used to denote the action of a person, with reference to himself. And he, accordingly, translates Matth. vi. 2, ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν—“they are far from their reward;” and Luke, vi. 24, ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν—“ye are far from your consolation:” as if the meaning were, that the persons spoken of kept their own reward, or their own consolation, at a distance from them. Now, to our ears, this does sound absolutely monstrous! We are extremely curious to know how Mr. Penn would translate the Septuag. Genesis, xliii. 23, τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀπέχω. Would he say that the steward of Joseph’s house meant to affirm that the money of Joseph’s brethren was *far from him*, and that he had never touched a shekel of it? If he should say this, he would find himself grievously at variance with the original Hebrew; which, literally rendered, is, *your money came to me*; that is, as our authorized translation gives it, *I had your money*.

We are astonished to find that Mr. Penn was not scared out of this strange hallucination by the following passage, Philipp. iv. 18, Ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα, καὶ περισσεύω πεπλήρωμαι, δεξάμενος, παρὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου, τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν. But he faces out the matter boldly, and translates as follows:—“Though I am *without all things*, “yet I abound; I am full, now that I have received,” &c. Still more wonderful is it that the illusion was not dissipated by Philem. 15, Τάχα γὰρ, διὰ τοῦτο ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὥραν, ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχῃς. But it seems clear that the error is one which fire will not burn out of him: for thus does he, most inhumanly, mangle the beautiful reflexion of the aged apostle:—“For, did “he quit thee for a moment, that thou shouldst reject him for “ever?”

Never, till now, did we hear it questioned that ἀπὸ gives to the transitive verb ἔχω, in composition with it, only a more full and emphatic sense. Ἐχω implies possession, simply. Ἀπέχειν, signifies that the possessor has received in full, from the proper

quarter, whatever was due or expected,—that he has carried off with him the whole of what was intended for him. Thus, in Genesis, the steward of Joseph's house had received from the Israelites their money, to the last penny, in full weight. In Matthew, and Luke, the hypocrites take out their whole recompense, and the wealthy their whole comfort, from the treasury of this world. They have their entire portion here, but there remains no "bright reversion" for them hereafter. Again, St. Paul had got, from the Philippians, every thing he could desire. And, lastly, Philemon had lost his slave, for a time, that he might receive him back, from the condition of a fugitive, as his own for ever. If the language of Matthew, and of Luke, had been ἀπέχουσι τοῦ μισθοῦ, the verb would have appeared in its neutral sense of *disto*, *absum*; and, in that case, the passage would have been correctly rendered, "they are far from their reward." And, in this form, too, the verb might certainly be employed to signify that a critic or a commentator was far from the truth!

The following passage of Mark, xvi. 2, is read by Mr. Penn, as if the words between brackets were parenthetical,—Καὶ λίαν πρωτῆ—(τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον)—ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου: which he renders thus,—“And, on the first day of the week, long before the rising of the sun, they went to the sepulchre:” as if the word πρωτῆ were to be read in immediate connexion with ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, and, also, to govern it. Now, in the first place, it is surely quite obvious that all grammatical connexion between the first words of the sentence and the last, is utterly broken off by the interposition of the parenthetical words. And, secondly, it is equally indisputable that, even if the first words and the last were in close justa-position, they could not have been connected by grammatical *regimen*. For, who ever heard, before, that the *adverb* πρωτῆ was capable of governing a genitive case? Mr. Penn, indeed, ventures to invest it with this power, on the authority of Pollux; from whom he produces, in support of his assertion, the expression πρωτῆ τῆς ἡλικίας—(translated, by him, “before the age of manhood”), as opposed to ὁψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας. That the former of these phrases is opposed to the latter, is certain. But it is equally certain that their respective meanings are, “early in manhood,” and, “late in manhood:” that is, “at an *early*, or a *late*, period of manhood.” And, after all, what can be the necessity for this defiance of the Greek idiom? The words λίαν πρωτῆ, signify, “at the early dawn:” and the words, ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, denote,—not, indeed, that the sun had actually appeared above the horizon,—but, that he had arrived at the region of sun-rise; that he had reached the eastern

part of the heavens, in which he was soon to become visible. And all this is expressed, intelligibly and precisely enough, by our own version “very early in the morning—at the rising of the sun.”

The fifth verse of John i. is translated by Mr. Penn—“And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness *overcame him* not.” And, this he does, partly because the most ancient text has the masculine pronoun αὐτόν, and not the neuter αὐτό; and, partly, because καταλαμβάνω never has an *inactive* sense, like that of *comprehending*, as equivalent to *receiving*, or *admitting*. But what is there in the words of the Evangelist, which was ever supposed to denote a mere passive reception, or admission? They who, having once been *darkness*,* *comprehend*, or *receive* the light which came into the world, are surely as much called upon for an active application of their faculties, as St. Paul was, when he exclaimed διώκω δὲ, εἰ καὶ καταλάβω (Philipp. iii. 12). The whole spirit of the passage is extinguished by the English text of the Revision. Look onward to the following verses,—*He was in the world, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* And, then say, whether it can be doubted, for a moment, that the passage in question is correctly rendered in our Translation. Besides, the word *overcome* is strangely selected by Mr. Penn to express his own sense of the words, if (as he tells us), it is similar to that of Macbeth, when he exclaims,—

“Can such things be
And *overcome* us, like a summer’s cloud
Without our special wonder?”

Or, can he possibly imagine that *overcome* is here used by Shakspeare, to signify the same thing as to *overpower*, or to *obscure*? Can he be ignorant that the wonder expressed by Macbeth is, simply, that the dreadful sight, which he had beheld, should *pass over* the spectators, like one of the most ordinary phenomena of nature?

Another peculiarity of the *Reviser* is, that, throughout, he insists upon assigning to δικαιοσύνη the sense of “justification,” and nothing but “justification.” He will hear of no righteousness, but the righteousness which is by faith of Jesus Christ. According to him, it became the Saviour,—not “to fulfil all righteousness,”—but, “to accomplish the whole of justification.” The worthies celebrated in the 11th chapter of Hebrews, are spoken of by him,—not as having “wrought righteousness,”—but, as having “*gained* justification.” We cannot plunge into the labyrinth of confusion opened by this astounding novelty. We must confine ourselves to one prodigious instance of the hardihood with which he has prosecuted the surmise in question. We have all been in the habits of believing that Paul once reasoned before

* Ephes. v. 8.

Felix of righteousness, of temperance, and of judgment to come; (περὶ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἵσσεσθαι). But it now appears that we have been quite mistaken. St. Paul reasoned about no such matters as righteousness and temperance. He discoursed concerning “*his* (Christ’s) *justification, dominion, and future judgment!*” A moment’s inspection of the original will show how utterly inadmissible is the insertion of the word “*his*,” in the above translation. Besides,—even if it were granted that δικαιοσύνη may, here, possibly denote the justification of Christ,—how can it be shown that ἐγκρατεία signifies his *dominion*? The only dominion which this word implies, either in Attic or Hellenistic Greek, is the dominion which a man exercises over his own passions. We, at least, have never yet seen an instance in which it is used to signify *dominion*, in any other than this figurative sense. Assuredly, no such instance has been produced by Mr. Penn. He tells us, indeed, that *ditio, potentia, superioritas*, are among the numerous significations assigned to ἐγκρατεία. Assigned by whom? In Stephen’s Thesaurus, it is true, the word “*ditio*” does occur, as one meaning of ἐγκρατεία. But it occurs there, without a single authority in support of that interpretation: while the use of the word in the sense of temperance, or self-control, is established by very numerous citations; and is fully confirmed by other lexicographers.* Mr. Penn, therefore, must bring forward some examples to justify his version, before he can presume to hope that it will meet with the slightest attention. And nothing short of an overpowering array of authorities will enable him to overthrow the authorized translation of this passage.

Among the least happy adventures of our *Reviser*, we cannot but reckon his speculations on Acts, i. 18,—πρηγῆς γενόμενος, ἐλάκησε μέσος. These words are thus rendered by him,—“casting himself headlong, *he hung in the midst.*” In vindication of this rendering, he tells us, that λακέω is not *Greek*; and that, consequently, nothing is left for us but to accept it as a *Latin* word, in a *Greek* disguise. And, since we find the verb φραγελλώω, in the New Testament, as the representative of *flagello*, why—he suggests—should not λακέω stand for *laqueo*? And, further, why should not ἐλάκησε, *laqueavit*, stand for *laqueavit se*? And, lastly, why should not μέσος signify,—*medius inter trabem et terram*?

Of the controversies which have been raised on the apparently conflicting accounts of the death of Iscariot, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, some notion may be formed from the perusal of the notes of Wolfius upon the subject. If we were under compulsion to make our choice, among the variety of opinions

* Hesychius, Suidas, Suicer.

there referred to, we probably should select that which was adopted by Casaubon, by Raphelius, and, also, by Wolfius himself;* namely, that, after the traitor had destroyed himself by hanging, the body fell, either from the breaking of the rope, or on cutting it asunder for the removal of the corpse; and that then followed the consequences described by St. Luke: which were by no means very unlikely to occur, if Judas were a gross, corpulent, unwieldy man, as some traditions report him to have been.† In that case, as both Wolfius and Raphelius observe, the whole matter might be clearly and briefly summed up in the words of Gerhardus,‡—“*Matthæus supplicii initium, (nempe suspendium), Lucas vero finem et exitum, describit.*” But, whatever may be the right solution of the difficulty, it is remarkable that the dissension among the commentators has entirely related to the signification of the word ἀπήγγξατο, in St. Matthew, and of the phrase πρηγῆς γινόμενος, in St. Luke. The word ἐλάκησε seems to have occasioned no perplexity, and to have excited no remark. And yet, assuredly, ἐλάκησε is the most unusual word in the sentence which contains St. Luke’s account of the catastrophe.

The above conjecture of Mr. Penn, therefore, has, at least, the merit which belongs to novelty. Neither are we disposed to withhold from it, altogether, the praise of ingenuity. Nevertheless, for the following reasons, we are utterly incredulous as to the *sea-worthiness* of the craft which he has, here, so confidently ventured to launch.

1. That a variety of Latinisms occur in the New Testament, is beyond all dispute. But, still it may be doubted whether a single Latinism can be found there, to which a corresponding Greek phrase would be, *fully and precisely*, equivalent. The word σουδάριον, (sudarium), is, perhaps, the nearest to such an instance. And yet, as it occurs four times, (once in Luke, twice in John, and once in the Acts), it may reasonably be presumed that it must have conveyed some peculiar meaning, more distinctly and appropriately than any Greek word that could be substituted for it. We all know that nothing is more customary at this day, than to give foreign names to certain particular articles of dress, or furniture, or common use. And, it is by no means improbable, that, if σουδάριον was a word originally Latin, (which some have doubted),§ it furnishes an example of a similar usage among the Hebrews, and the Hellenizing Greeks. But, at all

* Wolf. Cur. Philolog. and Crit. vol. i. p. 390—392, ad Matth. xxvii. 5; Raphelius, vol. i. p. 341, &c.

† See Routh, Rel. Sac. vol. i. p. 9, 25.

‡ Harmon. Evang. p. 1843.

§ See Wolf. ad Luk. xix. 20, vol. i. p. 733.

events, the conjecture of Mr. Penn can derive no support from the use of the verb *φραγελλώω*, as representing the Latin word *flagello*. It is true that the word *μαστιγώω* might have been used to signify the scourging inflicted on our Lord; as it actually is used by St. John. But the use of it has, manifestly, less of graphic force and historical propriety. It tells us nothing of Roman customs, or of Roman dominion. Whereas *φραγελλώω* informs us, not only that Jesus was scourged, but that he was scourged with the *flagellum*, as slaves were usually punished among the Romans, while the free citizens were beaten with rods.* On the other hand, there could scarcely be any thing in the death of Judas by suspension, which should suggest the propriety of employing a Latin term, rather than a Greek one. There was no *Roman* peculiarity to be indicated. What, then, could possibly have induced the Evangelist to make a plain matter obscure, by resorting to the *Roman* language, when the Greek would have supplied him with phrases equally appropriate; nay, infinitely more appropriate than the Latinism here contended for?

2. But, it is asserted by Mr. Penn that *λακέω* is unknown to the Greek language. This, however, we apprehend, is a somewhat rash assertion. The word *διαλακέω* occurs in the *Nubes* of Aristophanes (line 409. Ed. Kust.)—in a ludicrous sense, it is true—but, still, in a sense substantially corresponding to that which is expressed in the Latin versions of this passage of St. Luke. We are told, indeed, by Mr. Penn, on the authority of the Borgian manuscript, that we are to read *διαλακίσασα*, instead of *διαλακήσασα*; which reading, he informs us, has been actually adopted by Invernezzius, the latest editor of Aristophanes. And it cannot be denied that some countenance seems to be afforded to this change, by the words of the Scholiast,—*διαρραγεῖσα λακίς γάρ, τὸ σχίσμα*. But, then, if the Borgian MS. be right, we do not quite see how the poet can well be acquitted of a heavy sin, both against grammar and prosody: against grammar,—since *διαλακίζω* is not a neuter but a transitive verb, which signifies to tear, or rend, so violently as to produce a sound; against prosody,—seeing that the integrity of his anapæstic verse absolutely demands *διαλακίσασα*. Besides,—in Suidas, this very word, *ἐλάκησε*, is interpreted, *μέσον ἐχίσθη*: which expresses the sense in the contemplation of the Latin translators, when they rendered it “*crepuit medius*”; and, of our own, when they rendered it “*he burst asunder in the midst*.” We find in Plautus, the expression, “*Nihil metuo nisi, ne medius disruptar, miser*.” (Curcul. ii. 1. 7.) And, again,—“*Edèpol, ego illam mediam disruptam*

* See Wolf, ad Luk. xix. 20, vol. i. p. 400.

velim." (Casina, ii. 5. 8.) Which passages afford a very fit illustration of the words ἐλάκησε μέσος. But what, on earth, would Plautus, or any other Latin writer, or reader, have been able to make of *laqueavit medius*; or even of *laqueavit se medius*? Besides, even if the Evangelist intended to express *se laqueavit*, in a Greco-Latin form, he surely would have written ἐλακῆσατο, or ἐαυτὸν ἐλάκησεν.

As at present informed, therefore, we see no reason to doubt that ἐλάκησε, though an uncommon word, is yet good and sufficient Greek; and that Mr. Penn has put it to a most unheard-of service, by degrading it into a Greco-barbarous representative of Latin. It is, we think, evidently employed by the Evangelist to signify that, which is expressed in familiar English by the word *split*, or *crack*. And,—although the Greek text may possibly appear to *us* to be somewhat strange, and even coarse,—yet, we have seen that, after all, there is nothing in it, as rendered in our common version, to impeach the fact, that Judas hanged himself; or the probability that the passage may relate to circumstances which occurred subsequently to the act of suspension. On the whole matter, therefore, we must hope to be forgiven, if we number this attempt to improve our translation, among the *curious infelicities* of criticism.

On the authority of the *Vatican* and *Alexandrian* MSS. Mr. Penn inserts the words, ὁ Θεός, in Rom. viii. 28, thus,—Οἶδαμεν ὅτι, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Θεόν, πάντα συνεργεῖ [ὁ Θεός] εἰς ἀγαθόν: which he translates,—“We know that *God maketh all things work together* for good to them that love God.” Now for the insertion of ὁ Θεός, (or at least, for understanding it as the nominative case in agreement with συνεργεῖ), there is some additional authority in the Syriac and Æthiopic versions. In the Latin interpretation of the Syriac, the passage is thus rendered,—*Scimus quod iis, qui diligunt Deum, Ipse, in omni re, auxiliatur ad bonum*. The Latin translation of the Æthiopic is as follows,—*Novimus quod auxiliatur Deus iis, qui diligunt eum, ad omne bonum*. But neither the Syriac, nor the Æthiopic, as above rendered, affords the slightest support to the version of Mr. Penn. And, most certainly, that version is in audacious defiance of Greek! We believe it would be very difficult *indeed*, to produce an instance from any writer, sacred or profane, in which συνεργεῖν is used in the transitive sense. It always signifies to *co-operate*; and never, (that we have heard or seen), to compel the co-operation of other persons, or things. Mr. Penn, however, seems to have been comfortably free from all misgivings. He tells us, very coolly,

* Walt. Polygl. vol. v. p. 658.

that *συνεργεῖ* governs *πάντα* in the accusative; as if it were an indisputable matter that the verb might be used transitively, or not, just as the context might seem to require. But any scholar would tell him, that, if *Θεός* is to be the nominative to *συνεργεῖ*, *πάντα* must be governed by some word understood, such as *εἰς*, or *κατὰ*. And then the sense will be that which appears to have been adopted by the Syriac and Ethiopic translators; “God, in all things, works together with those that love him, for good.”

Mr. Penn is extremely dissatisfied with the expression which all the copies, with provoking uniformity, ascribe to the Apostle, in 1 Cor. vii. 25,—*ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι*. It cannot be denied that the construction is somewhat unusual and harsh. But it appears to us that the expression is elliptical; and that the ellipsis may be supplied without much violence or difficulty. We conceive the meaning to be, that the writer had obtained mercy, *ὥστε πιστὸς εἶναι*, or, perhaps, *εἰς τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι*. The sentiment thus expressed, at least, is quite unexceptionable. For, what could be more natural than for the Apostle to speak of himself as having been so visited by the mercy of God, as to be found faithful in his office? And, to what could he more fitly ascribe his own fidelity, than to the grace and compassion which had delivered him from the bonds of malignant unbelief? But Mr. Penn, it seems, can show us a more excellent way. He reminds us that, in 1 Tim. i. 12, St. Paul speaks thus,—*χάριν ἔχω X. I. τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πιστόν με ἡγάγατο, κ. τ. λ.* Who then can doubt that, instead of *ἡλεημένος*, we should read *ἡγούμενος*, in the passage before us; and that we should translate,—“as one who hath been accounted by the Lord to be faithful?” We fear that every one will doubt it, who is at all familiar with the usage of the Greek language; and that the doubt will continue, until the critic shall bring forward at least one other example, either from *heathen* or from *Christian* Greek, in which *ἡγεῖσθαι* bears a passive signification. In the mean time, we, for our part, stick by the manuscripts. And so, we apprehend, will the rest of the critical world.

Every biblical scholar well knows the torment inflicted on the commentators by a part of the 4th verse of 1 Cor. x.,—*ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας*. It may seem presumptuous in us to suggest that they have disquieted themselves in vain. A locomotive *rock*, indeed, is an image far too unmanageable for the most impetuous imagination. And the matter is not much mended by supposing the stream, which issued from the rock, to have followed the footsteps of the wandering Israelites. For, in the first place, there is no historical warrant for any such phenomenon. And, secondly, no testimony to that phenomenon could

be extorted from the language of the text, without the most unwarrantable violence. But our own impression is, that nothing of the kind was in the mind of the Apostle. His thoughts seem to have been entirely transferred, from the type to the antitype; from the manna which came down from the air, and the waters which sprung out of the bowels of the flint, to the spiritual refreshment which they respectively shadowed forth, and of which, though unconsciously, the wanderers of the desert were, in a certain spiritual and mystic sense, then actually partakers. And, if this were his train of thought, it might, with perfect truth, though with some unusual boldness of speech, be said by him, that the rock which supplied them with their spiritual drink was never absent from them, but attended them throughout their pilgrimage. And if it should be alleged that this explanation introduces a manifest incongruity between the figure, and the thing prefigured, we might reply, that the only disagreement is this,—that the blessings conferred by the antitype were such as infinitely more than realized the promise implied and signified by the type. The earthly rock, which relieved the carnal thirst of the people, was fixed and stationary. The mystical and invisible rock which supplied their spiritual necessities, never, for a moment, deserted them.*

All this sort of interpretation, however, is rejected by Mr. Penn, as fanciful and visionary; the growth of a dark and superstitious age. And even such we might possibly, ourselves, have been tempted to deem it, if the Apostle had not used the expressions, βρῶμα πνευματικὸν—πόμα πνευματικόν—πέτρα πνευματικὴ,—as if for the very purpose of carefully reminding us, that spiritual, and not material, meat and drink, were the things more immediately in his contemplation. But, be this interpretation as visionary as it may, it at least partially relieves us from one difficulty, from which our critic has laboured, quite in vain, to deliver us. He gravely contends that the supply of manna was one miracle; and that the *next* or *following* miracle, was the supply of water from the rock. And this succession of the two miracles, one to the other, he maintains, is denoted by the words ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας. And his translation, accordingly, is—“All eat the same spiritual food; and all drank the same spiritual drink: for they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed *it*; and that Rock was Christ.”

Now, to pass over any other objections to this surmise, it is

* See Wolf. Cur. Philol. and Crit. in 1 Cor. x. 5, vol. iii. p. 450, who intimates that the word ἀκολουθούσης has been too closely and urgently pressed, and that the words which ought to be understood as relating to Christ, the *spiritual* rock, have been taken with reference to the *material* rock.

very safe to affirm that the Greek language utterly repudiates it. *Ἀκολουθεῖω* was, surely, never known to bear the sense which is here ascribed to it. The verb may, indeed, signify *to follow*; but, *to follow*, not in the naked sense of mere *sequence*, or *succession*, but in the sense of *attendance*, or *accompaniment*. In English, a clansman may be said to *follow* his chieftain to the field; and, in Greek, the same thing might very properly be denoted by the verb *ἀκολουθεῖν*. In English, again, one event may be said to *follow* another event. But, where is the Greek scholar who would ever dream of using *ἀκολουθεῖν*, as applicable to this latter instance? Truly, therefore, the passage must remain in its former obscurity, for any thing that Mr. Penn has done towards its illumination!

The concise and somewhat abrupt expression of St. Paul in Galat. ii. 19,—*διὰ νόμου, νόμῳ ἀπεθανον*,—has occasioned some trouble to the expositors. The sense most generally assigned to it is this,—that, “by the law itself I was taught to renounce the “observance of the law,” as being altogether insufficient for justification. By some, however, it is supposed that *διὰ νόμου* relates to the law of Christ, and *νόμῳ ἀπεθανον* to the law of Moses; as if the meaning of the Apostle were, that, by the one law he was taught to renounce the other. Mr. Penn proposes to escape from all difficulty, by reading *δι’ ἀνόμου*, instead of *διὰ νόμου*; and the text, thus amended, is translated by him,—“*By renouncing the law, I died to the law.*” But, by what process he extracts the above sense from the words *δι’ ἀνόμου*, very far surpasses our comprehension!

We have room for only one more instance. In our authorized translation, *καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι*, is rendered, *to maintain*, or *stand up for, good works*. And never before was the correctness of this rendering called in question. But it is not satisfactory to Mr. Penn. He, accordingly substitutes for it,—“to excel in “good works;” a sense, in itself, unobjectionable; but, unfortunately, attended with a manifest violation of syntax! *Προϊστασθαι* may, indeed, signify *to excel*. But then it must be followed by a genitive case, denoting the *persons* excelled, and not the *things* in which the excellence is achieved. *Πάντων προϊστασθαι καλοῖς ἔργοις*, would mean, “to excel all men in good works.” But *καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι* can mean nothing but that which is expressed in our common version.

The above are but a portion of the instances which we have collected from this work, illustrative of the vigilant caution with which it will be necessary for the public to receive Mr. Penn’s Revision of the Text and Translation of the New Testament. And here we must, unavoidably, close our notice of his labours. If our space were more ample, there would still remain abundant

materials for its occupation. Among other things, we should have to call the attention of the Christian world to the formidable catalogue of passages which are, not merely noted as doubtful, but omitted, in the Revision, as clearly spurious and apocryphal ! Certain of these retrenchments are such as will, probably, cause no small astonishment and even consternation. For we find among them, not only "the woman taken in adultery," and the "descent of the angel to trouble the waters of Bethesda," but the "bloody sweat" of the Saviour, which is dismissed "as an "unskilful attempt at embellishment;" and his dying prayer for his enemies, on the cross, which is, also, discarded as the work of "some weakly, pious *philoponist*." These, however, are matters far too serious and solemn for such an imperfect examination as could be bestowed upon them in a brief and fugitive essay. We must, therefore, content ourselves with saying, that nothing but the almost unanimous consent of the very highest critical authorities, will be allowed to sweep away, for ever, from the Sacred Text, things that have been so long "nigh unto us," and so deeply written on our hearts. That Mr. Penn would wilfully trifle with matters of such awful importance, we utterly disbelieve. We gladly repeat the expression of our perfect confidence in his integrity of heart, and singleness of purpose. He must, nevertheless, pardon us for presuming to intimate, that a little stern collision with the mightiest masters of biblical criticism may still be needful, in order to teach him a salutary distrust of his own sagacity and judgment. Having said thus much, however, we willingly finish with a word of commendation ;—it does not appear that the lust for change has tempted the critic to much wanton tampering with the *style* of our national translation. The racy archaism, and venerable simplicity, of that mighty work, are left, for the most part, materially unimpaired. This we hold to be no ordinary merit ; for it is scarcely possible for us to give an exaggerated expression to the sense we entertain of the necessity for pious caution in laying our hands upon the workmanship of that time-honoured monument. Even if it have some few failings, still we may say of it, as Burke said of the Constitution, that we should approach its very defects, as a son would approach the infirmities of a parent. We should not mangle it, and toss it into the "caldron of magicians," in order to regenerate and reproduce it, in a newer and a better form. On this matter, we trust that the national feeling is all but universal. Our own sentiments on this subject have, not very long since, been, incidentally, delivered in language which we here respectfully beg permission to repeat. "We protest that we consider the English version of the Scriptures as among the most inestimable possessions, not only of

“our religion, but of our literature. And, we cannot forbear
 “seizing this opportunity of declaring our hope, and our *heart's*
 “*desire*, on one point,—namely, that, should it ever be thought ad-
 “visable to revise that version, two solemn and strict injunctions
 “may be given to the persons entrusted with the task: *first*, that
 “they carefully saturate their minds with the simple idiomatic
 “diction of the olden time; and, *secondly*, that whenever they
 “may attempt to introduce a new sense of any passage, they ask
 “themselves this question,—in what words would King James's
 “translators have expressed this sense, if they were now assembled
 “for the purpose of putting it into English?”*

ART. II.—1. *Essay on the Proper Employment of Time, Talents, Fortune, &c. &c.* By the late Mrs. H. M. Bowdler. London, Cadell; Edinburgh, Blackwood. 1836.

2. *The Monk of Cimini's.* By Mrs. Sherwood, Author of “The Nun.” London, William Darton and Son, Holborn Hill. 1837.

3. *The Abbess: a Romance.* By the Author of the “Domestic Manners of the Americans, &c.” in 3 Vols. London, Whitaker, Treacher, & Co. 1833.

4. *Works by Charlotte Elizabeth.* Published by the Religious Tract and Book Society, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin, and Sackville Street, Piccadilly. 1837.

IF any one, in estimating the religious state and prospects of a country, should fail to take into account the tendencies of the female disposition, and the efforts of the female intellect, he would necessarily fall into an egregious error, from leaving out a most important element in his calculation. Not only do women, collectively, form a good half of any population; not only have they, individually, minds to be informed and souls to be saved as well as men; but their influence, in a hundred ways, most sensibly and materially affects the whole current tone of morality and theology, of both speculative and practical devotion, throughout a land. We are, therefore, far more inclined to apologize for not having entered upon the subjects before, than to make excuses for now introducing to our readers some religious works elaborated by female pens, or for afterwards appending to them a few general remarks on the religion of our country-women.

* British Critic for October, 1834, vol. xvi. p. 385.

To the Monk of Cimiés we have already alluded as evincing more of prejudice than knowledge. We now recur to it, not from any intrinsic worth which it possesses, but because it seems to us a fair specimen of a peculiar class of composition. Its merits as a work of fiction are infinitesimally small. The style is full of confused metaphor, and speaks of effort without power. The story, besides being a tissue of gross improbabilities, is a most dismal and unpleasant affair to read; composed of incidents horribly ridiculous, mixed up with passages of mawkish sentiment about "*the sweet one*," "*the lost and lovely one*," "*the unhappy and miserable one*," with much more of that drivelling and sickly cant which used to be poured out in copious streams from the Minerva press in Leadenhall Street. The hero is a young scoundrel, steeped to the crown of his head in vanity and arrogance, without religious principle, without even high and chivalrous notions of worldly honour, false in love and friendship, a bad son, a bad brother, a pest and scandal to his family, and disgracefully deficient in all the relations of human life. Much of all this is to be referred to his position and education; as he had the misfortune to have for his father an orthodox dignitary of the Church of England, who entertained "*dark views of Christianity*."

"His prejudices were excessively strong, and they so affected his creed, that, without being aware of it, there was scarcely a doctrine which he held which was not more or less tainted with Popery; or, in other words, with that principle which gives man a place of spiritual authority over the souls of men, as I shall have occasion to make manifest in the sequel of my history. But there is often much external decency in the arrangement of proud families, and in this respect my father's family was a pattern, both at the deanery and at a noble living in the country, where we spent many months in the year.

"Our servants were orderly, our liveries clerical. My father read prayers to his family, morning and evening; my mother attended divine service every day appointed in the rubric; and we were catechised once a year, in the country, with other children of the parish, in the presence of all the congregation,—a piece of condescension much thought of amongst our poor neighbours.

"My mother caused her housekeeper to make soup for the poor, and my father read a sermon every Sunday evening to his family, and I believe was generally well spoken of, as a man who did honour to the cloth, though I doubt much whether he was beloved.

"But, as I stated before, though my mother never justified her pride, my father, who might probably have more doubts than she had of its consistency with the spirit of Christianity, had many things to urge for the necessity of upholding the dignity of the established Church. His principles on the subject were as follows,—he applied, in the first in-

stance, all the passages of Scripture, in which the word church is used in our translation, to the visible church on earth, and was particularly fond of the text, 1 Tim. iii. 15 : 'The house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.' And applying this to the visible church, it necessarily followed that the visible church, being the pillar and ground, and, according to my father, the only pillar and ground of the truth, under the present dispensation, membership of this church was indispensable to every soul which was to be saved. I do not say that my father ever went so far as to derive this deduction from the principle stated above, in so many words, but I have seen him shake his head, and look very portentous when he has been told of an infant dying before baptism could be administered : nay, I have even heard him say, that there was no security for the happiness of such souls, though God was merciful, and there was no cause for actual despair.

"There were other,—many other errors, which naturally sprung up in my father's mind, from the principle above stated, viz., the substitution of the type for the antitype ; or of the visible church on earth, or of any one visible church with its outward forms and ordinances, for that mystical body which is the body of Christ. But who can enumerate the deceptions which proceed from one false leading principle ? I might fill quires of paper in tracing to the source of this one root of bitterness, all the dark notions which have prevailed in the Christian world, among all sects and orders of nominal Christians, from the apostolic age to the present day."—p. 16—18.

In addition to "*Mr. Dean*" himself, there is a chaplain, one Mr. Short, who is also unhappy enough to be a High-Churchman, and who, being such, is naturally, into the bargain, a cold unspiritual formalist, making religion to consist of nothing but legal rites and ordinances, and altogether "*a particularly dull and inefficient person.*" What wonder is it, that, when these unfortunate representatives of the Anglican Church come into contact with Dr. Watson, a confident and over-weening dissenting minister, they are well bastinadoed in every argument which they venture to hold ?

But we must proceed with the thread of our tale. The hero, precious reprobate as he is, becomes in due time an ordained minister of the Church of England : he lifts up his head with the proudest as an approved High-Churchman ; he enters upon the duties of a curacy in the country, from which, however,—such is Mrs. Sherwood's knowledge, and such are her notions of ecclesiastical discipline,—he obtains, or takes, leave of absence at discretion, to pursue his dissipations in the metropolis : he contracts acquaintance with a Jesuit, who, as our readers might expect, is a mere incarnation of duplicity and vice, and by him is straightway converted to Popery, as a matter of course : Popery being

represented as the goal to which orthodox legality is always tending, and the mighty ocean in which all its streams are to be finally absorbed. After a scuffle, in which he is made to suppose that he has murdered his brother, he flies his native land, hoping to take refuge in Italy from his remorse and disquietude: he is involved in a train of painful and revolting circumstances; he is beset by his friend, the Jesuit, with a series of mystifications, which might be awfully tragic, if they did not, instead of engendering pity or terror, excite either a smile of scorn or a start of incredulous surprise: he arrives at the dignity of a Popish priest, and enacts scenes at the confessional disgusting to right feeling and common sense: he is again compelled to change his habitation; he comes to the place, "where *stands*," as Mrs. Sherwood says, "*the Trophæa Augusta*; he reaches "the holy house of Cimiés;" and he there appears as half-monk and half-hermit, until he is discovered and disinterred by some inquirers anxious for his welfare: he is convinced of "the prejudices and false opinions of his youth;" re-enters the Church of England; flourishes as an evangelical minister; and "takes possession of a small living in the west of Ireland, where the balmy air sometimes reminds him of the shores of the Mediterranean."

Thus probable, thus edifying, is the main story. There are digressions, and episodes, more particularly some interludes with two female cousins, on which we shall not venture to touch; but it may afford a melancholy amusement to some of our readers to trace the development of the leading idea, and to have a practical demonstration how orthodox Church of Englandism is a preparation and stepping-stone for the doctrines of the Church of Rome. They will bear in mind, that the work is presented as an autobiography, composed when the writer had at last derived rest and refreshment for his soul from his evangelical principles.

"I found little more amusement in the companions of my father,—the clerical members of the choir, who were for the most part stiff High-Churchmen, who fostered and cherished their chillness by refusing to receive any idea not strictly conformed to their notions of orthodoxy—which orthodoxy consisted chiefly in the observance of certain formalities, and the use of a few garbled quotations from Scripture. But, it should be observed, that, situated as I then was, such clergymen of the Church of England, and such only, as agreed with my father, gathered about him and formed his society; those of more enlightened principles, naturally withdrawing themselves, or only paying my father the attentions due to his station. Hence, my views of the character of the clergy of the Church of England were very narrow and partial, at the time I speak of, and for many years afterwards."—p. 56.

"My seriousness gave pleasure, and my mother failed not to proclaim the reformation of her Edmund, attributing my change of conduct en-

tirely to the desire of doing honour to the station to which I was an aspirant; whilst I, hoping that my delinquency in a certain affair would never be proclaimed among the *elders* of the church, tried to make myself believe that I was what my mother thought me, a truly reformed character; though I had never been, at that period, brought to hate sin, or to desire to be freed from it, excepting from the dread of its present consequences.

"In the meantime, the crisis of my ordination was approaching, and I was to be subjected to several examinations, previous to that which was to be accounted decisive of my fitness for my office."—pp. 61, 62.

"I have but vague recollections of a great part of the instruction given me at that time. But this I must confess, that when in after years I became a papist, I had very little to unlearn of what the worthy chaplain had taught me: that is, that whatever comments were made by him, either upon the words of Scripture, or the Articles, had a strong tendency towards those errors which, in their following up, must end in what is called Popery."—p. 62.

"Several years after this, when, by the grace of God, I was turned from the errors of Popery, and led to examine the articles of the Church of England, in, I trust, a more humble spirit, I stood in amazement, in reflecting how the Spirit of God should have enabled our old Reformers to put together a creed so pure and blameless as that which is found in these our articles, wherein I now discern scarcely a passage which I should desire to change, or would wish to erase, lest a risk should thereby be incurred that, in removing the imperfection, that which is most precious to the souls of men should also be defaced. The article which I consider most faulty is the eighth, in which our Establishment, in inconsistency with herself, and with that which she had declared in her sixth article, hath given three creeds, which are confessedly composed by men, to be thoroughly received and believed. In consequence of this departure from her own principles, it is to be apprehended, that she has done much to hide from the eyes of her children, the height, the breadth, and the depth of the work of salvation wrought by Christ our Lord."—pp. 63, 64.

In these quotations, it seems difficult to determine, whether the knowledge, or "*the humble spirit*," of the writer be the more conspicuous. But we soon arrive at notions still more liberal than a disposition to alter the Articles.

"I was, in fact, too ignorant to perceive that the spirit and opinions of Dr. Watson were nearly as far from the truth as those of Mr. Short, inasmuch as neither one nor the other was aware that *the interests of the invisible church are entirely independent of the forms and ordinances of any visible church*; though there is woe to those who, having undertaken to preach the Gospel, turn aside from the simplicity of that Gospel to throw stumbling-blocks in the way of the weak believer, or to cause the feeble brother to err. However, years passed away before I was enabled to discern the truth amongst these various opinions, or to see the error of those who pretend that we are to look for perfection in any earthly esta-

blishment, or visible church, or to expect that any forms, or ordinances, or arrangements, of which man is a minister, will ever satisfy a soul, whose affections are drawn up heavenward."—pp. 78, 79.

"Having already as much Greek as would serve me for the coming occasion, I fell into a sort of reading, the very worst I could have chosen for the confirmation of the errors in which I had been educated, viz. the works of the fathers, Jerome, Chrysostom, and finally Augustin. Thus, from leaving the Scriptures and following men's opinions, I became from day to day more blind and confused.

"I learned by these to magnify more and more what God had appointed man to do, in the work of bringing his fellow man to salvation; and, in my imagination, I made the visible church a sort of outwork of heaven, through which every man must needs pass before he can ascend to the celestial state."—pp. 81, 82.

"I look not for perfection in any ecclesiastical establishment on earth; but believe not only that every church, of which men are ministers, may err, but necessarily will and must err; a doctrine by-the-bye, to which I am sworn in our own Articles."—p. 97.

It ought to be understood, that when the hero of this pious romance,—whose eyes, as he tells us, "had for some time past, been accustomed to behold only very ordinary specimens of the female human creature,"—falls into daily intercourse with a beautiful cousin, she is made an instrument of his seduction by the Popish priests. Then we are told,—

"It is asserted with truth of the ministers of Popery that they stand at nothing to make a proselyte, and that for this purpose they would willingly move heaven and earth; nay, and even stoop to dabble with the politics of hell."—p. 126.

"I was passing rapidly from the belief of one lie to another, and my diseased, yet excited, mind wanted perhaps only the circumstances of pomp, of terror, and of interest, in which Popery still appears in Italy, to finish the work which, I must honestly confess, had been commenced in my own nursery."—p. 180.

The worst of the matter is, that we are told at page 145, and in sundry other places, "*I am not writing a novel, but a serious and solemn history*," and the passages, which we are compelled to cite, are rendered, therefore, the more offensive by the air of reality which Mrs. Sherwood strives to throw over them.

"What, I ask my reader, what was it which prepared my mind for the reception of Popery, and for actual dereliction from the established form of worship of my father-land, but the papistical notions with which my father and his society were infected? notions which, in a greater or lesser degree, affect all the high-church party in this country, and not only the high-church party, but every party either within our Church, or dissenting from it, which assumes any peculiar perfectibility to itself. Had not my poor father taught me, that there was one form of worship

on earth divinely appointed and superior to every other, I never should have lost myself, as I did, in seeking the authorities for these pretended prerogatives, commencing my search in my father's library, under the shade of our own cathedral, and finishing it under that of the Duomo at Padua."—pp. 169, 170.

"Oh! that the folly, and pride, and ambition of man should have so confounded and obscured the religion of the Gospel! That mankind should so long, through so many ages, have refused to listen to the glad tidings of salvation, and rejected the promise of unconditional redemption! It is a peculiar character of Popery to keep the eye of its votary fixed on the dead and dying Saviour,—on the horrors of Cavalry,—on the cross,—and on the grave; and to keep back all images which exemplify the triumphs of the God Incarnate,—the annihilation of the condemning power of the Law,—the operations of the Spirit in giving a never-dying nature to the sinner,—and the final destruction of death and the grave! But it would be well, if the Roman Catholic were the only visible church which endeavours to serve her purposes by the images of the charnel-house, or by arousing the old thunders of the law. I speak from my own terrible experience; for had not the instructions which I received in youth, partaken largely of these errors of Popery, I had never fallen into the dreadful snares which, at the time I speak of, had entangled me as a lion caught in a snare of brass."—pp. 226, 227.

At a more advanced stage of the story, one of the Roman Catholic personages exhibits marks of silly superstition; and it is, therefore, announced—

"I felt no inclination to smile at the folly of the abbess, but I could willingly have said, it is such fools as these which make a man ashamed of his profession. And these questions occurred to me;—had I conversed with such a Roman Catholic as this, two years ago, should I have ever renounced my own church:—and are there not fools in the Church of England, also? and what if I have only conversed with the ignorant, and taken my ideas of my own church from such? Here were pregnant inquiries which would intrude themselves."—p. 314.

The evidence, thus adduced, might justify more sharpness of castigation than we are willing to apply. There might also be abundant room for fresh animadversions in the coarse daubs of contrast, with which different forms of religion are delineated;—inflicting more injury, we apprehend, upon the creed which is be-praised, than the creed which is vilified. The Papists first sit for their portrait; and the High-Churchmen, it is to be recollected, are half papists at the least.

"It would be impossible to give an idea of the depraved lives of these poor friars, without entering into details which cannot have a place in these annals. Most of the brethren of the monastery of Cimiés were so low, that had they been with their families they would have probably been labourers or mechanics of the lowest orders, if not absolute paupers;

some of them could hardly read, and their ideas were as grovelling as their habits ; and as to their discourse, it was often coarse in the extreme, and there is no doubt that their associates without doors were of the worst of the people.”—p. 380.

“ The Papist is unsparing in his condemnation of others. It would seem as if it were a pleasure to him to send souls to hell,—he seems to be intimately acquainted with all the secrets of the infernal regions, and can contemplate the eternal tortures of whole nations of his fellow-creatures, not only without pain, but with actual satisfaction.”—p. 237.

But now let us look to the other side of the picture. The hero says of himself, curiously enough, in the first place, “ I *thought* and felt as the most *thoughtless*.” Afterwards it is written :—

“ Henceforward, my reader must cease to think of me as the gay, the insinuating Edmund Etherington, either standing in his own strength to preach that Law of which he had himself broken every precept, even in the simple letter, or shining in imaginary excellence in the assemblies of ladies, many of whom were not ashamed to acknowledge their regard for him, although scarcely solicited so to do ;—but he must behold me all changed and altered, rising with an enfeebled frame from the bed of sickness, and assuming the garb which is worn by the pretendant to the ecclesiastical order in the Papal Church,—viz. a suit of black cloth, which was none of the finest, a white band, a scarf, and a shovel hat ; my hair having been cut close during my illness, and my clothes being fashioned with anything but an air of smartness, or even neatness. Let the reader also contemplate the change of expression wrought in this *their* hero, by the change of mind. A furious zeal had seized possession of my soul, entirely engaging my affections in its cause ; with love turned, as I fancied, into hate, at any rate much despoiled by contempt and anger, and patriotism embittered by the feeling, that all my countrymen were heretics, and that eternal misery was the desert, as well as the sure consequence of their obstinacy.”—pp. 236, 237.

However, towards the end of the volume a very different strain is taken up :—

“ I recommence my narrative with awe, although I know myself to be forgiven through my blessed Redeemer, who has reconciled all mankind to himself,—and me, especially, who am the chief of sinners :—yet there is something most painful and distressing to the mind to find that it is a duty due to society (for such I consider the task which I have laid on myself), to lay open those various steps by which I was led on from one crime to another, until the dreadful catalogue filled my mind with horror, even before there was any reason to think that the light of life had begun to shine thereon, or to reveal its secret places to my spiritual apprehension.”—p. 270.

In conformity with the tone thus assumed, this detestable villain, dismissing all his anxieties, speaks of himself with as much

complacency as if he was already canonized as a saint. He tells us of another character, the most amiable one in the book :—

“ She applied to me this passage, ‘ though he has lain among the pots, shall he be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers of yellow gold.’ Ah blessed Emmeline ! my lost ! my lovely one.”—p. 402.

And of himself he writes :—

“ I made many inquiries on various religious matters, both of Del Sarto and Clifford, and their habit, in reply, was to refer me immediately to Scripture ; and through the divine blessing on these references, my mind opened rapidly, throwing off one prejudice after another, in a manner which I then did not comprehend. The most obstinate of these prejudices, at least those which were most amalgamated with my former feelings, were not those which had been added to me by actual Popery, but which had been imprinted on my infant mind by such residues of Popery as are mixed up with the opinions of the dark members of our Church.

“ Of these errors my first was, that it was dangerous to morality to admit the doctrine of justification by faith alone ; this error had been strengthened in my mind by papists, but it was there from the period of my childhood, even as early as when by the direction of my parents, Mrs. Sermon had made me repeat certain stanzas from good old Dr. Watts’ hymns, which she had not failed to illuminate by comments nearly about as dark, if not more dark, than the text itself : for instance—

‘ Then let me read and pray
Whilst I have life and breath,
Lest I should be cut off to-day
And sent to eternal death.’

“ On this somewhat papistical passage the worthy dame used to hold forth in the words or spirit of that companion of the altar which is often bound up with our liturgy, saying : ‘ Now Master Edmund, you must observe that the benefits and blessings which the Son of God has purchased for us, are nowhere promised but upon condition that we ourselves are first duly qualified for them, &c., &c. ; therefore, in order to to be saved, you must read and pray, and be a good boy and deserve the love of God.’

Could a better foundation have been laid than such lessons as these, often repeated by the *gouvernante*, and as often repeated by the parents, for the superstructure of the great fabric of the papistical doctrine of goods works?—a fabric which is arranged by the infallible Church into an infinitude of little chambers of imagery ; for these good works are divided and classed by her, into interior and exterior actions, productive of merits, performed by those in life—by the Saints in Paradise—by the heretics, and by the heathen, &c., &c., with as many subdivisions of bad actions, such as the mortal, dead, and mortified.

“ From the first false principle wrought into my mind from infancy, how many had branched, I know not ; but this I know, that when a

new life had been imparted to me, through God the Spirit, being hence enabled to receive the instructions of Clifford and Del Sarto, this root of bitterness, namely, dependance on works, was speedily extracted, and all its ramifications perished with itself.

“ Besides this principle, I had, till that period, held a number of horrible and unfounded notions respecting hell, the devil, fire and torments, &c., &c., which had been put into me in my nursery, and been confirmed by my Papistical teachers and books, in Italy. All these in their unscriptural forms totally disappeared when I was brought to see more clearly the work of salvation; and though much yet remained, as it were, dark and unrevealed to me, as to those souls to whom the Saviour has not been made manifest in the present life, yet I was made to see plainly, that much which is often taught in Protestant nurseries, has very little foundation in Scripture, where the work of salvation is declared to be more vast and large, more deep and ample, than man can ever conceive.”—pp. 418—420.

He ends with desiring to have the Liturgy somewhat purged, and a few sentences altered in the services of the Church; and for the rest—

“ I have a wish, if so it could be, when I do settle, to settle in Ireland, where my intimate acquaintance with the subterfuges of popery would render me most useful.”—p. 424.

In Ireland, however, there are already sufficient elements of confusion. Such a gentleman may well be spared.

But enough of this disagreeable and ungracious task. Many will be of opinion that we have already devoted far too much attention to a very insignificant writer, and a very foolish book. And we should ourselves quite agree with them, but from a conviction that the generality of our readers are by no means aware how much of our popular theology is impregnated and poisoned with this pestilential sort of trash; and how necessary it is, if we cannot at once correct and purify, at least to keep a strict watch over the lighter and more fanciful department of religious literature.

It would be a mere waste of time seriously to refute the allegations, which to every mind more fed with information than prejudice, must be self-refuted by their own prodigious absurdity. But we can assure Mrs. Sherwood, that it is painful to behold her plunging about, sadly out of her depth, in waters which she only troubles, and from which she cannot emerge.

Mrs. Sherwood is vehement in her professions of attachment and reverence towards the Church, and affects to deprecate its downfall above all things: but the conduct of her story oftentimes belies her assertions, and may be almost said to weave an argument why the overthrow of the Establishment would be a

desirable consummation:—just as other novel-writers pretend to decry superstition, while they minister to it by the events which they narrate; and tell us to despise omens and auguries, while, somehow or other, they are tolerably sure to make the omens and auguries come true.

The common list of protestant novels, too often rude, incorrect sketches without shadow or perspective, have been long consecrated to the execration and abuse of the Pope and his adherents. So far, our chief objection is, that the cause of Romanism must be ultimately benefited by false or exaggerated charges, the refutation of which appears to many minds as at least half a refutation of other accusations, which are most grievous, and yet most true. But we do complain, we have a right to complain, when the religion of a large portion of the ministers and members of our own establishment is mixed up and identified with Popery, as part and parcel of the same system. Mrs. Sherwood may fill volumes, if she pleases, with her fantastic and ludicrous crudities about the visible and invisible Church; she may prattle about the Fathers, probably without having read a line in any one of them, even in a bad translation, to her heart's content; but when, in the narrowness of understanding not unmingled with an insufferable presumption and self-sufficiency of spirit, she libels and bespatters with unprovoked calumnies the community to which she belongs, and the institutions which she ought to cherish, we might be tempted to indignant remonstrance, but that the power of her writings lags very far behind the perniciousness of her intentions. Mrs. Sherwood, as the title-page informs us, is the author of another volume, similar, we presume, in character to the present. But one such performance amply contents us; we have no curiosity to behold the companion picture; and really we have found *The Monk* so hard of digestion, that we have no stomach for "*The Nun*." Our consolation is, that the assaults upon English orthodoxy, with whatever virulence and pertinacity they are conducted, begin to fail in their effect; or we might indeed pity the unhappy men, whose fortune it is to be pelted upon all sides. *Here*, high-churchmen are themselves represented as papists in disguise; *there*, if any movement, any aggressive demonstration, is made against Popery, an outcry is immediately raised against high-church bigotry, and intolerance, and sanguinary fanaticism.—But we must return to the matter before us, which is, however, only another proof, that the ignorance, prevailing in many quarters as to the internal distinctions of the Church, is still something portentous.

Such works as "*The Monk of Cimini*" may exert no influence at all; or they may have a very noxious effect upon weak, unre-

gulated, and ill-instructed minds; but we cannot conceive how, in any instance, they can possibly do good. Yet these books, we suppose, find a market; or they would not continue to be written. For whom, then, are they intended? by whom are they read? We fear, principally by those on whom they are most calculated to work mischief: namely, young persons, and, in general, young *women*, piously disposed, feeling a kind of pride and satisfaction in the thought that they can take part in religious discussions; dreaming that they are admitted, without farther trouble, by these productions, into the mysteries of theology; but, at the same time, utterly incapable, from many and very obvious reasons, of forming a correct estimate of the points on which they are made arbiters: and so inoculated with views erroneous, unwholesome, uncharitable, while they fancy that they are pursuing their devotional studies; and filled, at last, with the false knowledge which puffeth up, instead of the sound words of reasonableness and truth. Yet a parent, who truly and wisely regards the best interests of his daughter, will not only direct into the proper channels that intellectual ardour which might otherwise become an indiscriminate passion for all sorts of publications; but, we repeat, he will be especially careful what *religious* books he puts into her hands.

On this account we would make a passing reference to another production. Yet "*The Abbess*" may be soon despatched. Mrs. Trollope is a clever writer; but she paints merely for effect; and, to borrow an acute observation, if she does not falsify, she almost always caricatures. The work now before us is on a par in this respect with her sketches of American manners. It is a romance of the old *Schedoni* school. For the principal characters we have a monk, afterwards an abbot, named Isidore, who is a bigot to Popery, and a ruthless villain to boot: who, out of the secret guawings of revenge and jealousy, contrives a hundred schemes of perjury and murder; and, when thwarted and detected in his plots, stabs himself with his dagger, in the charitable hope that, although he cannot destroy his enemies in this life, he shall have the satisfaction of seeing them condemned to penal tortures for ever in the next:—we have a married woman, who, having been forced to become a nun under the most extraordinary circumstances, and by the most irregular means, is next buried alive, or rather bricked up in the wall, for supposed incontinence, and in the night rescued by a young lady and a journeyman carpenter:—we have the abbess herself, who is so celebrated for the strictness of her discipline, that she obtains a marvellous reputation for sanctity with the Pope and cardinals; and all Italy, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, rings with

her praises; yet who is, after all, a Protestant in masquerade;—whose conduct and position are, in our eyes, so equivocal, that they do equal dishonour to Protestantism and Romanism; who is defended by sophisms which might become the mouth of a Jesuit, if Jesuitism were more than all which it has been represented to be; and who, in the end, having abandoned her nuns, and thrown off, we suppose, her conventual attire, becomes a *Lady Geraldine* in England, and lives on as comfortably as if nothing had happened. For the rest, we have some personages subordinate to Isidore, more superstitious, if less diabolical; the usual array of inquisitors and officers of the inquisition; and a pair of lovers, who, after sundry and divers trials, are made happy in marriage, according to the approved receipt for all heroes and heroines of novels. Of such characters, such incidents, and such a catastrophe, we may well be absolved from saying more.

In this case, as in the preceding, we should not have said so much,—we should not have said any thing,—but from a wish to urge upon our generation, that religious feelings, however mistaken, are yet things too sacred to be rendered subsidiary to the art and mystery of *book-making*. There is now a struggle, political even more than religious, between Popery and the Reformed Faith; and, in its progress, the central depths of human emotion are stirred up. But must idle romances be written to take advantage of it: and written, too, with those absurd exaggerations which can only injure the cause of truth; and which may ultimately lead to a re-action, commensurate with the excitement which they at first help to produce? Let error be refuted; let disorder be put down; but, on the other hand, let us have the courage to reprobate all attempts at pandering to that morbid appetite for vulgar hatred and vulgar prejudice, which it is at once a prostitution and a profanation of elegant literature to feed.

We find that we have left ourselves no room for any detailed criticisms on the work of *Charlotte Elizabeth*;—a lady, we understand, whose style has many admirers. She sometimes writes eloquently; but her eloquence is too often disfigured by a straining and vapid affectation. The posthumous essay by Mrs. Bowdler is of a very different stamp. It is plain and sensible; and the more calculated to be useful in its sphere, that it does not soar into heights where it cannot support itself, or lay pretensions to sublimities which it cannot achieve.

And here we must leave the consideration of separate productions. Neither shall we diverge into any wide inquiry with reference to *religious novels and romances*, or to the share which must be ascribed to women upon the whole in *religious literature*.

To these matters we may recur on a future opportunity. But in the first place, and on this occasion, it will be better, we think, to devote the remainder of our space to the preliminary and more general topic, which involves the bias of the female disposition, and the causes which operate upon women in society, as far as religion is concerned.

Now, it appears plain to us, that female religion, in any given country or period, is a *larger quantity* than the religion of men. This fact may be assumed; for all experience and observation confirm it. Many intimations of it are scattered through the classical writers, and along the whole history of Paganism. As to Christianity, not only were women during our Saviour's abode on earth,

“Last at his cross, and earliest at his grave;”

not only in his life-time were they most anxious to catch his words, and touch the hem of his garment; but, after his death, they were devoted in the greatest numbers to the faith which he delivered, sparing no efforts and no sacrifices, never grudging their substance, and seldom shrinking from the pains of martyrdom. On the Continent of Europe, the vast preponderance of female devotion over male may be regarded as a proverb: nor has the new world at all reversed the proportion perceptible in the old. At the present day, too, among ourselves, is there not almost always a numerical superiority of female worshippers in our temples? At confirmation, at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, does not the one sex visibly outnumber the other? In any visiting society, is it not easier to find female visitors than male? In any Sunday school, is it not easier to find female teachers than male?

The reasons, again, are scarcely less obvious than the fact. Women are, *constitutionally*, more prone to religion and religious observances than men. The religious fibre, if we may so speak, is stronger and more sensitive in woman's heart than in man's. The quick and delicate susceptibilities of the female spirit are more open to every holy as to every tender impression. Perhaps, even the weakness of their frames, and the need which they feel of protection and support, render women more disposed to lean upon that aid which is Almighty and Divine.

But, besides the natural temperament, there is, as we have already hinted, *the social condition*. Men have grasped earthly pursuits, and earthly distinctions, for the most part to themselves, by the strong arm of corporeal and mental ascendancy. They have sometimes so monopolized this world, that they seem willing to leave the other world to their sisters in the creation. Women,

on the contrary, have more leisure, and fewer distractions. They see less of the worst parts of human nature ; they are not so much exposed to gross temptations and sordid competitions ; nor have they so often to guard against fraud and malice, and invidious rivalry. The current of female existence runs more within the embankments of home. But home is the centre and the throne of the sanctities, as well as the charities, of life. The duties of a mother, or of the mistress of a family, all tend to piety, by warming and softening the intellect and the affections. Women, therefore, are usually the appointed guardians of domestic religion ; they are removed, at a more salutary distance, from the stirring business, the absorbing interests, and the jarring collisions of mortality ; from the ambitions which engross the heart of man, and the passions which devour it, and the indurating processes which fix upon it, day by day, a thicker and thicker crust of icy selfishness.

These circumstances, too, if they apply to the wives and matrons of a kingdom, are still more applicable to the bereaved and childless widow, or to women who are unmarried, and who have no domestic ties ; "*unattached*," as it were, to the active concerns and obligations of this bustling stage of earth. In the immediate drama, which is hurrying to its catastrophe around them, they have scarcely a part to play. And thus the pulsations of the soul grow faint and sluggish, unless they are quickened and animated by religious hopes and contemplations. Happy, then, are they who, having no business, can make a business of religion. Otherwise, without professional engagements, and without household cares, they have no sufficient object in life—no sufficient aliment for those manifold emotions and capacities which it is a misery to possess and not to exercise. There is nothing to fill up the vacancies of the time, in which there are so many hours to be counted ; or to satisfy the cravings of the heart, in which there are so many feelings to be fed. But there comes a listlessness within—an aching void—an empty, hollow, withering dreariness, which by degrees eats away the spirits, and is, perhaps, the source of the deepest anxieties, which some women are ever doomed to endure. Men, indeed, under the trials and enticements of life, require religion for their restraint ; under its disappointments and afflictions, they require it for their comfort ; but women also need it for the aim and occupation of their being. And if this fact be less observable in the lowest ranks of a community, where poverty almost levels the distinctions of sex, and manual labour must be the lot of all, we cannot fail to discern it in the upper and middle classes, where artificial and conventional regulations, no less than physical differences, shut out

the female part of the population from a diversity of avocations and excitements. Hence they have recourse to devotion, and meditate upon the image of God and the glory of the divine love, even lest their finest sensibilities and their highest powers should be as a pang worn in their bosoms, or else should become dormant, and pine and die for lack of nutriment. In a word, want of employment leads women to religion, as fulness of employment carries men away from it.

Still another reason is, that women are never suffered to be irreligious with impunity. In their case, the shame of impiety is infinitely greater, and the consequences infinitely worse. A woman without religion is a monster. No terrible gorgons, no "chimeras dire," are half so hideous. And this is the universal invariable award of public opinion. Men, who are the most destitute of religion themselves, will hardly tolerate irreligion in the other sex. They feel, if they marry, that a religious woman is a crown to her husband; for this is one of the reluctant homages paid to religion by ungodliness. But that impiety should be entrusted with their honour, and sit at their hearth, and be the instructress of their children, they cannot bear. Hence it is no argument against religion, that there is the largest appearance of it in the weaker portion of the human race. For men are irreligious, not from thought, but from recklessness; in compliance with the wretched impulses of passion and brute lust, and against the better dictates of the reason and conscience. Yet the earthly results, as we have observed, are not exactly the same in man and in woman. Men may have no religion, and yet sometimes maintain an external decency and respectability in the world; but women are too apt to throw away all the checks of virtue and honour, together with those of faith. When women have no religion, as their character is disgraced, so their whole moral being is disordered. And thus, very often, they are driven out, like diseased and spotted animals, from the common pasture of society, and become as examples or warnings to keep others within the pale.

But, again, the circumstances which affect the *quantity* of female religion, affect also its *quality*. It has oftentimes a depth and fervour which the religion of man wants. But oftentimes, on the other hand, it is a thing of impulse rather than reflection. It has its birth and dwelling-place in the senses, the imagination, and the feelings. It is a pious instinct, an enthusiastic sentiment. The education, too, of women, very seldom leads them to religion as a science; there is a glowing attachment rather than a systematic study; and while the misfortune of men is to have theology without devotion, the misfortune of women is to have

devotion without theology. They have, in general, little relish for abstract and argumentative deductions, or for any form of religion which, at most, is coldly and soberly didactic. They require something immediate and individual; something to which the fancy and the affections may cling. Neither Socinianism, therefore, nor Rationalism, has any strong hold upon their minds. But Popery may have a charm for them, because they are captivated with a creed, which addresses itself to the heart through the eye and ear, with pictorial and gorgeous accompaniments of piety, with paintings and images, and floating odours, and the harmonies of sacred music. They are attracted likewise by that other extreme, which in several points, however, touches more nearly upon Romanism than many persons are willing to admit,—with the warm and breathing shapes of (so-called) evangelical Protestantism, where faith becomes a passion, and religion itself is embodied and personified in the human form of a sympathizing Redeemer.

From this rapid analysis there are some corollaries of importance to be drawn. We are taught, in the first place, to look upon the religion of women with the utmost respect. It is a glorious and a majestic, an ennobling and a saving thing. We rejoice at it as one of the most beneficent dispensations of God's Providence, one of the best preservatives against the utter degradation and corruption of a community. It is an almost godlike spectacle to see youthful womanhood surrounded with the lustre of religion, or to behold the matron in her own appropriate sphere of home, shedding around her the purest and most exalted of earthly influences, cradling the infant in holiness, and rendering the nursery of the child a school of virtue, and making the fireside as an altar, and the hearth as a hallowed shrine, whence the incense of habitual piety is wafted up to heaven. Christianity, in bringing out the religious dispositions, develops also the true dignity of woman. God forbid, then, that we, as Christians, should say, in the old dissolute Anacreontic strain, that "Nature has given to woman beauty," as if Providence had given nothing else; as if woman was an inferior being, to be addressed in the language either of frivolous compliment or of absurd and flippant disparagement; or a plaything, to be passionately idolized for some eight or ten seasons, and then flung into the corners of obscurity like a spoilt toy. Women have their proper and peculiar province in the intellectual and spiritual domain. We have always thought, in spite of Milton, that Eve had as much right as Adam to stop and hear the whole of the angel's conversation. And the Bible itself, in the history of Mary and Martha, seems to afford the most beautiful of illustrations, proving to us that it is in the destiny of woman, not merely to be, as in the days of

Paganism, a household drudge, but to sit at the feet of Jesus, and to imbibe the most august truths from the most sacred fountains. We see in her religious aptitude her noblest adornment, and her most transcendent worth; nor is there any diadem of splendid fortune encircling her brow, which can emit a radiance so effulgent as that crown of the female character in which piety and purity are shining together.

It will not, however, be expected of us that we should write in a romantic or sentimental strain. Yet we cannot but add that, while women are on the whole more religious than men, religion never puts on so lovely an aspect as in the person of that sex, in which any semblance of impiety is most frightful. There are who have said, that the pictures of female saints, which the old painters in Popish countries have delighted to pourtray, were at once true to nature, and almost beyond nature, as presenting an ideal image of beauty setting off devotion, and devotion heightening beauty. There are, who even confess that they have seen delineations of the Virgin, which struck them, when in an imaginative mood, as no unfit impersonation of the spirit of religion. These things are suited neither to our personal taste nor to our critical occupation. And yet we have all seen women where the majesty and loveliness of religion seemed as jewels enshrined in no unworthy casket; we may have all learnt to admire the

“*Pulchrior apparet in pulchro corpore virtus;*”

nor is there one moral feature more pleasing in our common humanity than the energy of the fair, the eulogized, and the flattered, devoted to the highest and most sacred objects which can claim the mind and heart of a rational being.

But if there be in women a greater energy of devotion, there are likewise concomitant dangers and inconveniences arising from that energy itself. It is not that we deprecate the exercise of the imaginative faculty:—the imagination, rightly governed, is, we venture to affirm, a vast help in the discovery and attainment of religious truth. It is not that we deprecate the fervour of religious sentiment:—without fervour of sentiment there can be no vital religion. But there is the peril that women may make religion a mere tendency of the heart, in which the understanding has no share; a kind of more exalted love, and more sublimated affection, which, glorious as it is in itself, must degenerate into delusion and enthusiasm, when it is not sufficiently based upon the investigations of the intellect. There is the peril, that women may rest almost too much on the earthly *personality* of the Lord Christ; which is indeed a beautiful distinction of our faith, bring-

ing it home to our senses and our spirits, while it infinitely more than fills the amplest range through which our thoughts can soar; yet which is capable of misleading into practical error all who dwell upon it *alone*, and who are thus habitually removed from the awful contemplation of the ineffable, invisible, and impalpable divinity. Hence women—and men too by the way—highly reputed for their evangelical piety, can speak of their Redeemer in phrases which might better become the mouth of a mere *humanitarian*; and certain hymns can be filled with the repetition of “*dear Jesus*,” “*precious Jesus*,” and absolutely “*erotic*” expressions,—to borrow a word from Bishop Heber, that we should hardly dare to use for ourselves,—which offend and outrage all genuine religion, quite as much as they shock the ear of taste.

“ Then none the cool and prudent teacher prize—
 On him they dote, who wakes their ecstasies ;
 With passions ready prim'd such guide they meet,
 And warm and kindle with th' imparted heat :
 'Tis he, who wakes the nameless strong desire,
 The melting rapture and the glowing fire :
 'Tis he, who pierces deep the tortured breast,
 And stirs the terrors, never more to rest.”

Crabbe's Borough.

But we pass on from a subject on which it must be painful to dwell.

The religious activities of women, when their sphere is rightly understood, who would depreciate? who would circumscribe? Who would speak of them, or think of them, otherwise than with admiration and respect? We might take, for instance, such labours as those of Mrs. Fry in our own country, or the exertions, in other lands, of the *Sisters of Charity*, going among the wounded, the diseased, and even the destitute, covered with rags and filth;—unpolluted, and therefore fearing no pollution;—unwearied in that resolute and healthy benevolence, how different from the sentimental pity of unchristian minds, which can weep abundant tears over a tale of imaginary sorrow, but is apt to sicken and turn away, with a fastidious shudder, at the sight of real, and naked, and festering, and urgent penury. Again, who can fail to esteem the comparative sedulity of women in the attendance upon public worship and the services of the Church, or their ready zeal for the advance of true faith and ardent philanthropy? Not, however, that we mean to applaud that religious dissipation, that *fussy* bustling officiousness, which, in its interior motions, and sometimes in its effects upon the character, is only

too much akin to the busy vanities of frivolity and fashion, by which women who have renounced the excitements of the theatre and the ball-room, compensate themselves by catching, in their stead, at the excitements of the pulpit; and hurry from one popular preacher to another favourite dawning into popularity; and are exhibited at every religious assembly in Exeter Hall or elsewhere, be its object and purpose what it may, stimulated by the feverish enthusiasm of migratory and fiery oratory, and perhaps communicating something of it in return. Female piety may be active, and yet be unobtrusive.

In the same spirit, we can pay our cordial tribute of approval to those works of love which are undertaken by women within the parochial circle, of visiting the poor, relieving the miserable, encouraging the provident and industrious; but we cannot applaud them, when, not content with the offices of religious charity, they are ambitious to bear a direct part in spiritual ministrations. We have known ladies, in more parishes than one, interfering with the appointed pastors, writing letters about the doctrine contained in their sermons, and the subjects which they ought to choose, raising questions calculated to engender strife even by the side of the sick bed, anxious to determine, whether, or not, the sacrament ought to be administered, and whether right views are entertained respecting it; and, in short, so full of their advice and instructions, that young clergymen—curates, with the first blushes of their inexperience about them,—have been sadly perplexed between the politeness which they felt due to the sex, and a wish to assert the proper dignity and authority of their own place and functions. In behalf of gentlemen thrown into this unfortunate predicament, we must take the liberty of saying that, when they are thus troublesome and disputatious, theological or *black-stock*ing ladies are no more likely to benefit the cause of religion than the vulgar tribe of learned or *blue-stock*ing ladies benefits the cause of literature and science.

Do we mean, then, to exclude women from the region of religious literature? Far from it. They are well, and usefully and fitly employed in the *contemplative*, as in the *active* duties of religion. Our generation owes much to the publications of Mrs. Hannah More, Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Carter, and even Mrs. Chapone: and the female heart has been edified and purified by the graceful strains of Mrs. Hemans and Miss Landon, when the harp of the poetess has vibrated to her inward feelings of devotion. Among the manuals of practical piety, several have been written by women, which, if not intrinsically the most valuable, are the best adapted for the improvement of their own sex. In many and important points, female writers

are best able to accommodate themselves to female readers. Their consciousness is their guide; and their sympathies render them persuasive. There is a large field, almost exclusively their own, in productions, addressed to the female heart and springing out of a knowledge of it, based upon female habits, female modes of life, and the peculiar sources of temptation to which women are most exposed. But a woman, who utters only the sharp dissonances of theological polemics, is an instrument horribly out of tune. We no more expect from female lips or female pens the rude accents of controversy, than we expect from a placid river the hoarse rough sounds of an angry tide. Religious acrimony in men is sad enough, and frequent enough; but it jars trebly upon our minds, when it proceeds from those, in whom, as in its chosen habitation, should reside every gentler and kinder emotion; and who have not, and, as they are trained and educated now, actually cannot have, that depth of learning, which alone makes disputation tolerable, or instrumental to any useful end. "Far be it from us and from our friends," as Dr. Johnson has said, to speak treason against that sex, which we sincerely believe to be, on the whole, more virtuous and amiable than ours. But it is not treason, it is not even a slight, to hint that theological knowledge does not come by nature, but must be the result of the same laborious process by which other knowledge is acquired. Women seldom aspire to instruct a merchant in the principles of trade, or a soldier in military tactics; but they are very often anxious to instruct clergymen in divinity. In the soft, the imaginative, the poetical, and even the practical departments of religion, they may be quite at home: and in the more abstruse points of history and doctrine, it may be no shame in them to be ignorant. But it is a shame in them to dogmatize without the requisite instruction. And, really, when ladies strive to bring Christian Ministers into disrepute; when they attack, and in attacking misrepresent, their system of faith and their management of parochial duty, we cannot but ask, where in the world is the utility of this vituperation? Where is the good sense? Where is the good feeling? Will it conduce to truth? Will it conduce to peace? Will it promote brotherly love among the pastors and members of the Church? Will it aid in establishing Christian union and concord? When they, whose business it is, not to irritate, but to soothe and embellish, are bristling up in a rugged asperity; when they would act a part, inconsistent with their place, their education, and the very frame of their physical and mental constitution; when they would dictate in theological mysteries, and usurp the chair of authority, and put on the airs of a divinity professor, we might write pages of censure, but that

there steals over us an involuntary smile, almost less complimentary than the severest and most serious reprehension. It is not in the harmony of things. Why, for instance, must Mrs. Sherwood pretend to arbitrate upon the affairs of the Church, when, in reality, she is just as well qualified to write a Treatise on Conveyancing, or an Essay on Decisions in Equity, or a Digest of the Law of Libel; or to dabble with the whole theory of Codification; although she has never, as far as we know, been called to the bar, or even paid one hundred guineas a single year, for the benefit of reading the newspaper and talking over the gossip of the town, in a special pleader's office.

It may be said, in one view of the case, that practical religion is a matter in which a heart generally pure, and an understanding generally cultivated, can hardly go wrong. But speculative theology, which, in another view, must be sound, in order that practical religion may be healthy,—speculative theology, we must repeat, will never come by feeling, or by instinct. It is the largest branch in the tree of learning; it is a vast, extensive, complicated science; it requires a regular course of study and discipline, before it can be mastered. And ladies, we must take the liberty of observing yet again, can no more become divines, without the requisite training, than they could understand a trade without an apprenticeship; or be fit to plead in a court of justice, without some initiation in the mysteries of the law.

It is, perhaps, a common weakness of humanity, that we are apt to abandon the duties which are incumbent upon us, in order to attempt tasks for which we are incompetent. If women, therefore, as well as men, exhibit signs of this infirmity, the fact ought not to surprise us. Still we may well grieve, although we have no right to wonder.

In fact, it is upon the long-established principle of the *corruptio optimi pessima*, that any perversion of female piety seems to us so altogether lamentable. Religion is so “excellent a thing in woman;” it is, besides, so necessary to the well-being of society, as well as so great an ornament of her individual nature, that whatever deforms or mars it we are tempted to consider and resent as an injury done to mankind.

But here we may be reproached, ourselves, with inconsistency, and perhaps with injustice. We demand, it may be alleged, that women should be religious; and yet we strip them, one by one, of all the constituents of religion. We will not allow them to *reason*; and we will not allow them to *feel*. Our answer is, that we wish them to do *both*; and both in the right order and proportion. We only desire that their feelings should not be so impassioned, as to run away with their reason; and that their

reasoning should not hurry them into those acerbities of controversy, which are unworthy of them, and for which they are unfit. Their very reasonings, we apprehend, are too apt to be a matter of feeling.

For the rest, on this as on other matters, the Bible itself is our best, and surest, and most sufficient guide. We see, in the New Testament,—and the inferences to be drawn from the Old are substantially the same,—that women were fellow-labourers in the cause of Christ, and had their particular parts assigned to them. We see it implied, if not asserted, that in the primitive times, the world could not be Christianized without their co-operation; and we may conclude with certainty, that the Christian philanthropy of any land could not now be well organized, or adequately carried forward, without their inestimable assistance. We see women of experience and unspotted reputation appointed as deaconesses, and therefore called to administrative and distributive offices in the early Church: and we read it as their praise, that “they have brought up children, and relieved the distressed, and been diligently given to every good work.” But we find, too, on the other hand, that their province was for the most part subsidiary; we find submissiveness and docility recommended as their essential and most becoming virtues: we do *not* find them sent out as apostles or missionaries; we find it expressly forbidden, that they should “*usurp authority*,” and expressly commanded that they should “*learn in silence with all subjection*,” and also—forasmuch as that *God is the author not of confusion but of peace*,—that they should “*keep silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted of them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home*.” But if it was then accounted “*a shame for women to speak in the Church*,” if they were not allowed to preach and to teach publicly, it is quite plain from all analogy, that they are not now expected to be the *expounders* of the faith; but that the doctrinal, hermeneutical, and spiritual departments are rather reserved for those, who have been properly authorized and ordained to the vocation. The subject is delicate and almost invidious; and it is difficult to speak upon it without either adulation or offence. Our statements, in fact, must be taken with certain exceptions and limitations; more especially, perhaps, in a country, where a queen may be recognized as the temporal head of the Church, in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, within these her dominions supreme. Still the general deduction is safe and unambiguous; and assuredly it has seldom fared well with Christian truth, when its spiritual direction has been in female hands, and wide cause has there been for

regret, when a land has writhed under the persecutions of a Mary; or a Fenelon has embraced the mysticism of a Madame Guyon; or when a Catherine de Medicis has fostered cruelty, or a Madame de Maintenon superstition; or when, at home, ministers, instead of belonging to the establishment, belong to Lady Huntingdon's connexion; or men have bowed down their understanding before the ravings of Joanna Southcott, or the unintelligible rhapsodies of the female disciples of Irvingism.

The spirit of our observations may be summed up in a few words. A community can never be secure, or prosperous, or at peace, unless the women of it are religious. The religion of a country depends, in a very great measure, on its female inhabitants, and no less, therefore, the happiness and credit of a country. But, on the other hand, we by no means think that a land is likely to be wisest and happiest, where the women give the tone to its religion, and where piety is rather a female than a masculine characteristic. For this evil, if it be one, the real cure is to pour, if we can, over the *manly* intelligence, over the whole *virility* of a kingdom, a devotional spirit, strong, deep, and calm in its deep strength, like the waters of the ocean. At present, the theology of a realm, and most of all the theology of its pulpits, *will* be materially affected by the taste and opinions of the female part of the population; because writers, and still more preachers, will mould their labours so as to please and attract the largest numbers; but the largest numbers will be composed of women. And here, perhaps, is one of the sorest temptations by which young clergymen of talent are beset; the alternative before them sometimes being, either to deteriorate, in their own judgment, the matter and manner of their instructions, or to lose the favour and approbation which would most flatter and delight them, and to see their usefulness apparently diminished in the same ratio with their popularity. Without question, however, it is the solemn duty of all writers and all preachers, to counteract, rather than stimulate to a morbid excess, those dominant peculiarities which, in women, and perhaps also in men, impair the force, and destroy the proportions, of true holiness. It were well, too, if our countrywomen at some period of their education could be regularly taught, and solidly grounded, in the elements at least of Christian theology, not by scraps and fragments, but *as a whole*; if their religious tendencies could be—not checked or stunted—but improved and corrected, and sometimes pruned, by proper cultivation in early life; for then they would hardly be the dupes of such nonsense as Mrs. Sherwood's, or led away by that extravagance of doctrine which always fixes its strongest and most tenacious hold upon ignorance combined with warmth of feeling. In the mean time, we must honestly

wish that they would abstain from dogmatizing upon points upon which it is not their fault that they are not fully acquainted; and would continually bear in mind, that the world contains nothing so beautiful as a woman meekly, humbly, mildly, modestly religious; but few things so disagreeable, and disserviceable to religion itself, as a woman polemically, arrogantly, controversially, disputatiously religious. But we have done. If any should think that our remarks have been made upon an unimportant subject, we entreat them, at the end of this paper as at the beginning, to reflect upon that subject in all its shapes and all its consequences, a little more; for, indeed, how many of our longest arguments and our most eager discussions, are upon matters of incomparably less moment! And if any should object that the language of remonstrance or apprehension was altogether uncalled for, we need only refer them to Mrs. Sherwood's publication: and if that lady is dissatisfied, her dissatisfaction ought to rest with herself; since she will owe her exposure, not to any criminatory strictures on our part, half so much as to the extracts fairly taken from her own volume.

ART. III.—1. *Nicholas Orlandini's Historia Societatis Jesu. Continued by Sachini.**

2. *Poynder's History of the Jesuits.* 2 vols. Baldwin.

MUCH has been written in favour of and against the Jesuits, but more generally against them: the many works upon this subject

* Orlandini (Nicolas) *Historia Societatis Jesus*, pars prima, Rome, 1615; Antwerp, 1620. This volume contains the Life of St. Ignatius, divided into six books.

Sachini (Francis), who undertook to continue the history of the Society, was the editor of the first volume, to which he added a short Memoir of Orlandini, and a table of the contents.

The second volume contains the Life of J. Laynez, Antwerp, 1620;—the third, the Life of Francis Borgia, Rome, 1649; the fourth, that of Everard (Mercuriano), Rome, 1652; and the fifth, that of Claude Acquaviva, *ibid.* 1661. Sachini dying before he finished the Life of Acquaviva, Father Pierre Pepin was deputed to complete and publish it. A sixth volume, edited by Father Jouvanci, appeared at Rome in 1710, which contains the chief proceedings of the Society between 1591 and 1616; and in 1760, a seventh volume was published by P. Jules Cordaxa, which takes in a portion of the seventeenth century. The Collection is scarce, and sought after. It is difficult to procure it complete, especially in France, on account of the suppression of Jouvanci's volume; which was ordered to be destroyed by the Parliament of Paris, on the 22d Feb. and 24th March 1713, in consequence of its praising Father Guignard, who was condemned to death, for having carried on a secret intercourse with Jean Chatel, one of the murderers of Henry IV.

Books of reference.

Economies Royales of Sully, vol. 3, ch. xxx.

First and Second Report on the Constitution of the Jesuits, par La Chatale, Solicitor General of the Parliament in Brittany, 1761.

Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther, which received a prize from the French Institute in 1802 (Charles de Villers was the author).

Critical History of the Inquisition in Spain, by Llorenti, 1820. Paris.

alone, would in themselves form no inconsiderable library; but, of these, how few are there in which we do not find the opinions of the author more or less influenced by passion or prejudice; and if, on the one hand, a blind and interested enthusiasm has alone prompted the defence, it cannot be denied that, on the other, the attack has but too often betrayed the workings of party spirit, if not the rancour of actual hate.

We are now, perhaps, arrived at a period the most opportune for offering a just and impartial opinion upon the character of this celebrated Order. Its mischievous and intriguing influence, less powerful in the affairs of government at the present day, has ceased to be an object of alarm or inquietude to those who once dreaded its power, and we are now at liberty to judge and pronounce freely on the merits of this Institution; although the period of its ascendancy is not yet so far remote as would justify perfect indifference to it. Viewed as a matter of history, and with respect to the part it has played in the great drama of human life, the principles and objects of this body may now be examined with that degree of interest and impartiality, without which it is impossible duly to appreciate, or rightly to understand, the events of the past.

Though admitting to the fullest extent the merits of the work before us, and of many others on this subject, still we may venture to affirm, that an impartial and faithful account of the character and origin of this Order is yet to be written.

The establishment of the Jesuits takes its date from the middle of the 16th century. Following, with an interval of a very few years, the promulgation of the tenets of Luther and his followers, this great Romanist institution increased with the rise of Protestantism, the rapid progress of which kept pace with the most brilliant epoch of its annals. The historians of this body remark, with a sort of satisfaction, that the Bull which admitted their own order within the pale of the Church, was issued in the same year in which England detached herself from the Papal supremacy; as if, say they, Providence had vouchsafed to provide ample compensation to its servants for so great a disaster.

Still more struck by this coincidence, the Protestant historians seem to regard the establishment of the Jesuits as the most pow-

Political Portrait of the Popes, since the establishment of the Holy See, by the same. History of Paris, by Dulaize, 1820.

Historical Essay on the Temporal Power of the Popes, and the abuse they have made of their Spiritual Power, by Dannon, Keeper of the Archives of the Kingdom. 4th edit. in folio. 1822.

Petition of Count Montlosier to the Chamber of Paris, relatively to the establishment of the Jesuits, and referred, on the Report of Count Portalis, to the Minister of the Interior, by a majority of 113 to 73, in 1827.

History of the Conquest of England by the Normans, 4th edit. vol. 4, pages 280, by Augustus Thierry, 1830.

erful obstacle that the Holy See opposed to the progress of the Reformation. One of them* goes so far as to say “that the Reformation would have been established without a struggle, if it had not been so closely followed by the Order of Jesuits, and that had it (that is, Protestantism) been preceded by that Institution, it would never have triumphed.”

This homage is indeed flattering, but it would be repudiated by the pure and sublime spirit of Christianity, if it were not already so by history itself. There is no doubt that the Jesuits were set up chiefly for the purpose of succouring the cause of the tottering Papacy; and hence, from the moment of their appearance in the Christian world, they were the natural enemies of the new doctrines; but in serving the Roman-Catholic Church with a zeal and display of resources, which we must admit to be incomparable, it remains to be seen how far they have compromised it, by the divisions which they have sown in its bosom, and the innumerable incentives which they have furnished to the Reformers to attack, at various times, its policy and doctrines. All things considered, we are not aware that much gratitude is due to them for their services to the Holy See.

It is still more questionable whether their existence at an earlier period would have prevented the revolution of the 16th century from taking place; it is precisely because they were instituted after its commencement that they were enabled to combat it upon somewhat equal terms. The fact is, that the Jesuits must be viewed in connexion with the spiritual wants and religious ideas of the age, to the influence of which they owed their origin and development; and of this truth we find ample confirmation, not only in the works of Orlandini and Sachini, but in all which treat of the subject.

The following is the account of their origin given by Orlandini.

On the 15th August, 1534, the day of the Assumption, seven students of the University of Paris bend their way towards Montmartre, then a solitary and retired place, occupied only by a convent of nuns. On their arrival, the eldest of them, a priest, says mass in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and at the moment of turning towards his kneeling brethren, holding in his hands the celestial nourishment which he was preparing to divide among them, they all entered into a solemn vow. This vow was nothing less than to renounce the world, to live henceforth in perpetual chastity and poverty, not to profit by the celebration of the Divine mysteries, to go to Jerusalem with the permission of the Holy See, to employ themselves there without intermission in the consolation of the Christians of the East, and in the conver-

* Allgemeine Geschichte, &c. &c. Histoire générale et chronologique de l'Eglise Chrétienne, par H. P. C. Henke, 4th edit. Brunswick, vol. iii. p. 198.

sion of unbelievers; and in case they should not be able to carry into execution this project, by any obstacle independent of their own will, they agreed to go to Rome and offer their services to the Pope, by placing themselves at his entire disposal. Mass being ended, they returned thanks to the Divine Majesty, partook of the refreshments which they had brought with them, and passed the remainder of the day in pious communion, seating themselves near the fountain in which, according to an old tradition, Saint Denis had washed his hands, with the blood dripping from his head, which he had carried as far as the spot which still bears his name. At sunset they regained their homes, blessing God, and full of unspeakable happiness.

But there is one among them especially whose heart bounds with joy, for he had just laid the foundation of that religious Order, the thought of which has for a long time agitated and absorbed him. At last, he sees the first stone of the edifice placed, and the fervour of his zeal and the conviction of his own inspiration forbid him to doubt of the result. Here, then, behold the successor of St. Benoit and St. Francis, in the person of Ignatius de Loyola, who has now united with him six adherents devoted to this great project.

Born in 1491, in that part of the province of Biscay called Guipuscoa, Ignatius belonged to a noble family; his father, Don Bertram, Lord of Oguez and Loyola, was in the first rank of the nobility of the country. From being page to king Ferdinand, young Ignatius afterwards entered the army, and distinguished himself at once by his courage and his excessive love of glory and worldly pleasures. In 1521, when he was more than ever devoted to these pursuits, and in love with a lady of the Court of Castile, he was wounded in the right leg by a cannon-ball at Pampeluna, then besieged by the French. In allusion to this circumstance, one of his thirty-two historians relates the following saying of his: "That he could not understand how it was possible to live without a lofty ambition, or be happy without a great attachment."

This wound, which terminated his military career, gave rise to his new and spiritual mission. Condemned to an unwilling leisure, Ignatius asked for books in order to dissipate his *ennui*, particularly books of chivalry; but none except works on devotion were to be found in the castle of Loyola, where he had been removed on account of his wound, and they brought him one of these, the "*Flower of the Saints*."

This sacred romance, its religious paladins, their holy prowess, the miracles which they performed, all filled him with an admiration almost equal to that which he had heretofore felt for knighthood alone.

Stimulated by their example, he soon felt a desire to emulate these holy saints whose sublime virtues spoke so vividly to his imagination. He was particularly seduced by the glory of those who had been the founders of some illustrious order. Bruno Dominick, and Francois d'Assise, were his favourite heroes. With the desire therefore of treading in their steps, he projected a journey barefoot to the Holy Land. It was to Montserrat that he bent his way. One day having entered the Church of this celebrated monastery, he recollected having read in *Amadis de Gaule*, that the candidates for the Order of Chivalry watched their arms a whole night prior to their being received, which was called *watching the armour*. This gave him the idea of converting a profane ceremony into a holy custom. He remained, therefore, the whole night before the altar of the Virgin, at times standing, then kneeling, always praying, devoting himself to Jesus and Mary as their *chevalier*. From Montserrat he went to Maurèze, and from thence to Italy and Palestine, from whence he was sent back by the provincial of the order of St. Francis, who had the direction of the pilgrims. We shall not follow him to these several places, nor to the different cities and universities which he visited. But having returned to Spain in 1524, he resolved to commence his studies at the age of thirty-three.

He rendered himself everywhere an object of suspicion by the eccentricity of his conduct; and by an incorrigible mania for catechising others, he drew upon himself, on several occasions, the vigilant eye of the Inquisition, and was twice imprisoned in its dungeons.

This first part of his history, full of pious extravagancies and of severe mortifications, of visions and of extacies, seems to give the indication of a weak or unsound mind, rather than that of a man whom posterity, always just, will allow to have possessed some eminent qualities.

It was only at Paris, however, that he met with real patrons and ardent disciples, and he appears to have gone there for the purpose of completing his studies, disgusted no doubt with the broils and dissensions he had encountered in the universities of Spain, and the little progress he had made in them.

By degrees the idea of becoming the parent of a new religious order took possession of his imagination. It had already suggested to him, that it was not merely his own perfectibility that God required of him, but also that of his fellow-creatures; and that his whole life, and the employment of all his powers, should be subservient to this glorious end. It was under the influence of this idea that he composed, or rather sketched, at Maurèze, his *Exercices Spirituels*, which are not simply, according to Boursiers, a collection of plain Christian meditations, but a useful and practicable plan for the reformation of manners and for

the conversion of sinners. These exercises were his usual means of proselytism and incorporation; they served for the same purpose after his death, and form a part of the system of trials which are preliminary to admission to the society. But Ignatius employed more powerful charms to attract disciples. He did not fear to have recourse to stratagem, and when he had once succeeded in making converts, he understood the art of retaining them quite as well as he did that of attracting them. With this view, he exerted himself to establish among them habits of confidence and familiarity. They not only studied and prayed together under his direction, but he assembled them, sometimes at the house of one, and sometimes at that of another, to take part in conversations on pious and even literary subjects. They often also took their meals together.*

Nor was this all: as soon as he was assured of the devotedness and good wishes of the first half-dozen, he sought to bind them together for ever by irrevocable vows. This was the first obligation, the very foundation of the society, of which we know already, the scene, the date, and the details. The names of the new proselytes deserve to be mentioned. They were Pierre Lefevre, of the country of Savoy, and a learned disciple of the school of Aristotle, who, previously to his being the companion of Ignatius, had been tutor at the College of St. Barbe (at Paris)—and had been just ordained a priest;—François Xavier, of an illustrious family of Navarre, who was already animated with that generous ardour for spiritual conquest which had obtained for him the glorious title of the Apostle of the New World;—Jacques Laynez de Sequença, and Alphonso Salmeron de Toledo, young Castilians united together by the ties of friendship, and both of them gifted with great genius; the former a subtle theologian, whose ultramontane opinions were to be the symbol of the society, and so profound a politician, that the plan and the constitution of the order which he governed after Loyola, have been considered by many as his work; and the latter, the most skilful and the deepest read of all of them in the literature of Greece and Rome. The fifth was Nicholas Bobadilla, who was filled with apostolic fervour, but of an impetuosity which savoured of imprudence; and the sixth Simon Rodriguez, of Portugal, a model of every Christian virtue.

After the vow at Montmartre, Ignatius wished to leave his companions two years in Paris, in order that they might pursue their studies. Being himself obliged to return to Spain on account of the state of his health, and in order to arrange some matters of business, he left Paris in 1535, with the intention of rejoining them at Venice in the month of February, 1537. From thence their design was

* "*Nec deerant frequentes prandiorum invitationes.*"—Orland, p. 21, tom. i.

to embark together for the Holy Land, and in case any obstacle prevented it, they were to wait a year for an opportunity of undertaking the voyage. In quitting them, he left the new-born society under the direction of Pierre Lefevre, who augmented it, during his absence, by the addition of Jean Codoure of the diocese of Geneva, and Pasquier Brouet of Embrun. Claude Lejay had already preceded them in it. These nine companions of Ignatius reached Venice by Lorraine and Germany. The occupation of the southern provinces by the French and Spanish troops, then at war on account of the Milanese territory, had obliged them to take that route. They travelled on foot as pilgrims, loaded with provisions and books, and clothed in the most humble attire, but in the costume commonly worn by the students of the University of Paris, to which they belonged.*

On reaching Venice in the month of January, 1537, Lefevre and his companions found Ignatius already there. He had employed himself without intermission, in increasing the number of his disciples, friends, and patrons. Foreseeing that they would not yet be able to set sail for Palestine, they gave themselves up to works of charity, and the practice of mortifications. Soon after reaching Rome, finding that the league which at this period was concluded between the Emperor, the Republic of Venice and the Holy See against the Turks, still delayed their voyage to Jerusalem, they adopted the plan of distributing themselves among the several cities and towns of Italy, for the purpose of preaching, choosing in preference those in which there were the most universities and the greatest number of students, such as Bologna, Sienna, Ferrara, and Padua. In these various places they neglected nothing which could attract the attention and conciliate the favour of the public, every where displaying the greatest activity and ambition. The year 1537 having been spent in these exertions, Ignatius and his companions abandoned their previous intention of sailing for Palestine, and resolved to accomplish the last part of the vow of Montmartre, by proceeding to Rome and placing themselves at the disposal of the Pope.

The intention of Ignatius was to arrive the first at Rome, accompanied only by Laynez and Lefevre, whilst the others were to reach it by other routes. Before separating, they agreed to observe certain rules, which form the first sketch of the constitution and discipline of the order; and these are for the most part neither orations, nor forms of prayer, nor pious exercises, but rather an epitome of those precepts which they enjoined themselves to observe in their intercourse with the world. It was then that they first took the name of Jesuits. They debated among

* "*Pauperi plebeioque cultu, sed tamen oblongo, ut inter Parisienses mos est academicos.*"—Orland. p. 21.

themselves what answer they should give to those who should ask them who they were, and to what order they belonged? They agreed that there was no one among them worthy to give his name to the society of which they contemplated the establishment; and their main object being to combat heresy under the banners of Jesus Christ, it was suggested to them by Ignatius that they could not adopt a better denomination than that of the Society of Jesus.*

At Rome, while Laynez and Lefevre taught the belles-lettres in the public schools, Ignatius devoted himself entirely to the means of definitively founding his institution. With this intention, he summoned all his companions at the end of Lent, 1538, and announced to them that the day had at length arrived for them to incorporate themselves as an improved religious order, or, as it was then called, *en religion*, and he proposed to them to discuss its fundamental rules.

As they were occupied during the day in works of piety, they deliberated during the night. Orlandini enters into some interesting details respecting their deliberations. It appears that the greatest freedom prevailed in their discussions: frequently opinions, differing greatly from those first proposed, were finally adopted. The first point discussed by them was, whether each in his particular mission should be guided by his own views, or should be obliged to act in concert or co-operation with the general body. They agreed to the latter, because in order to obtain great results, nothing is more powerful than harmony of opinion.† They next took into consideration whether it would not be advisable, to the vows of *poverty* and *chastity*, to add a third, that of *obedience*; and whether they ought not to have a superior chosen from the society, armed with absolute power. Should they agree to this, the constitution of the society would be completely changed, for they had hitherto lived without any obligatory rule or acknowledged chief. They therefore thought it better to divide this important discussion into two parts, the first of which should be devoted to the development of all those principles that should induce them to retain the liberty of acting, which they had hitherto enjoyed; and the second to the advantages of obedience. The debate lasted several days, and it was not till after a minute examination of both questions, that they adopted that of an implicit obedience to the will of a chief. They also resolved that his powers should be conferred for life, and not for a limited term, as they at first intended. On another occasion they agreed that beside the three vows already mentioned, and which were common to other religious societies, they should

* Orlandini and Bouhours.

† "Præsertim quod ad res arduas præclarasque molendas nihil esset animorum conspiratione præstantius,"—Orland. liv. xi. p. 40.

adopt one peculiar to their institution, namely, to go wherever the Pope should send them for the salvation of souls, and without any remuneration, *nullo postulato viatico*. They further determined that it would not be a breach of their vow of poverty, to limit it to the *professés*, or the houses where they might reside. It was not, therefore, to extend to the establishments which they should found, as well for the instruction of members of their own order as for youth in general.

The only remaining difficulty was to obtain the consent of the Pope; for they were aware that without the approval and sanction of the Holy See, the existence of the institution would be precarious, and without any real influence. Ignatius therefore decided upon presenting the plan of his order to Paul III., through the medium of Cardinal Gaspard Contarini. In reading it, the Pope is said to have cried out, "The finger of God is here" (*Digitus Dei hic est*). From this day dated the affiliation of the order to the interests of the popedom; for though the approval did not immediately follow, and the summary of the principles presented by Ignatius was referred to three cardinals with instructions to examine them, Paul did not scruple to act from this moment as if the company had had a recognized existence, but in such a way as to avoid taking all the responsibility on himself. In fact he surrounded himself with all the members of the order, giving to them various and important missions, some of which were of a purely political character. Such were those of Nicholas Bobadilla to the Island of Ischia, where he was to conciliate the principal men of the country who hated each other; and of Laynez and Lefevre, who were ordered to attend Cardinal St. Auge in his legation to Parma.

At the request of John the Third, King of Portugal, Ignatius appointed Francis Xavier, who was then discharging the duties of secretary to the society, and Simon Rodriguez, to proceed to the provinces in the East Indies newly conquered by this sovereign, in order to convert them to the Christian faith. Simon Rodriguez, being detained in Portugal, laid there the foundation of the power of the Jesuits, in which country they made a more rapid progress than in any other since their origin. A year had scarcely elapsed before they had a college at Coimbra, the first they possessed, and which was soon so richly endowed as to enable them to maintain two hundred students.

In the meantime the Cardinals, to whom Paul the Third had referred the plan of the institution submitted to him by Ignatius, and who were at first of opinion, according to the suggestion of one of them, (Barthelemy Guidiccioni,) that a new religious order, whatever it might be, was useless to the Church, began to relax a little in their opposition. Guidiccioni afterwards himself felt the

necessity of a corporation specially destined to check the course of the heresies which now began to spread throughout Europe; and at last appeared the bull, "*Bigemini militantis ecclesiæ*," of the 27th September, 1540, which authorized the constitution of the Society without any alteration, excepting an additional clause, which limited the number of its members to sixty.

Having thus obtained the sanction of the Pope to the establishment of their Order, they next turned their thoughts towards the election of a chief. A general meeting of all the members then resident in Italy was called for the occasion. Those present, six in number, namely, Ignatius, Laynez, Salmeron, Pasquier, Codoure, and Lejay, signified their choice in writing. Rodriguez, Xavier, Lefevre, being at the time in Germany, had left their votes sealed, as also Bobadilla, who was detained at Ischia by an order from the Pope. These several suffrages, being thrown into an urn, were found, with the exception of his own, to be in favour of Ignatius.

Before their departure, the new chief and his companions now become his servants, wished to renew publicly their profession on Easter day, 1541, at the altar of the Holy Virgin in the church of Saint Paul: he alone engaging himself personally to the Pope, and the others only through him to whom they directly pledged their fidelity. This being accomplished, they again set out for their respective destinations. Ignatius and Laynez remained, however, at Rome to employ themselves in the general affairs of the society; but the latter was soon sent to Venice by the Holy Father. Before setting out, he left to the care of his superiors the spiritual direction of Marguerite of Austria;* and thus we find already in the possession of this yet scarcely formed society the consciences of princes and princesses.

In 1642 the apostolic excursions of this society had considerably increased. They were, certainly, not all successful. We find, indeed, that they had many difficulties to surmount: it is remarkable, moreover, that the Jesuits never established themselves any where without meeting with great resistance and having to overcome many struggles. Even at Rome, notwithstanding the favour of the Pope, they were under the necessity of justifying themselves more than once against very grave accusations, and in many other places too, besides the violent commotions which broke out against them at Venice, in France, and even in Spain. Yet every thing was done by Ignatius, in order that his disciples should make as few enemies as possible in their mission. Orlandini relates minutely the instructions which he gave to Salmeron and Jasquier on their departure for Ireland, to which country they were dispatched as Nuncios. He exhorts them to be dignified, moderate,

* "*Margaritæ Austriacæ cura Ignatio relicta.*"—Orland. liv. 11, p. 40.

and sober in their conversation ; and above all, to be concise in their answers, and to listen with indefatigable patience. He enjoins them to imitate the apostle who was “all things to all men,” (*qui omnibus fiebat omnia*), and to conform themselves as much as possible to the manners and tastes of every one, rivalling in energy the most vehement, and in gravity the most circumspect.

As soon as Ignatius was chosen General, he took upon himself to write the statutes of the society, an abridgment of which he had presented to the Pope. He applied himself to this task with such zeal and ardour, that although the greater part of his time was taken up in works of charity, which he unceasingly practised, they were completed before the end of 1541. We shall only state their principal features. The essential object of the Society is already known—the salvation and perfection of its members by means of prayer and other acts of piety, and that of their fellow brethren by means of public preaching, the conversion of heretics and unbelievers, the guidance of faith, and the gratuitous instruction of youth. This last means is regarded as the most powerful. It is also known that every Jesuit is expressly interdicted from receiving any emolument for exercising any of the duties of his sacred ministry. He is equally forbidden not only to seek for ecclesiastical dignities, but even to accept them, unless by an express and formal order from his general. To avoid raillery or remark, and that they may have easier access in all places, the costume of the order is the same as the ordinary ecclesiastical one; and to avoid loss of time, its members are neither subject to the austerities, nor bound to the particular exercises of the other religious orders, nor even to the ordinary prayers and the usual services of the choir.

The principal requisites for reception into the Society are a good temper and disposition, a robust frame, an agreeable address, and courteous manners. Without these qualifications, nobility and the advantages of riches are held in no account. The simple circumstance of having worn even for a day the habit of a hermit or monk is a sufficient ground for exclusion. Every candidate, deemed in other respects eligible for the institution, is not admitted till after replying to the question whether he is willing to report to his superiors the conduct of his brethren, and to allow of the same principle being applied to himself.

The noviciate, properly so called, lasts two years, which is to be devoted to piety and spiritual works. The two years being complete, the novice makes a preparatory, though not solemn profession, of the three vows, to which the public is admitted, after which he is received into the class of approved scholars, and com-

mences a course of studies necessary for an accomplished Jesuit, in which is comprized the knowledge of languages, poetry, rhetoric, theology, ecclesiastical history, and the holy Scriptures. Another species of noviciate follows prior to promotion to the superior degree, which is of a year's duration, and is entirely consecrated to spiritual exercises.

The Society is divided into four classes or degrees—the approved scholars, the spiritual or temporal coadjutors, the professed disciples of the three, and those of the four vows. The professed brethren are absolutely and solemnly bound to the Society, and differ from the spiritual coadjutors, whose vows are simple like those of the scholars. The latter are besides exempt from certain peculiar promises which are required only from the professed disciples, such, for instance, as not to accept of titles or prelacy without the direct order of the superior. But the professors of the four vows are the chief pillars of the society, as they are called by Suarès,* or, its bones and sinews, according to the expression of Sachini.† These, in fact, form the society. They alone deliberate in all the convocations,—they alone can perform the highest duties of the order,—they alone are the electors of, and eligible to, the supreme dignity of General.

The approved scholars differ from the spiritual coadjutors, inasmuch as they are not irrevocably joined to the Society;—though the former may have contracted engagements towards it, the Society are not compelled to accept them, but have the power of releasing them from their obligation.

For this reason they are left the ownership of their property, though they are deprived of the use of it. The time of remaining in the class of approved scholars, or in any other, is not limited, but depends upon the will of the Superior. The temporal coadjutors are limited to a formal co-operation, and their rank in the society corresponds with that of brothers in other communities.

The constitution of the Society is that of an absolute monarchy. The chief, under the name of Superior General, has an unlimited controul. The obedience due to him is entire. He has the power of making new laws and dispensing with the old ones; his opinion decides any doubts as to the tenor of the constitutive laws; he receives into the order, or expels from it, whomever he chooses; he distributes degrees, and nominates to all the appointments; he convokes the general meetings, and presides at them, and he has a double vote. He is, in a word, the centre and pivot of the Society. His will is the sovereign disposer of the wills of the general body; and in order that it may act as ju-

* "*Columnæ et fundamenta.*"—*De Rel. Soc.* l. vii. c. 2, § 7.

† "*Ossa ac nervi.*"—*Hist. Soc. J.* part 11, l. 1, n. 20, p. 3.

diciously as energetically, every measure is taken for informing him of all that takes place both in and out of the order. Even the consciences of the others may be scrutinized by him without opposition and without reserve whenever he requires it. Accounts are sent to him regularly from each province as to the age of each of his subjects, his natural abilities, his advancement in literature and in morals, and his defects, of whatever character they may be.

This powerful monarch is elected by the whole Society, assembled in general convocation.

The qualities required by the constitution of the order to the promotion of a chief are such, that in reading them we are forced to agree with M. de Monclar, that it is "not so much the portrait of a regular superior as that of the chief of a nation destined to conquer the world."*

Nevertheless, a despotism so absolute is not without some guards, calculated, it is true, not to limit it, but to afford a prompt and efficacious remedy against any excesses capable of essentially compromising the Society. Thus the four ministers, nominated assistants, and chosen by the company to assist the general in his functions, can, in very serious cases, convoke an assembly, which may formally depose him, or even they might depose him themselves, after having taken by letter the suffrages of the provinces.

Such then are these celebrated statutes, so justly admired as *chef-d'œuvres* of politics and human knowledge!! But it is not by such a short and incomplete account that one can justly appreciate them, for the wonderful ability they discover depends chiefly upon the number and the harmony of their minute combinations, tending all to the same end. The compilation of them by Ignatius has been doubted, but we do not think with reason. That he may have been assisted by his first companions, and in particular by Laynez and Salmeron, the historians of the Society are ready to admit; it is also certain that they have been more than once modified by the convocations or general assemblies of the order, who, in so doing, have only exercised their rights.

On the death of Ignatius the letters of convocation, addressed by Laynez in his function of vicar-general to all the members, enjoining them to repair to Rome to appoint a successor, signified at the same time that they should review his statutes with a view to their amendment. They had, however, been already promulgated and translated at this period; but Ignatius, who always aimed at expediency, (*qui semper id spectabat quod maximè ex-*

* Plaidoyer de M. Ripert de Monclar, procureur-général du roi au parlement de Provence, dans l'affaire des soi-disans Jésuites, page 111.

pediret,) preferring, to his own opinion, to have the authority of those who should be the first to bring his rules into practice, had desired that they should not be definitively settled until the entire Society, which had already benefited by the fruits of experience, should have approved them in a general assembly;* and the first meeting was not the only one which availed itself of the opportunity afforded by the founder for amending his work.

The constitution was also considerably improved by the addition annexed to each chapter of the statutes by his successor.

At the commencement of 1543, Ignatius obtained the repeal of the clause which limited to sixty the number of professed brethren. He was not, however, in reality much embarrassed by it; for since the establishment of the company, Antoine Arnos was the only one who had been raised to that rank.

About this period Laynez was commissioned to negotiate the marriage of the princess Mary of Portugal with Philip II., son of Charles the Fifth.

Having succeeded in this object, he was engaged to accompany the new queen to Spain, where, availing himself of the influence and power which the mission gave him, he succeeded in introducing the Society into the Castilian states. This circumstance became at a later period of great importance, if it be true that to it may be ascribed the extraordinary attachment of the Jesuits to the house of Austria.†

The society obtained another triumph at the opening of the Council of Trent. Not only was Laynez recalled to Rome to give his opinion on this momentous affair; but the Pope sent him there with Salmeron in the capacity of his theologian. Both of them assuredly were very young for a mission of this importance, being scarcely thirty years of age: accordingly Ignatius, distrusting their youth, which he took to be naturally inclined to applause and glory,‡ gave them suitable advice respecting their behaviour in that august assembly; as, for instance, never to mention in the discussions the opinions of any living individual. On their arrival at the council, the two Jesuits exhibited a deportment, the character of which was certainly not that of evangelical simplicity nor modesty. Laynez requested and obtained permission to speak last on the several propositions which were discussed:

* "Tamen Ignatius, qui semper id spectabat quod maximè expediret, malebat posteris opportunitate utentium, quam auctoritate sua sanitas leges relinquere, voluerat omnino ratas haberi priusquam eas experimenti secuta prerogativam Societas communi suffragio comprobaret."—Sacchini, pars 11, l. 1, no. 24, p. 4

† *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 4 vol. Soleure, 1740, vol. 11, liv. 11, p. 61.

‡ "Patrum virides spectabat annos, pronos ad plausus, procliviores ad gloriam."—Orlandini, pars 1, liv. v. n. 22, p. 110.

“a glorious humility,” says Orlandini, “and which was not without its advantages,” (*nec non inopportuna*,) he adds with a sort of *naïveté*, “for it gave this erudite man the opportunity of displaying the immense resources of his talents, which enabled him to bring forth fresh arguments on the most worn-out subjects.” Salmeron, on the contrary, spoke first, inasmuch as he understood better the exposition than the profound discussion of a difficult point. They soon became the ardent champions of the extreme pretensions of the Holy See, as well as of the most flagrant abuses of the church, upon which points some bishops were disposed to yield somewhat to the demands of the Reformers: but Ignatius had instructed them formally to resist any concession, even should it appear to them the most reasonable.

It is thus that upon all points the character of the Society appeared in its full vigour. Its policy, its ethics, its theology seemed born with it. It can safely be said that in this respect it had no infancy, and, consequently, neither its weakness nor its innocence. It started at once into maturity; and what seemed to indicate infancy, such as its marked inclination to superstition, was its condition to the last, whether from a sincere credulity or as a matter of calculation.

The Society made continual progress up to the death of Ignatius, always by the influence of the same means, and the display of the same activity. It is, indeed, very difficult to follow up the measures and excursions of this handful of priests throughout the whole of Europe, which they perambulated in all directions. They even extended themselves to the New World, in which they converted nations with as much facility as others visited them; and time, which appears so long when unemployed, seemed to fail them for the furtherance of their exertions. Ignatius was the only one who habitually resided at Rome, with the fathers who attended to the care of the establishment in that city. He was incessantly occupied with them in spiritual works and the general direction of the affairs of the Society. In his more advanced age he was obliged to confide a great part of his duties to Jerome Nadal. A short time before his death, which happened in 1556, feeling himself in more than an ordinary state of weakness, he dictated to his secretary his last wishes on the duty of obedience, which he considered the soul of the Society. In his memorable epistle written to his Portuguese disciples on the occasion of some differences which had unexpectedly arisen among them, he had already laid down, that obedience was the peculiar and special virtue of a Jesuit; that he might allow himself to be surpassed by other religious orders in fasting, watching, or other austerities; but for submission to his superiors he ought not to allow any to equal

him. But it is in his last instructions, delivered on his death-bed, that he has bequeathed to his disciples those celebrated similes which have so frequently been employed as weapons against the Society, in which he lays down that every member of it should consider himself as soft wax which takes any impression, as a dead body which has of itself no motion, or as the staff used by the old man which he takes or leaves according as it suits him.*

At the time when Laynez assumed the government of the Society, it was composed of about a thousand persons, thirty-five only of whom had been promoted to the rank of professed brethren, not including the five fathers, the survivors of the ten original companions of Ignatius. These thousand Jesuits were dispersed among nearly a hundred localities, divided over twelve provinces, nine of which were in Europe, viz. Italy, Sicily, Germany and the Low Countries, France, Arragon, Castile, Andalusia, and Lusitania or Portugal; three out of Europe, the Brazils, Ethiopia, and India. The most flourishing of the twelve provinces was Italy under the administration of Laynez, and Portugal under that of Turriannus. The last, with the three provinces of Spain, and those of Asia, Africa, and America, were under the direction of a commissary-general of Spain and India,† in addition to their peculiar provincial. Such rapid progress is sufficient proof of the authority with which the Society was able to extend itself from the very first, and the wonderful coincidence that has existed between its establishment and other events which took place at the same period, and which contributed towards its formation.

From the period in which the interest of the monastic orders became connected and identified with those of the Church, they can no longer be regarded as separate or distinct bodies. Established in every direction, the monks were the most powerful instruments and organs of the Church, its most courageous defenders in times of danger, and its true and faithful militia in the protection of its interests and privileges.

Their zeal was eminently exhibited when any pretensions of the Holy See were called in question, to which their situation attached them in a still stronger degree; and upon a close examination of the different religious associations which were established with the sanction and approval of the Pope, we find the furtherance of their object completely coincided with the political views and designs entertained by the Romish Church, and that this similarity or community of purpose had a considerable influence on its future destinies.

* Bonhours, *Vie de Saint Ignace*, liv. v. p. 415.

† Sachin. pars 11, p. 1, *et seq.*

To what, in fact, must we attribute the influence which the Benedictines and the other numerous establishments (which under different names acknowledged the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction) exercised in the affairs of the Church from the sixth to the eleventh century, except to this circumstance, that the Church invaded, in common with the Roman empire, by the barbarians of the north, but too vigorous and sanguine to prostrate herself, like it, before them,—resolved to agree with them at first, in order that she might the more easily subjugate them, and was seconded in her design by the newly-established monks, who proved themselves her most powerful auxiliaries. Devoted by their founder to the tillage of the earth, and to the cultivation of the little knowledge that survived, they would naturally obtain the esteem of the barbarians by their excellence in an art, which they most valued after that of arms.

It would be impossible, indeed, to overrate the services which this body have rendered to the Church; nor is it too much to say, that it is to their efforts that the Papal power is mainly indebted for the most brilliant epoch in its history.

Without doubt the Benedictines were too favourable to the encroachments of the Holy See, which was supported by them in its most intolerant and unjust pretensions. It must not, however, be forgotten, that it was in order to check the progress of a despotism successively barbarous, military, and feudal, that they were originally set up: and this is more than an excuse—it is a vindication. Indeed, at the fall of the Roman empire, when, instead of the ancient form of government, in the midst of which the Church had arisen, and was connected by corresponding habits and ancient ties, she saw herself brought into contact with those barbarian kings, or rather chiefs, who were wandering on the Gallo-Roman territory, or were settled on their large estates,* and to whom she was not yet united either by tradition, common belief, or sentiments, what must have been her danger and her consternation? One sole object, for the sake of the world, and of humanity, became paramount in the Church,—it was to possess herself of these new comers, by converting them. Nevertheless after they were settled and converted, and there

* A few leagues from Soissons, on the banks of a little river, is situated the village of Braine; it was in the sixth century one of those immense farms at which the kings of the Franks held their court. The royal habitation had nothing of the military appearance of the castles of the middle ages. It was a spacious building surrounded with porticoes of Roman architecture, often constructed of wood carefully polished, and ornamented with sculpture not wanting elegance. Surrounding the principal portion of the building were the apartments of those chiefs who, according to the Germanic custom, had placed themselves with their warriors at the disposition of the king, that is to say, under a specific engagement of vassalage and fidelity.

was a connexion between them and the Church, she still ran great risks and some danger on their account. The ungovernable brutality, the unreflecting caprice, the disorderly and unsocial manners of the barbarians, were such, that the new religious doctrines and principles which they had embraced had very little effect upon them. Violence soon obtained the upper hand, and the Church itself as well as society became oppressed. In order to restrain this violence she was obliged to announce the principle which would alone protect and preserve Christianity, viz. the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power and their mutual independence. She asserted that her own existence was coeval with that of the barbarians : and that violence had no power over systems of belief, of hopes, or of religious promises. The beneficial consequences which have flowed from this principle, and the service it has rendered in establishing the truths of Christianity, are easily perceived. But we return to the Benedictines.

Enervated by the riches with which the gratitude of Rome, and the superstitious faith of the great in the land, had endowed their innumerable monasteries, the Benedictines found themselves, in the twelfth century, incapable of defending that Christianity whose aggrandizement they had so effectually aided, and they ceded the first place to the mendicant orders. The power of the latter soon exceeded that of the children of Benedict and Robert.* Nor was this merely the result of chance. Instead of the dissolute habits universally imputed to their religious predecessors, they exhibited the most simple and austere manners; for they took a vow of poverty and lived upon alms. The fearful heresy of the Albigenes created a schism in the bosom of the Church; an unparalleled ardour animated them against all heterodox opinions. Not content with negotiating, with intriguing, with writing, in fact with setting in motion all the machinery of credulity and fanaticism in favour of the Romish Church, they wished to signalize their zeal for the cause by a last service which should surpass all the others, and they set up the abominable Inquisition.

They too, however, in their turn degenerated. Being the production of an epoch still in a state of semi-barbarism, sprung from the bosom of a debased superstition, and the representatives of the theology and the sciences of the middle age, they expected to oppose their traditions to the refinements of the modern era, which triumphantly rose with its more polished manners, and its new style of literature, and was distinguished by its philosophical, or, rather scrutinising spirit, and for the constellation of great

* One of the Reformers of the order of St. Benoît, and founder, in 1098, of the celebrated Abbaye of Liteaux.

men, who shed a glory over this period. Universal scorn was the reward of their arrogance; and being surpassed in science by the erudite clergy and laity, in elegance of manners and in dignity by the higher orders of the Church, they remained a burden to Christianity, and a general object of disgust to society. Another misfortune was in store for them. It was from a monastery of Augustins that Luther emerged; and the first blast of that hurricane which was to shake to its very foundation the Roman Catholic Church, was partly the fruit of their own dissensions, and partly the work of that great reformer; so true is it that, when the mind of a superior man rises with the exigencies of the age, nothing can resist him. Luther's power exceeded that of Charles the Fifth. Summoned during four years to submit himself to the exactions and tyranny of Rome, Luther for four years simply replied No. No, was his answer to the legate; No, to the Pope; No, to the emperor. In this heroic and pregnant word was found the liberty of the world. It was by a remarkable coincidence, that Columbus about the same period opened the seas to the activity of man, and Copernicus the heavens to his researches.

By attacking "the sale of indulgences," Luther vindicated and defended human freedom. He covered with opprobrium the liberty of measuring crimes by a money standard, and making them a matter of public sale.

To destroy the Papacy and restore Christianity was the task which this great Reformer had imposed upon himself. In fact, the Pontificate had appropriated Christianity to itself, had moulded it into a new form, and employed it solely to augment its own power and authority. Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, created Archdeacon by Pope Nicholas the Second, and having sufficient influence to insure the election of his successor (Alexander the Eleventh), had converted the chair of St. Peter into the throne of a universal and absolute monarchy. This crowned priest was another God. Thus even that great principle of Christianity, "*Christ alone is your Master; as for you, ye are all Brethren*," was destroyed by the papacy. Gregory the Seventh created the power, and Boniface the Eighth founded the riches, of the Church. Their successors promulgated the doctrine, that salvation was to be obtained by mortification, prayers, and indulgencies; and the sins of the living and the dead filled the coffers of the Holy Exchequer. By rendering crimes taxable, they overturned the doctrine of the Gospel, that "Salvation comes from God;" "God gave eternal life." It was now the Pope who was to grant it, and who sold it.

In this state of things Luther appeared, and re-established the principle and the doctrine of Christianity, by restoring to God the

situation usurped by the priest, by teaching "*justification by faith*," and considering only as true, obligatory, and infallible, the express words of Christ, the Apostles, and the Prophets. Thus, at one blow, fell the decisions of the councils, the decrees, the bulls, the theology, the canonical law, and all the fabricated tradition and usurping and oppressive authority of the court of Rome; thus fell the papacy, which interposed between God and man, and at the same instant Christianity resumed its sway, by placing man face to face with God. The Papacy had separated them: through Luther—for we are *here* showing the language of his enthusiastic admirers—the Gospel reunited them.* The time however had not arrived when the Romish Church was to surrender her authority without a struggle. Her resistance was long and arduous; still it was her destiny to be progressively dismembered, and gradually to retreat before the advance of the Reformation, though not without some glory even in her decline. The monks of all denominations took part in the struggle, but as among the existing orders none were of sufficient power to uphold the sinking cause of the Court of Rome, it was expedient that some new order should be created for the purpose. This order was the Society of Jesuits. The very circumstances which led to its formation, pointed out its object and mission.

A religious order establishing itself in the middle of the sixteenth century, could not but be alive to the feeling which prevailed throughout Christendom against the innumerable abuses of the clergy, and of the regular clergy particularly.

In order to avoid being crushed in its very birth, under the weight of the deep aversion felt for the existing societies, it was compelled to adopt a different mode of procedure. It was its policy to avoid, with equal care, the luxurious and lax life of the Benedictines, and the gross and wandering one of the Mendicant monks; though at the same time it was not to leave the honour of an absolute and voluntary poverty to the one, nor the advantage of riches to the other. To this may be attributed that subtle distinction between the professed order, which was incapable of possessing anything, and the other establishments of the society which were permitted to appropriate to themselves the richest endowments. To this may likewise be attributed that contradiction so often remarked upon, between the vow of absolute poverty taken by each Jesuit, and the wealth which the body so rapidly accumulated. It was moreover necessary for them to unite elegance of manners with austerity, and the advantages of worldly science with their

* See the *Histoire de la Réformation au 16e Siècle*, par T. II. Merle d'Aubigné, Firmin Didot, frères, 1837.

more important religious duties. Was it possible at a learned and polished epoch, to exercise any great influence by rendering prominent the disgusting spectacle of squalidness and ignorance? Was it desirable to leave the science of theology to the Reformers, and profane literature and erudition to the Free-thinkers? Certainly not; in order to raise again into public estimation Romanism and its degraded supporters the monks, it was necessary to excel at the same time the obsolete universities, and to rival the consistories and academies; to show, in one word, that Rome was as learned in theology as Ausburgh or Geneva, and at the same time as polished as Paris or Florence. For this purpose a condition, at once rich and upon a grand scale, was required. Nothing had contributed in a greater degree to the depreciation of the monks, than the trafficking in holy things, with which they were reproached. The sale of indulgencies being the first cause of the Reformation, and at all times an object of scandal to the most faithful believers, the first obligation that the Jesuits imposed upon themselves, (as we have already seen,) was to renounce all remuneration for the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions.

The idleness inherent in a monastic life, was likewise a great subject of complaint.* But as it met with as much reproach for the excessive time it allowed to prayer and useless practices, as for that which was passed in entire idleness, a formal statute of the society of Jesuits dispensed with public worship, canonical prayers and other pious duties, which had formerly been the basis of a religious life; thus leaving to the newly-established order full liberty for an active career, unexampled in the history of religious corporations, or perhaps even in the world.

The essential and predominant aim of the institution being the paramount authority of the Church, it could not escape them that the principle of unity of belief on the one part, and the papal supremacy on the other, were the great dogmas against which were united the independence and the freedom of the Reformers.

Unity of faith as a doctrine, and the Holy See as a power, were the principal objects of solicitude to the Jesuits, and to the maintenance of these were applied all their favourite controversial texts, and the distinctive points of their creed. Thus, they not only inscribed at the head of their society the name of the Pope, and represented his service as that of the Lord, and of his Cross, "*sub crucis vexillo Dei militare, et soli domino atque Romano pontifici ejus in terris vicario ser-*

* Yet, we must not forget that, though the monasteries were places devoted to solitude and contemplation,—the products of industry, strictly speaking, were only accessories in them,—to these associations we owe the knowledge of a great part of the literature of antiquity, and the cultivation of a large portion of the soil of Europe.

vire;"* but they engaged themselves to it by a peculiar vow unknown to all the other religious orders, which we have before adverted to, and the invention of which is generally regarded by their adversaries as the political master-piece of Ignatius and his companions, who by this were enabled to identify the Popes with the interests of the Society.

The vow of obedience had no other aim. Nothing in fact would have been gained by devoting the Society to the service of the Pope, if at the same time it had not been placed entirely at his disposal. This vow, however, unlike the preceding one, was not new to the Church; for almost all the monastic rules include it in that of chastity. The famous similitude of the dead body which Ignatius made use of to characterize the really obedient monk, had been employed before by St. Bonaventura; and, if he compares the Jesuit, ready at all times to execute the orders of his superior, to the staff of the aged man, always under his command, has not St. Basil also told us, that the monk ought to be to the abbot what the wedge is to the wood splitter.† It must be allowed, however, that it requires only a glance at the statutes of the Jesuits, to perceive that obedience occupies a very different position with them to what it does among the other orders.

The vague and scattered expressions among *them* are in this Society presented in a formal and precise manner, which entirely changes their intent and purpose. The *staff* of Ignatius becomes of a more menacing character than the wedge of Basil; because it is easy to perceive that it is not intended to remain idle in the hands of him who can make use of it. It is this which constitutes the great difference between the submission of the Jesuit, and that of all the other monks. For the latter it is but the cause of mortifications, of acts of humility, of attempts at religious perfection; for the former, the will and the understanding are submitted to a superior with a view to advancement and power. The one blindly consents to humiliate himself, the other in order to act with greater efficacy. The more difficult the task which the society imposed upon itself, the more interested was it in only employing instruments of the most perfect docility. Devoted to the defence of the unity of Catholicism, it could not establish a too rigorous submission in its own interior organization, more especially in matters of doctrine.

The danger to be dreaded by the Jesuits arose from the spirit of individual independence, from the recent irruption of a tendency to philosophical inquiry,—and from the necessity of a religious re-

* Inst. Soc. Jes. Pragæ, 1757, v. 2, p. 6.

† Apologie générale de l'Institut et de la Doctrine des Jésuites, Part i. p. 130, et suiv. Lausanne, 1763.

formation which was now begun to be felt throughout the world. To stifle these exigencies of a period of emancipation and of spiritual conquest, it was, in the first place, necessary to establish an absolute obedience among the defenders of the Church.

Yet, it is not sufficient to have for our aim an object which we believe to be chosen with a good design ; it is not sufficient to attempt to accomplish it by means of ardent zeal and of unexampled devotedness, nor to have the support of the most consummate prudence ; it is furthermore essential, that, approved by a judgment at once rigid and provident, the object shall accord with the powerful nature of things, and shall not be opposed to the natural feelings of humanity ; without this, the most persevering efforts and the best arranged calculations are useless, and we are led into a series of errors and excesses which become criminal. Such has been the case with the Jesuits. After all, what was their object ? To defend the doctrines of Roman Catholicism against the progress of the Reformation and the spirit of philosophy ; to uphold in *Political* Europe the doctrine of the temporal supremacy of the Holy See ; in *Christian* Europe the dogma of its doctrinal supremacy, and in *Catholic* Europe, that of its absolute infallibility, as well as its unlimited sovereign jurisdiction in matters appertaining to the hierarchy. Their object, in a word, was to perpetuate the darkness of the middle ages in a season of comparative light, and to give to the confused doctrines of a period of ignorance and disorder, the sanction and precision of an epoch of reason and philosophy.

It was in fact, as is easy to be perceived, to attack at once the independence of governments, the privileges of national churches, the episcopal authority, and the rights of human reason ; and in this warfare they had to encounter the governments of the day, the secular clergy, and the philosophers. But we must not cite the folly of the enterprize, as an argument against those who undertook it. They had not chosen it for the sake of reproach ; but the task was imposed upon them ; and nothing more can be imputed to them than that they erred in imagining that a religious order could still serve the Church in the sixteenth century, by taking the papal authority for its standard and symbol. This, if the period of time be taken into consideration, is perhaps not even an error in judgment. Moreover, having once taken this false view, the rest followed as a necessary consequence.

From thenceforth three things became to the Jesuits the source of all their errors and corruptions, as well as of their power :—1st, the interests of their Society being confounded with that of the Church, or their *esprit de corps* ; 2nd, the profane being rendered subservient to the advancement of the spiritual, or *their*

policy; 3rd, the flexibility of their principles, in order to accommodate them to reason and to human nature, or *their ethics*.

Let us consult the history of this Society! How many intrigues and cabals! at first, to establish itself, and afterward to maintain itself in its innumerable strong holds! What subterfuges to extend the circle of the order, to incorporate in it by means of its double system of professed monks and unprofessed students, both capable of increasing its influence and credit; what a tissue of complaisance and obsequiousness, in order to insinuate itself into the familiarity of princes and potentates! What insidious practices and falsehoods to defend its friends, and exalt them to dignity! On the other hand, what impostures and calumnies to slander or asperse its adversaries! In order to enrich itself, what skilfully extorted donations, what intercepted inheritances, what efforts of all kinds, so far as even to become traffickers in money, and thus risk, by their unlimited cupidity, the esteem and approbation of those very people whom they sought to convert by their precepts! It is difficult, indeed, to imagine any act of which the Jesuits have not availed themselves to advance the interests of the Society, from the odious murders imputed to them to the burlesque attempt, of which they are accused by Pasquier, on King Sebastian, "whom they solicited to pass a general law, that no one should be called to the throne who did not belong to the Society; and still further, that he should be elected by *their* suffrages, in which, however, they did not succeed, although they had to do with a most bigoted and superstitious prince."*

Nevertheless, what they did on their own account with an indirect view to religion, is nothing compared with their direct interference for its service. When in the course of time their scruples became less, and their ambition greater; when they had reduced to practice that worldly science politics, so extolled by Cardinal Pallavicini, the Jesuit historian of the Council of Trent; when their familiarity with palaces and the great had taught them its seductions, the confessional its mysteries, and secret denunciations had informed them of things that had escaped their observation; when either present every where, or penetrating every where, they possessed such powerful means to serve or injure the great, according as it suited their projects; with all these things before our eyes, then let us judge, if possible, of their criminal courses. Let us follow them to England, to France, to Portugal and to Italy. One example will suffice: one of their doctrines recommended to them a toleration of all forms of go-

* Recherches, liv. iii. chap. 43, p. 325.

vernment, and an equal affection for all nations ; * the following is the manner in which they put it into practice. In England, under a constitutional government, they strove to give absolute power to the Stuarts ; in France, under a monarchical one, they fomented popular passions and conspired against the succession of Henry the Fourth.† It is true that this prince was then a Protestant, and that James the Second was already converted to Catholicism.

It would be unjust, however, not to acknowledge that the Jesuits, pernicious as a corporation, were in general honourable as individuals. Their manners were pure, infinitely more so than those of the rest of the Romish clergy. They cultivated the sciences and literature, with a reputation unequalled by any other religious community, more particularly as regards universal knowledge. Their foreign missions deserve honourable notice, and success for a long time crowned their zeal. To their learning and exertions we are indebted for most of the valuable works on the topography, geography, literature, and customs, of several countries, of which, before their time, we only had vague and imperfect notions.‡

It is not, however, true, that in this respect they have been as fair as their partisans pretend they were. According to their adversaries, frankness and dignity of character do not shine in them in the same degree as mere austerity. "*Fidem et pudorem sunt in quibus requiras,*" has been said of them by a great genius who witnessed their first appearance in the world, and one more likely to speak well than ill of them.§ Their writers are in general deficient in vigour and elevation of style, and with a great elegance of language, we discover at the same time, a subtlety or obscurity of meaning which well corresponds with the ambiguity of their manners and deportment. These faults are principally to be found in their polemical writings, which are so full of address and skilfulness. It is remarkable that in literature, if we except Bourdaloue, they have produced no great name or considerable work, and that the handful of *solitaires* at Port-Royal, have brought forth in a few years ten times more pages than all the Jesuits put together during their long existence. The same may be said of their savans. In philosophy they have taken no rank whatever ; they have not only no really creative mind of the school of

* "Nationes omnes pari affectu amplectendæ." Inst. S. J. Reg. Comm. n. 30, vol. ii. p. 77.

† Two Jesuits, Clement Dupuy, and Odard Moté, took part in the assassination of the most virtuous and most learned Durandy, premier-president of Parlement de Toulouse, under the reign of Henry III.

‡ The Missionary Ricci, of the company of Jesuits, has published in the Chinese language fifteen works upon science, theology, and morals ; all considered to be very well written.

§ Grotius.

Descartes, but they do not even possess a single metaphysical author who in talent or genius can be compared to Mallebranche. Thus it is, that they have professed at different times in their numerous schools the scholastic philosophy, that of Descartes, and that of Locke. One of their most recent apologists, points out and deplores this deficiency in their studies ; * he sees in it the cause of almost all their misfortunes. It would be superfluous to state the fact that the Protestant clergy offers an immense assemblage of profound thinkers, of philologists, of literary and scientific men, with whom the disciples of Loyola cannot be placed in comparison. The reason of this superiority in the Protestant clergy is, that independence is absolutely indispensable to intellectual productions, and all subjection of the understanding is mortal to intellectual excellence of any kind.

A corporation without rank in literature, without originality in the sciences, without a fitting philosophy, could not have had that didactic superiority which has been gratuitously ascribed to it, unless the Jesuits had made the education of the young a means of advancing their credit and influence, which however tended to diminish it. Thus their schools, so far behind those of Germany, England, and Holland, which are supported by Protestant liberty, have not equalled the University of Paris in the classics, nor the Sorbonne in theology ; nor the University of Coimbra, in Portugal ; nor that of Salamauca, in Spain.

Let us add, in conclusion, that their much boasted policy has been more restless, more artificial, more Machiavellian than wise. They have always been wanting in comprehensive views. It is singular that this Society, which has produced so many intriguers, has not produced one statesman like the Chancellor Oxenstierna ; none of their great undertakings have met with success, though supported by all things necessary to their accomplishment. On the other hand the Reformation still exists in all the freshness and vigour of youth ; Henry the Fourth died on the throne, and his descendants still reign ; the miserable Stuarts are exiled from England ; Protestant missionaries are converting at the present hour, to the principles of Henry the Eighth and Wolsey, countries formerly preached to by the Jesuits ; ungrateful Paraguay exists at the present period under the dominion of a philosophical despot ; the Society itself is interdicted by almost all the states of Europe ; and if in France it succeeded under Louis XIV., in causing the demolition of Port-Royal,† it was expelled by the

* Des Jésuites, par le Baron d'Eckstein. 1826, p. 10.

† The persecutions directed by the Jesuits against the establishment of Port-Royal, have given birth to the production of a book (*les Provinciales*, by Pascal) which may be considered as a master-piece of eloquence and logic, and a faithful chronicle of the crimes of the disciples of Loyola.

Parliament under Louis XV. To crown their reverses, if they are still tolerated at the present day, it is because they are protected by the universal liberty of thought.

ART. IV.—*The Ninth Bridgewater Treatise: a Fragment.* By Charles Babbage, Esq. London: Murray. 1837. 8vo.

THERE are many reasons why we hold a "*Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*" to be a *desideratum*. Not eight, nor eighty, treatises could exhaust the mighty subject: but one, which might gather, generally, into a single view the several and independent lines of argument which have been taken; and might give, in outline at least, the whole proof of natural theology, brought up to the last discoveries of modern science; and adduce the different kinds of evidence, not indeed in their fulness, but in their unity and connection; would be more useful, perhaps, and more practically valuable, than all the rest. Even a popular *synopsis* of the eight, which are already in print, judiciously linking them together and lending them strength by union, might be of considerable service to the young whose minds are uninformed, and to the busy whose time is much occupied. But the "*Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*," if it is to be worthy of the appellation, has yet to be written.

As to the present author, whose publication is invested with that title, either his publisher has done him wrong, or he has most grievously wronged himself. The "*Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*," by Charles Babbage, Esq., ought to have been a very different performance. That Mr. Babbage is quite competent to the production of a work, which might have taken its rank with those of Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Buckland, of Sir Charles Bell and Mr. Whewell, we shall not think of disputing: and he appears somewhat sore at not having been invited to undertake it. If, too, he had styled these observations, "*Supplementary Hints*," or "*Loose Notes in connection with the Bridgewater Treatises*," we should most cheerfully have allowed that they were often ingenious, and sometimes profound; and could only have proceeded from a man of great abilities and large attainments, as Mr. Babbage unquestionably is. But the *brochure*, in its existing shape, is not a philosophical treatise, nor any thing like a philosophical treatise. It is rather, we are compelled to say, the most egregious specimen of book-making, which has come before us for many months. Although it has, really and fairly, but just matter enough for fifty pages, still, by such devices as putting an island of type into a sea of margin, and of beginning at the bottom of a page and ending at the top, as also by the aid of a lengthened appendix, and the

benefit of Sir John Herschell's correspondence, it has been stretched out into upwards of two hundred. The poet has said of the statesman, that his big soul

“ Fretted the pigny body to decay,
And o'erinformed the teneiment of clay :”

Mr. Babbage's work, on the contrary, resembles a tall, stout body without a soul sufficiently capacious to animate its bulk.

But this is not the worst. If other persons like to give nine shillings and sixpence for such a publication, we, to whom it has been liberally furnished as a present, can have no reason to complain. Still the honour of our literature, and our literary men, is very dear to us. We are sincerely of opinion that this production is not calculated to advance it. The “*Ninth Bridgewater Treatise, a Fragment!*” the very title-page offends us. It is sadly deficient in good sense and good taste. If Mr. Babbage had not leisure to elaborate a complete essay to his satisfaction, why does he publish it? Why, at least, does he call it a *Bridgewater Treatise*? Does he mean to insinuate that his broken and disjointed paragraphs are equivalent to the finished efforts of some among the most celebrated of his contemporaries? Does he suppose that, when he scatters upon paper the scraps from his commonplace book, the world will gratefully receive them as a philosophical disquisition, from the influence of his name? A fragment too! What is the meaning of a philosophical fragment? Poetical fragments are, for the most part, heaven knows, conceited and ridiculous enough:—but a philosophical or argumentative fragment is almost an absurdity in terms. Unless we see the entire chain of an argument, and can trace the dependence of its links, one upon another, what is it worth? Unless it is a whole as far as it goes, it is nothing. We accept, with mingled pleasure and regret, the *posthumous* fragments of great men, who have been cut off before they could fill up the harmony of their design: but, in living authors, it looks like egregious vanity to put them forth. And Mr. Babbage, in ushering into notice, with some pomp and parade, the ninth *Bridgewater Treatise, a Fragment*, certainly does not remind us of the modesty of Virgil, who forbade the publication of the *Æneid*, because it was unfinished.

Nay, more. This volume is not merely a fragment, but a bundle of fragments. It is not like the body of an ancient statue, which, though but a headless trunk, though mutilated and dismembered by the casualties of years, yet exhibits an exact and regular symmetry in the part which remains. It has no proportions or relations in itself. It has no consecutive train of reasoning. It is not uniform as far as it goes. It is almost made up,

if we may adopt Mr. Babbage's mathematical language, of "singular points and discontinuous functions." Almost every chapter is a fragmentary thing. And in the middle of several pages, there stand yawning gaps and portentous intervals, strewn only with breaks, and lines, and dashes, which may have in them a deeper significance for the initiated, than our dull apprehensions are able to discover. Yet we recollect no previous instance of this kind of philosophical *aposiopesis*. It is, we think, Lord Burleigh, in Sheridan's "Critic," whose silent and oracular nod is to speak mutterable wisdom, and contain in it more of sagacity and sublimity, than the most sententious maxims which tongue could express:—are the strange and solemn chasms in Mr. Babbage's work to serve a similar purpose, and to be more pregnant with instruction than the written axioms of all former sages?

But we have not yet come to the end of Mr. Babbage's contrivances for eking out a *Bridgewater Treatise*. The chapters are, in general, fragments; but one chapter is an *intention*. It is literally an intimation of something which the author would have done, if he had more time, or more inclination. How happy is he, if he can satisfy men's intellectual appetites,

"By bare imagination of a feast."

Who would not be a philosopher upon such easy terms? How delightful to hang up an empty frame, and gain credit for a magnificent picture. Why, the achievements of Michael Angelo or Rubens are nothing, in number or in beauty, to the wonders that could be performed by this cheap mode of execution. Upon such a process, a man might write an encyclopedia before breakfast.

Mr. Babbage will be much mistaken, if he supposes that our strictures are made in an unfriendly spirit. We regard him as among the shining lights of our time. To our eyes, in one particular department of science, namely, in the union of analytical and mechanical skill, he stands unrivalled. The machine, on which he has been so long employed, whether, or not, it shall ever be turned to any great practical utility, we yet deem to be a work, of which, from its mere conception and theory, our age and country may be proud. His fame is become national property. We are, therefore, the more vexed and annoyed, that Mr. Babbage should trifle with himself; and write, on any occasion, like a man half spoilt by flattery, and half soured by disappointment. He exercises a considerable authority. Why, then, should he thus play with his own reputation and the public good-nature? Why should he wantonly throw over a scientific volume almost the appearance of catch-penny charlatanism? Why should he hold

out to younger aspirants the example of introducing into our philosophical inquiries the airs and affectations which have disfigured our poetry? Why should he teach them to swell out a pamphlet into a book; and make up for the tenuity of the contents by the card-like thickness of the paper? Why, too, should he have penned his treatise apparently in such haste, that, after having invented a calculating engine, we could, now and then, almost wish him to invent a writing or composing machine, in order to turn off some of his sentences in a more compact and perfect form?

Having offered these free remarks on the general aspect of Mr. Babbage's publication, we hardly like to pursue our inquiry into details; because we may be swayed throughout, even without our own consciousness, by a prejudice imbibed in the first instance. Otherwise we might venture to suggest, that there is something too much like an attempt to establish a kind of analogy between the Framers of the world and the framer of the calculating machine: or, at least, that illustrations drawn from that machine are somewhat too largely mixed up with the argument in demonstration of an Almighty design throughout the universe. We might say, that the refutation of Hume's sophisms against the credibility of miracles, though, perhaps, the most ingenious part of the treatise, is not always conclusive; that the observations, which touch upon future punishments, are fanciful, though striking: that the boundaries between natural and revealed religion are not well observed; and that the theory respecting the first chapter of the Book of Genesis would have been more correct, if stated with more circumspection. To be very brief, this *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise* opens to our intellectual vision, here and there, the vista of fine and magnificent considerations; but closes it again, before any object can be distinctly seen: it shows, though without adequate development, germs or particles of thought, indicative of the highest powers of mind, at once broad and subtle, at once comprehensive and delicate: but the general impression which it leaves is confused and unsatisfactory;—so that the talent and knowledge, which are conspicuous in separate passages, only enhance our sorrow that, being such as it is, the work is not much better;—is not, in fact, what, if more patient and less precipitate, the author might undoubtedly have made it.

The subjoined extracts are, we think, rather favourable examples of the matter and the style.

“Many excellent and religious persons not deeply versed in what they mistakenly call ‘*human knowledge*,’ but which is in truth the interpretation of those laws that God himself has impressed on his creation, have endeavoured to discover proofs of design in a multitude of apparent

adaptations of means to ends, and have represented the Deity as perpetually interfering, to alter for a time the laws he had previously ordained; thus by implication denying to him the possession of that foresight which is the highest attribute of omnipotence. Minds of this order, insensible of the existence of that combining and generalising faculty which gives to human intellect its greatest development, and tied down by the trammels of their own peculiar pursuits, have in their mistaken zeal not perceived their own unfitness for the mighty task, and have ventured to represent the Creator of the universe as fettered by the same infirmities as those by which their own limited faculties are subjugated. To causes of this kind must in some measure be attributed an opinion which has been industriously spread, that minds highly imbued with mathematical knowledge are disqualified, by the possession of that knowledge, and by the habits of mind produced during its acquisition, from rightly appreciating the works of the Creator.

"At periods and in countries in which the knowledge of the priests exceeded that of the people, science has always been held up by the former class as an object of regard, and its crafty possessors have too frequently defiled its purity by employing their knowledge for the delusion of the people. On the other hand, at times and in countries in which the knowledge of the people has advanced beyond that of the priesthood, the ministers of the temple have too often been afraid of the advance of knowledge, and have threatened with the displeasure of the Almighty those engaged in employing the faculties he has bestowed on the study of the works he has created. At the present period, when knowledge is so universally spread that neither class is far in advance of the other,—when every subject is submitted to unbounded discussion,—when it is at length fully acknowledged that truth alone can stand unshaken by perennial attacks, and that error, though for centuries triumphant, must fall at last, and leave behind no ashes from which it may revive, the authority of names has but little weight: facts and arguments are the basis of creeds, and convictions so arrived at are the more deeply seated, and the more enduring, because they are not the wild fancies of passion or of impulse, but the deliberate results of reason and reflection.

"It is a condition of our race that we must ever wade through error in our advance towards truth; and it may even be said that in many cases we exhaust almost every variety of error before we attain the desired goal."—p. 24—27.

"In turning," says Mr. Babbage, after speaking of his calculating engine, "our views from these simple consequences of the juxtaposition of a few wheels, it is impossible not to perceive the parallel reasoning, as applied to the mighty and far more complex phenomena of nature. To call into existence all the variety of vegetable forms, as they become fitted to exist, by the successive adaptations of their parent earth, is undoubtably a high exertion of creative power. When a rich vegetation has covered the globe, to create animals adapted to that clothing, which, deriving nourishment from its luxuriance, shall gladden the face of nature, is not only a high but a benevolent exertion of creative power. To change, from time to time, after lengthened periods, the races which

exist, as altered physical circumstances may render their abode more or less congenial to their habits, by allowing the natural extinction of some races, and by a new creation of others more fitted to supply the place previously abandoned, is still but the exercise of the same benevolent power. To cause an alteration in those physical circumstances—to add to the comforts of the newly created animals—all these acts imply power of the same order, a perpetual and benevolent superintendence, to take advantage of altered circumstances, for the purpose of producing additional happiness.

“But, to have *foreseen*, at the creation of matter and of mind, that a period would arrive when matter, assuming its prearranged combinations, would become susceptible of the support of vegetable forms: that these should in due time themselves supply the pabulum of animal existence; that successive races of giant forms or of microscopic beings should at appointed periods necessarily rise into existence, and as inevitably yield to decay; and that decay and death—the lot of each individual existence—should also act with equal power on the races which they constitute; that the extinction of every race should be as certain as the death of each individual; and the advent of new genera be as inevitable as the destruction of their predecessors;—to have foreseen all these changes, and to have provided, by one comprehensive law, for all that should ever occur, either to the races themselves, to the individuals of which they are composed, or to the globe which they inhabit, manifests a degree of power and of knowledge of a far higher order.”—p. 44—46.

We must conclude as we began. Mr. Babbage has done himself injustice. It is his own fault, if he has to endure the severities of criticism, when it was in his power to have commanded admiration:—that admiration, we mean, which genius can always ensure by carefulness; though not even genius can snatch it in the mere heat of petulance, or by a mere hurried and negligent exertion of its strength.

We cannot refrain, while we are at all on the subject of natural religion, from recommending the late Dr. Macculloch's three volumes, intituled, “*Proofs and Illustrations of the Attributes of God* ;”—for they would not have been unworthy to take their place among the *real* Bridgewater Treatises; they are the ripe fruits of long and earnest study, replete with interesting research and multifarious information.

We should also be glad to mention Mr. Whewell's elaborate and very interesting “*History of the Inductive Sciences* ;”—but we should be travelling beyond the sphere to which we are compelled to confine our criticisms;—happy, indeed, if we could fairly and adequately occupy the whole ground which lies within it. We may be, however, allowed to remark, that the title seems to us illogical; inasmuch as it is the mind, or process, which is inductive, and not the science; or, if science can be properly

termed inductive, that then the term belongs, if not to *all* sciences, under certain aspects and relations, at least to many more than Mr. Whewell has comprehended in his history. Induction, for instance, is necessary, no less than deduction, in politics, in political economy, in ethics, in natural theology, and even in many departments of revealed religion.

Mr. Whewell, we see—for his pen is most prolific—has just written a short epistle to Mr. Babbage on some slight difference of opinion which exists between them. At the end, speaking of this *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*—this precious *Fragment*—these Sibylline leaves of philosophy, which are to be the more valuable, as they are the fewer and the less entire—he says, that there is no instance “in the recent literature of the country, in which the subject has been treated *in a more original manner*.” There is certainly a sense in which the compliment is just; but Mr. Whewell is rather hard upon his friend, if he means his observation to be slyly ironical.

ART. V.—*The Life of Augustus Herman Franké, &c. Translated from the German of H. E. F. Guerike, by Samuel Jackson. With an introductory Preface, by the Rev. E. Bickersteth. Secley and Burnside.*

THE Pietists of Germany, to whom Mr. Bickersteth has directed our attention in this Memoir of Franké, one of their principal ornaments, rose out of the orthodox Lutheran School, and terminated in the Rationalists. Every history has its own moral, and every reader draws it in his own way. Mr. Bickersteth would view the Pietists in contrast with the orthodox Lutherans who preceded them; we perhaps are rather disposed to regard them in connexion with the Rationalists who followed. He probably discerns in Franké and his associates, that English school of which he is a distinguished member; and here we may on the whole agree with him. But he would proceed to liken the Lutherans, over whom they triumphed, to what is commonly called the High-Church party in England; whereas we should discover in the present state of what are called Evangelical opinions, the more than incipient development of a double tendency, which was realized in the history of Pietism, at once towards that formalism out of which it started, and to the free-thinking system in which it ended. As time went on, Pietism either relapsed or went further; and its English parallel, following its career, is rapidly becoming in one of its portions technical, in

another latitudinarian. Now, considering Mr. Bickersteth's publication says not a word about High Church or Low Church, we may be thought unfair and party-spirited thus to interpret it. It may be said that he is simply desirous of doing good, not of making a controversy. Doubtless he is; but then, if we may judge from his usual turn and tone of thought, his notion of religious excellence is such as not to admit of being explained and communicated except through the medium of such contrasts. His main notion of a religious man is of one who relies not on what is outward, but on what is inward; his notion of the Church's warfare with the world, is of a contest between self-righteous and barren orthodoxy, and spiritual faith. Under these circumstances he can but mean Franké's life to be a type of the history of every religious man in his contest with the world; and, inclusively, of every religious man in the English Church.

We have above shown our willingness to agree with Mr. Bickersteth in considering the Pietists of the same religious family with his own friends; yet though this may be granted in general terms, it is by no means true on an accurate comparison between the two schools. Spener and Franké were much more of Romanists than is Mr. Bickersteth. Spener re-published the work of Tauler, an eminent Roman Catholic Mystic; Franké, following his example, translated two of the works of Molinos, "a celebrated pious Spanish Mystic," as the work before us calls him, "who finished his days at Rome in the eighteenth century." As the circumstances of Franké's publication are instructive, we shall present them to the reader in the translator's words.

"In 1687, Franké was induced, by a disputation held in Leipzig, 'De quietismo contra Molinosum,' in which the antagonist confessed that he had never read Molinos' writings, to translate two of the latter's works — 'Gnida Spirituale,' 'Manuductio Spiritualis,' and 'Della Comunione Cotidiana,' or 'De Communione Quotidiana,' from the Italian into Latin. This step was taken amiss of him, as if he thereby acknowledged himself an adherent of Molinos, and a friend to Catholicism. To this he replied, 'I have never sought to justify or maintain every thing contained in Molinos. But I have been much displeased that others should fall upon an author, and condemn him, without understanding him, or ever having read him, and attribute sentiments to him, which probably never occurred to him. On the contrary, I assert that there is much of what is edifying and useful in his writings, which I can never bring myself to reject or condemn. Truth must be esteemed everywhere, whether found amongst friends or foes. We ought to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. Am I necessarily a heathen, when I say that many good things are to be found in Cicero's *De Officiis*? And why must I be vilified and made out to be a Catholic, because I find many useful observations in a Roman Catholic book?'"

But to return. It seems from what has been said, we are at issue with Mr. Bickersteth on a sufficient number of points, as regards the history of Pietism, more indeed than it is possible to treat in this article;—on what is life in religion, what is deadness, whether the Lutherans of the seventeenth century were like the so-called orthodox among ourselves, how far the Pietists are like the so-called Evangelical, how far German Pietism, how far English Pietism, how far in short what is called *vital* religion, tends on the one hand to *formal* religion, on the other hand to *freethinking* religion, as being a transition state, vacillating between one or other of two inevitable issues. Out of these ample topics, we shall set apart a very small field for discussion, still, as we hope, not an unprofitable one. We mean to say a few words on the character of the formal Lutheranism which preceded the Pietists, and to inquire whether there be not alarming signs among our English Pietists at the present moment of a tendency to a similar formalism.

The history of the rise of Pietism may be sketched as follows: Luther died A.D. 1545. His contemporaries, who had acted upon his idea of doctrine and preaching, such as Chemnitz, Bugenhagen and Brentius, were removed from this scene of trouble and error before the end of the same century. What Luther's own idea of Christianity was, we shall not attempt to delineate; the opinions of so great a mind are not lightly and cursorily to be handled. But without definitely ascertaining the views of this or that individual, the idea then floating and prevalent among the Lutherans seems to have been this, that it was a *life* in the heart, quickened by the Spirit, manifested in faith; that words were of use merely as instruments of implanting this life, that such especially was the office of the word of God, which was the divinely vouchsafed instrument of conveying this supernatural life to the inward man; moreover, that spiritual life, consisting in faith, the word of God was the means of spiritual life, as being the means of kindling faith and similar religious feelings, dispositions, and habits. From this, two conclusions might follow; first, that words, being the means of imparting religious ideas, were only of use so far as they did convey them, that they were dependent on and subservient to the ideas they communicated to the hearer; that they had their proper scope in their effect upon him, and might be fairly estimated by that effect. Words then were, from the nature of the case, of a variable and multiform nature, springing up, doing their work, dying, reproduced, according to the occasion; in a word, there could be no creed in Christianity, that is, no announcements such as to have their end in themselves, to stand on their own ground, to be contained in and depend upon the words conveying them, not on the intelligence of

those who used them, as being from the first beyond the human mind, and being simply the words of God, with prototypes in heaven, and addressed essentially to faith, presupposing, not producing it. Next it might follow that sacraments also, not being addressed to the reason or intelligent mind, or calculated to produce faith, but being of the nature of rites, having little or no power to teach, convince or comfort,—were no part of Christianity; or at least belonged to it only so far as they did teach, convince or comfort, so far as they did tend to produce or reassure faith, as signs, tokens, pledges, seals, not means of grace. These two conclusions however seem not to have been consistently drawn out by the school in question, which occupied an intermediate position; maintaining the supremacy of the Mental Life as the essence and end of all true religion, and the measure by which all other parts of Christianity were to be valued and adjusted, and again the power of the Divine Word, that is, of the intellectual meaning or spirit of Scripture, as the Holy Spirit's main instrument in the production of this Life; but not going on to deny the divine origin of dogmatic statements, for it admitted the Catholic Creeds; nor the true virtue of sacraments, for it maintained the benefit as well as the necessity of infant baptism. As naturally follows from what has been said, its characteristic doctrine was justification by faith only; which, while in the first instance it was the doctrinal symbol of a great truth, viz. the imperative necessity of an awakened mind, a tender conscience and a reasonable service, yet might be readily perverted to the denial of all real virtue in sacraments, all divine mysteries in creeds. Such an incomplete theory, it was plain, could not remain many years. A bold and original mind had insisted upon some great truths, which were at the time depreciated and neglected, in a way which tended to peril other great truths, which he recognized also, yet did not defend, nor secure from the force of his own arguments. He had taken the practical side of the Gospel, and thrown his mind into it, but left the doctrinal and ecclesiastical side standing, but not prominent. What was left to his successors, but either from the love of these latter truths to relinquish the principle by which he enforced the former, or to carry out his principle to their overthrow? to discard altogether or to acknowledge implicitly the supremacy of the letter and the ritual? Under these circumstances they fell into a line of conduct, which might be called ingenious, were it not so natural, as to be almost spontaneous in their case, and in which indeed the Reformers themselves had led the way. They retained the principle of dogmatism, but substituted the Lutheran doctrines for its subject-matter in the place whether of the Roman or the Catholic Creed. Instead of the Pope's supremacy as the centre

doctrine of the church, another had been already assumed as its vital principle, justification by faith only. Unless men believed that they were justified on believing, they were not in a saving state. A great number of other points of faith was added; till in a short time a theology arose, as minute, as imperative, not as plausible, not as venerable as the Roman; a theology, appealing not to the unanimous voice of the Fathers, but to Luther, in a manner quite inconsistent with that great Reformer's own resistance to the Church in which he was born. Instead of following out Luther's principle, they left Babylon only to erect the old city on a new site. The *formula concordiæ* 1580, fixed the character of the Lutheran system, and, in fixing, formalized it. After an interval of about two generations the free principle of Luther's original movement awoke, especially about 1650—1660; but its champions were but as single voices in the desert, which found hearers here and there, but excited no general interest or opposition. At length, towards the end of the seventeenth century, it developed itself in the school of the Pietists, of which Spener and Franké, both eminently pious and practical men, are the chief luminaries. Here then matters were brought back pretty much to the same point in which they stood in Luther's time. > Words and forms were pronounced to be subject to *mind*, that is, to the intelligent, reflective principle of the soul. Again the time came when his school must determine whether they would go forward or backward, whether they would carry out his principle of the sovereignty of reason and the heart in religious matters to its furthest limits, or whether they could modify without destroying it. And the event took place on the whole contrariwise to what had happened at the former crisis. Then the Lutheran Church relapsed into scholastic formality; now it dissolved itself in the licence of freethinking and scepticism. The school of Pietists indeed itself drew back, and underwent the same transformation into rigid and narrow dogmatism, which had befallen the successors of Luther. But it was otherwise with the Church in which they had laboured. The spirit they had kindled in it did its work and proceeded onward to rationalism. What had happened in the preceding age at Geneva was now repeated; Calvin had become in his lifetime the involuntary parent of Socinianism and burned Servetus in disgust. Rationalism was in another country the posthumous offspring of a kindred spirit.

Now, if this outline be tolerably correct, we do not think Mr. Bickersteth would gain much, though the English school which he admires were ever so like the Pietists; and that he holds their resemblance, must be inferred from his editing in his "Christian's Family Library," on the one hand, the life of Franké, on the

other, those of Mr. Scott, and Mr. Richmond. If, we repeat, the spirit of Pietism is the inchoate state either of formalism or of rationalism, in whatever degree it is revived in the Low Church School among us, (and that it is in many respects paralleled in them we by no means deny,) the piety of its adherents, whatever it is, is no set-off against its tendencies. That it tends to rationalism is not here to be discussed. It is far too large a field to be traversed within the limits which we propose to ourselves. Besides, persons entitled to all deference have differed in their views on the subject. Mr. Rose imputes the rationalism of Germany to the ill-directed movement of the intellect in that country, to foreign infidelity, and the total want of guiding principles of church government. Dr. Pusey attributes it mainly to the antecedent stiff orthodoxy, and to the natural tendency to decay inherent in any system of man's device and distinct from the Catholic faith, such as was Lutheran theology in its developed form. Leaving this part of the subject, let us turn to the picture which history presents of that developed Lutheranism, and see whether its lineaments are not discernible in the English school, which thinks its freedom from formalism and its protest against formalism in the High Church divinity one of its especially strong points.

The German author whom Mr. Bickersteth recommends to our notice, speaks as follows in the translation, or rather abridgment, which his editor has sanctioned.

“The light of the Reformation had not long dawned upon Germany, before it became obscured by the pernicious controversies which were carried on in the bosom of the Lutheran Church; so that towards the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, a formal and lifeless orthodoxy, and a mere historical belief, took place of the true and living faith, which the reformation had diffused. People contented themselves with a strict but merely outward adherence to the established articles of belief, instead of regarding with Luther, the practical application of the simple doctrines of the Gospel as the chief and primary object.”—pp. 1, 2.

Now, so far, this description may plausibly be made apply to the history of our own Church in the 17th and 18th centuries—plausibly, but not truly. For though no one who knows the writings of our great divines will tolerate even for a moment the attempt to fix on them the charge of formalism here imputed to the Lutherans, yet the many have not looked into them; those who have, sometimes only turn over the pages, and, not understanding them, call them scholastic and technical in self-defence,—look for what they consider eloquence, and find nothing popular or attractive—look to be informed without their own exertion,

and find them methodical, deliberate, and accurate. It is plausible then to speak of Laud, Hammond, Bull, and Butler, as formal and lifeless; nor would Hooker escape if he had only written his work on Ecclesiastical Polity. So far, then, they may be conveniently compared to the Lutherans of the seventeenth century; but as our author's description proceeds, general as it necessarily is, some differences begin to show themselves.

"The smallest deviation in doctrinal points from the creed of the church was punished with an ardent zeal, which not unfrequently overstepped the bounds of propriety; and in short, the substance was neglected and forgotten whilst contending for the form. Every part of divinity received a polemical tinge; whilst biblical exposition, the chief object of theological science, was regarded as completely of secondary consideration. Olearius was unable to introduce an exegetical course of lectures at Leipzig; and the learned Carpzovius was compelled to conclude his lectures on the prophecy of Isaiah with the very first chapter. The consequence of such a mode of study at the universities was, that the preachers they sent forth, instead of expounding the Bible to the people, as the means of communicating instruction, edification, and sanctification, disseminated only scholastic dogmas and controversial sentiments, and being mostly destitute of feeling for things divine, frequently promulgated from the pulpit things of a completely extraneous and ridiculous nature; so that the Holy Scriptures were an unknown and a sealed book to the uninstructed people."

Now let us illustrate the text thus given us from a work on the subject of Lutheran theology, published in this country some years since, and then the reader shall be judge *which* of the two schools most resembles those Lutherans whom the Pietists opposed—the High Church or the Low Church of this day. The work we allude to is Dr. Pusey's Essay on German Rationalism.

This author observes, "It was a natural, though injurious consequence of the great superiority of Luther, that every expression of his upon controverted points became a norm for the party, which, at all times the largest, was at last co-extensive with the Church itself. This almost idolatrous veneration was perhaps increased by the selection of declarations of faith, of which the substance, on the whole, was his, for the symbolical books of his Church. Even in the earlier Lutheran controversies, the question is often, not whether the tenet agree with Scripture, but "whether it be a deflection from Luther's doctrine,"—"whether the individual be fallen away from Luther,"—whether, "if the expression be the same, it be used precisely in the sense of Luther."* The Lutherans then were remarkable for their strict adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, justification by

* Theology of Germany, part 1, p. 21, note.

faith only, and the rest. On the other hand, the especial offence in their eyes, committed by Spener, the chief writer of the Pietists, was his protesting against this strictness, and appealing to the spirit of the Gospel rather than to the bare letter of formulæ and confessions. The author just quoted speaks of Spener's venturing to omit "assertions, which were abused by fleshly mindedness and indolence, but to the letter of which an indiscriminating orthodoxy clung," such as, that "no one can attain to the perfection which the divine law requires,"—"in the act of justification on the part of man, faith alone is concerned without good works,"—and of his refusing to "dwell exclusively on favourite doctrines," instead of the whole of Christianity.

What is thus instanced as regards some of the more characteristic doctrines of Lutheranism, intruded into those also still more sacred, which, for the most part, lay beyond its attention. In one of the dialogues of Andrea, the theologist of the day is introduced as "*devising* formulæ that he may for the future believe as circumspectly as possible,"—and insisting on the necessity of knowing "the *mode* of union of the two natures" in Christ,—of determining whether his passion "had its origin in the preceding or following divine will,"—or whether "the counsel of God" respecting it, "in the order of causes, preceded or followed the Creation."*

As to the study of Scripture at the same period, the chief subject of exposition is said by Schröckh to have been the book of Revelations, and that principally in reference to the Church of Rome. Except in this instance, exposition was almost unknown, Scripture being used rather as a storehouse of texts, to be adduced *pro re natâ* in defence of the Lutheran dogmas, than studied and interpreted in its context and in course. "Since Luther and Melancthon," as Planck observes,† "had compelled doctrinal theology again to have recourse to Scripture alone, or, at least, principally for its truths, it should have been the first object to form a new system of scriptural interpretation." But the actual effect of their struggle had been to subject Scripture to the word of man, revelation to reason,—to shred the inspired message into minute portions, and to apply them to the maintenance of controversial positions. The chief use of the great river of divine truth seemed to lie in its feeding the canals and the broken cisterns of men. "Doctrinal theology," continues the same writer, "permitted polemical theology to dictate to it the meaning of Scripture,—found in each passage, which this deemed useful, a convincing scriptural proof, and thus admitted a number of very

* Part. 2, p. 173, 4.

† Part 2, p. 170.

ambiguous proofs, which were yet further swelled through the errors to which the ease of bringing *such* proofs together soon led them, namely, of laying an especial value on the number of these proofs.* Accordingly, as Spener tells us, many, even very diligent students of theology, who readily followed the guidance of their preceptors, had never in their life gone through a single book of the Bible. Franké also avers, that in all his university years he did not hear any lecture upon Scripture.† It is said to be one only out of many instances, that at Leipzig, Carpzov, after completing in the course of one half year the first chapter of Isaiah, did not again lecture on the Bible for twenty years, while Olearius suspended his for ten. It is illustrative of the character of the biblical exposition then given, that Franké's defence of his reading theological lectures, when it was objected to, lay in this, that his lectures being confined to practical explanations, omitting the theological controversies, were not theological, but philological. It is a more painful fact, that in Leipzig, the great mart of literature as well as of trade, at one time in no bookseller's shop was either Bible or Testament to be found. It will be observed, that in this ignorance of Scripture we are speaking, not of the laity, but their teachers. Catechising of the young was neglected, equally with exposition of Scripture in the case of the more advanced. Spener speaks of its being considered, in his day, ridiculous to maintain its value as co-ordinate with preaching; and he had himself to encounter derision and opposition for attempting it.

These traits of the Lutheran divinity of the seventeenth century certainly do not apply to what has been called the orthodox party among ourselves. Whatever be its characteristics, it cannot be said to have neglected catechism in comparison of sermons, or to have insisted on the peculiar doctrines of the Reformation, as of *first* and almost *exclusive* importance in the circle of Christian truths, or to have chosen one or two favourite doctrines to the exclusion of the rest. Nor has it shown any tendency to limit the knowledge of Scripture to the use of a few texts or passages, nor to absorb all exposition in attempts to interpret and apply to the Roman Church the sacred mysteries of the book of Revelation.

The following points of character still less belong to the High Church. "It was inferred by Edgardi," says Dr. Pusey, "that since Breitkaupf, in two sermons on the Lord's Supper from 1 Cor. x. and xi., *had not refuted* the Reformed Churches, he *must needs* hypocritically hold *with them*. The Pietists were reproached by Löscher for neglecting the office of refutation. In a sermon on a public fast day, we have it hinted that the

* P. 145.

† P. 148.

Pietistic error should not be tolerated, it being neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm—nay, a *mixture of religions*;—heretics they do not refute, but rather excuse them, the *usus elencticus* is banished from their pulpits.”* So technical and sapless was the creed of this era, that because Spener urged practical Christianity, he had to defend himself against the charge of preaching mere morality. “It is,” he says,† “an *utterly false imputation* on the parts of opponents, that *we forget faith, and erect only the moral side of good works.*” Elsewhere he retorts the following charge upon the pseudo-orthodox. “I have often observed in many well-disposed persons, and some have even owned to me, that it has been a considerable hindrance to them in their course,—that they constantly heard and thought of this only, *how that we were poor weak men, who could not advance to the highest point*; they consequently became indolent, and did not set decidedly about that which they held it impossible to attain, and began to think that they might remain children of God, although they did not apply themselves earnestly to good.” And no wonder; for in the received system the simple position, “good works are present at the time of justification,” was at times thought sufficient *wholly to invalidate the orthodoxy of the holder*; and a professor of theology objected to the Pietists, “that *by making holiness of life, a part of the essence of Christianity, they mingled it up with the covenant of grace, and with the matter of justification and salvation.*”‡ Among the 283 errors which the University of Wittenberg charged upon Spener’s writings, one was “that he considered a holy life as absolutely necessary,” as the test of faith; another, “that the new man was not less nourished by the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper than the natural man by the natural bread and wine;” and another, “that the Lord’s Supper was the *chief means of becoming partakers of the divine nature.*” Consistently with these notions, it seems to have been considered, that such doctrine as Spener’s was *fatal to the eternal prospects* of those who held it. Arndt, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century had been the precursor of the Pietists, and whose work on “True Christianity” was intended to show that it “consists in the manifestation of a true, living, active faith, in genuine piety and the fruits of righteousness,” was accused “of the *heresy of requiring from Christians angelic perfection, and of practising alchemy,*” and “his extensive benevolence was attributed to the discovery of the philosopher’s stone.” “The clergy of Brunswick issued warnings against his ‘*poison.*’” L. Osiander pronounced that his writings *could not be read by the ignorant without risk of salvation*; that they were full of he-

* P. 200.

† P. 209.

‡ P. 298.

retical poison, and pestilential; that he has blasphemed against the Holy Spirit; that *he used expressions belonging to the mystics or fanatics of an earlier period.* Calixtus, who flourished a few years later, a man, according to Weisman, "of great talent and comprehensive views," gave great offence to the upholders of the degenerate system under review by "*allowing to the fathers of the five first centuries a secondary authority in fundamental articles of faith.*"* "This," continues the writer of whom we have availed ourselves all along, "which in no respect differed from the practice of all Protestant writers, who have uniformly referred to the agreement of the early fathers, as witnesses of the primitive faith, *was imputed to him as involving the Romanist error of setting human authority co-ordinate with Scripture.*"† Though his office as teacher of theology was conferred on him for his success in controversy with a Romanist, and though by one of them he is named as their ablest antagonist, his Lutheran brethren charged him with secretly favouring them." Even Mr. Bickersteth's publication speaks favourably of Calixtus, as commencing that movement which issued in Pietism, and seeking "to redirect the attention of the students of divinity to its historical department."‡ Of Arndt also it speaks as one of the "pious and learned divines," who came forward to "provide for the spiritual necessities of the people;" while in Spener, as might be expected, it declares "the new epoch of evangelical vitality began." Far different was the reception which these individuals met with from the religionists of their day, loud clamourers as the latter were in praise of the Reformation, and idolators of the dicta of Luther. Professor Fecht, a learned theologian of the age, justified the refusal of the title of "*beatus*" or "*der selige*,"§ "of blessed memory," to Spener, (though he asserted it was applicable even to Lutherans, who had led notoriously irreligious lives, and on their death-beds had not given the slightest indication of repentance,) because Spener had not revoked his many grievous errors, or repented of the confusions he had caused in the Church. And Calov, in like manner, denied it might be given to Calixtus, on the ground, that if so, we must in consistency say *Beatus Bellarminus, B. Calvinus, and B. Socinus.*

We are far from supposing that Mr. Bickersteth would not denounce and condemn formalism wherever it is to be found. He is too candid, too reasonable, too experienced, not to know and allow that it can exist under the strictest profession of Calvinism, Lutheranism, or of any still more spiritual religion. We have drawn out the above account of the Lutheranism of 1600—1700 by no means as a *reductio ad absurdum* against him, as if he were

* Part 1, p. 59.

† Ibid.

‡ P. 2, 3.

§ P. 164.

himself advocating a creed which in *other cases* had become formal and technical. He would admit that every creed might so become. Nay, perhaps he would object *in toto* to creeds being made the essence of religion, when they were but the accidental development of it. He would say with the Reformers, that the heart and the spirit were everything; that they *naturally* developed in a certain outward form, but that the existence of that form, however accurate, was no voucher or safeguard of the inward principle. How far we agree with him in this, and where we begin to differ, is not now the question; but this he would certainly say. He would say, that if our orthodoxy in England has been, or is, technical or formal, it matters not of what nature it is, and that, though it be formalism on Laud's or on Tillotson's basis, the formalism of bigots or of latitudinarians, it may be viewed as in a type in the formalism of Lutheranism in the seventeenth century. We admit all this; and, as admitting it, have had a different purpose in the above account of Lutheranism,—a purpose which the reader may have discerned. We would maintain, not that what is familiarly (but improperly) called at this day evangelical religion *may* become technical, but that, in a great measure, it *has* so become; that, whether or not, the High Church system has ever fallen into the type of Lutheran formalism, Mr. Bickersteth's own particular creed is fast running into formalism in Great Britain at the present moment.

This day, indeed, has far too much of kindly and polite feeling to imitate the excesses of the Lutherans in Calixtus' and Spener's age, to scatter about curses in open words, to persecute the body, or to exhibit the grosser forms of technicality and superstition. The same causes which hinder the development of Romanism in image worship, restrain the energies of Ultra-Protestantism also; yet, if we make due allowance for the influence of the resisting medium, we shall be able to detect in the Ultra-Protestantism of our own Church many signs of the bigotry and narrow pedantry of that continental theology, which equally prided itself in the name, and thought it understood the principles of Luther.

We cannot help giving these titles to some of Mr. Bickersteth's own well-meant efforts to purify (as he considers it) the publications of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. In his little book *against Popery*, which, as Mr. Barter truly observes, seems really levelled against those publications and the views they embody, he objects (p. 27, note) to it being said that "a life of everlasting happiness after death" is to be "expected" upon the "conditions" of "doing those things which our godfathers and godmothers promise for us in baptism." He says, "Here everlasting

happiness is made to depend on the righteousness of the sinner, and not on the righteousness of Christ; it is no longer the gift of eternal life to us in Christ Jesus:" and this he maintains, though shortly after, as he quotes, the same work from which this is an extract declares that "the performance of these conditions," the serving and obeying God, and living according to the Gospel of Christ, will not "obtain eternal life" on account of "the doer's" own deserts, but for the sake and through the merits of Jesus Christ. He argues as if, *because* Christ is the *meritorious* cause of eternal life, there can be no other cause of it at all, or, at least, that the individual receiving it cannot be in any sense a party in the eventual acquisition of it; as if the righteousness—not "of the sinner," as he words it, but of the *regenerate*, and that not his own, but *wrought in him by the grace of Christ*, cannot be made, not a meritorious price, but a *necessary condition* of eternal life, without excluding the glory of that grace. "Thus the glory of the Gospel," he says, "free salvation, is shut out, and the true place of good works, as the fruit of faith through the Spirit, and real holiness, as flowing from the belief of God's love in Christ and our union with him, are wholly unknown and undescribed. It is the law, and not the Gospel; and though 'for the merits of Christ' is added, it is still in reality 'do this and live.' O miserable exposition of the Protestant faith, teaching all our scholars the very elements of Popery, &c.!" Now, is not this something like the Lutheran divines, who accused the Pietists of "forgetting faith" and "preaching mere morality" because they urged practical Christianity? Has not the Gospel two sides? Is there not both an efficient cause of salvation and a *sine qua non*—a positive and a negative requisite, God's part and our part? Is it not true that we are saved through Christ, yet true also that we are saved *not without* our own exertions? Must we be excluding the *former* of the two because we mention *both* the former and latter? It is bad enough to be accused, as the Pietists were, of denying faith, because they were not led to mention it; but it is worse fortune still to be considered to deny it merely for mentioning works also. Mr. Bickersteth will not allow works to be directly preached at all. They may just be hinted at, as virtually *existing in faith*, but as cautiously and briefly as possible, as if it were a dangerous secret, scarcely safe to breathe,—as if, though the mother were fruitful, the birth was sure to be fatal, or the offspring unnatural, and destined to be a matricide. According to him, to mention works is to deny faith, even though in the same sentence one enforces it. Surely this is technical, and unlike the largeness of the Apostles. St. James and St. John, not to say St. Paul, do not thus fetter and formalise the free spirit of the Gospel.

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Soon after he takes notice of the following sentences, in the same work from which the foregoing are taken. "Think on the account thou must give hereafter, and thou wilt never do amiss." "O grant that when I depart hence, to appear before thee, in the other world, I may give a good account of myself, and be received into thy favour and the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord." On these he observes, "a mind *at all* enlightened by the truth, brought home to his heart by the spirit of God, will be *deeply pained* by such exhibitions of human *self-sufficiency and self-righteousness*," as if he would say, This is a case in which there is no need of reasoning, in which reasoning will be of no service, where the defect is at once perceived by the spiritual mind without analyzing it logically, and where an analysis, however correct, would not persuade those who are not spiritual. There are such cases doubtless; the perplexity and mistakes of persons who have not in their minds the principle of a certain science, taste, or character, their hopeless struggles to be correct, their failures where they thought to be most correct, their infringing upon words and phrases which those who have the principle in them reject as alien, and which at once detect them as pretenders, and their complaints, in consequence, against the particular science in question, are technical, unintelligible, and absurd; all this may happen and the science not be to blame. Doubtless; let us grant to the full that spiritual-mindedness, as it is called, *may* be such as to develop itself only in certain peculiar and recondite phrases, and this, moreover, with what appears caprice and fantastic nicety to those who are not spiritual. Let us grant it; but then how comes it that the Apostles are not possessed of this delicate sensibility? How is it that St. John or St. Peter do not shrink from phrases in which Mr. Bickersteth would scent death ever so far off? But it is too serious a matter merely to view in that character of strangeness which really attaches to it. It is most serious and painful to think, that did such a thinker as Mr. Bickersteth meet by chance the following words, not knowing whence they came, "By works a man is justified, and not by faith only;" "Blessed are they who do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life;" or "Work out your own salvation, for God worketh in you;"—he would not *argue* about them, nor go to *prove* they were wrong. No—he would quietly put them aside; he would calmly and silently disallow them, without discussion, without effort, without misgiving, confiding in the inward feeling of his mind that they were unspiritual; he would trust in his own heart against those who knocked there, thus rejecting angels unawares. He would *know* and *feel* himself to be superior to them; to have that which

they had not; to have a gift within; and he would, in his own words, “be *deeply pained* by such exhibitions of human self-sufficiency and self-righteousness:”—and all this without arrogating any great spirituality or faith to himself,—no, though he thought himself the lowest of the low, the weakest and feeblest saint that walks the earth, (and we have no wish or thought of saying that he considers himself higher than the lowest and weakest;) but provided he did but think he was in God’s favour at all, thus must he judge of those Apostles, thus he could not but judge, for as if to allow himself no loop-hole, he speaks expressly of “a mind *at all* enlightened by the truth, brought home to his heart by the spirit of God.” Alas! we have no wish at all, we say it sincerely and sorrowfully, to impute any thing wrong or sinful to Mr. Bickersteth personally. No, it is his creed; it is his technical, arrogant, boastful creed—which, equally with that of the degenerate Lutherans of Germany, relies on itself that it is right, and despises others, and is scrupulous about mint, anise and cummin, and tyrannizes over that great gift of God, speech and utterance, loading it by fetters, and subjecting it to rules which God has nowhere imposed, not in Scripture, not by antiquity, not by the Church; nay, rules which, as is undeniable, would convict the whole college of apostles of heresy and spiritual blindness, and that, all upon the secret confidence of the individual’s heart that he knows, as if infallibly, the savour of true and untrue statements of Christian doctrine.

One or two instances of formalism, such as the above, are more than enough to convey our meaning to readers of this day, who will see others in abundance before their eyes, without the trouble of looking out for them. Another age, indeed, might not understand or believe what the real state of the case is without a thousand. We have certainly been viewing the ultra-Protestantism now current in the most favourable light, in taking a man like Mr. Bickersteth for our specimen of its religious fruits; a man of kindly and amiable feelings and candid mind, and conciliatory bearing; who, we are persuaded, thinks as charitably of others, and approaches as nearly to them as his creed allows him. We have viewed it to the greatest advantage, in assigning as the explanation of its pedantry and technicality, that it considers words as developments of a certain internal spirit or temper, which is itself one, definite, and discriminating. This is to view it as coinciding in theory with Luther or Spener, in maintaining the practical infallibility of the regenerate mind, in its judgments between truth and falsehood; whereas, in truth, the great mass of ultra-Protestants are fast sinking into that unmeaning and superstitious adherence to words and phrases which characterised

the successors of each of those reformers. Indeed the fantastic and strange distinctions between word and word, phrase and phrase, and the portentous judgments passed on individuals, in consequence of their use of them, in what is improperly called the religious world, rival in their own line, any the most extravagant codes of honour, usages of chivalry, or absurdities of fashion, which the world of arms or the gay world has ever sanctioned. The Norman baron's punctiliousness, when, in consequence of an idle word of promise, he sallied out of his strong-hold to be slaughtered by an overpowering enemy, or the pilgrimage of high-born knight or lady to the Holy Land, whatever may be imputed to it on the score of good sense, is abundantly compensated by the seriousness of purpose, the courage and the suffering therein manifested. But there is nothing great in "strifes of words," arbitrary definitions, and subtle distinctions. There is nothing in nature to ennoble, or in reason to defend, or in Scripture to hallow, or in antiquity to recommend, nor in Church authority to enforce, the miserable squabbles about the miserable subtleties which choke up the thoughts, and hinder the religious advancement of this Christian people;—we say it deliberately, which hinder our advancement in religious truth and obedience. Spenser complained that in his age men heard they were "poor weak men, who could not advance to the highest point," and became in consequence indolent, and "did not set decidedly about that which they held it impossible to attain;" and surely a similar complaint lies against the popular system of our own times. Men have contrived to block up the way to higher excellence, by forbidding it to be preached. So it is, a Christian minister cannot find words to enforce it, which are unexceptionable to ultra-Protestants. All the words of the language, by which he might enforce it, are forbidden, bought up, forfeited, as damaged or unlawful. If he says, "Work out your own salvation," he is self-righteous. If he says, "God will render to you according to your works," he is legal. If he says, "Have respect unto the recompence of the reward," he has fallen from grace. If he enlarges on the beauty of moral excellence, he is heathen. If he enters into those details, which are the very life, the sole conceivable channel of obedience, he is forgetting Christ. He is forbidden to speak of "gaining God's favour," of "receiving a reward," of "securing his love," of "observing the conditions of salvation," nay, of "acceptance by faith." The vision of the saints of God, as an angelic creation, as great, and noble, and supernatural, is considered a mere earthly dream, is gravely censured as the idle romance, the carnal poetry, of minds who never tasted the truth of the Gospel. Two or three phrases comprehend the whole of

religion. If a man has not learned the due use of them, it is as if he "had not charity," he is "nothing;" if he has them well by heart, he may do any thing. One cannot specify them without using sacred words in a like irreverent way with the persons we are censuring; the reader therefore must supply for himself instances, which indeed will readily occur to him. There is no doubt at all that Spenser's and Franké's language would have subjected them to the suspicion of our ultra-Protestants, in spite of those points in which they really resemble them, such as their unsettling things established. They were called Romanists in their day; they would be called Romanists now. If men so candid as Mr. Bickersteth can detect in Mr. Crossman's or in Bishop Wilson's language a latent Popery, surely others less considerate may account Franké or Spenser hopelessly dark or dangerously inconsistent. What indeed could Spenser be in the judgment of such religionists but very ignorant of the truth, when he declined saying, that "in the act of justification, faith alone is concerned on our part without good works?" As to Franké, the work which heads our present article contains sufficient grounds for suspicion and exception, unless the spirit of ultra-Protestantism shows towards him most unusual indulgence. The following passage might be taken for the words of a Romanist, had not Mr. Bickersteth put his *imprimatur* upon it; there is nothing in it of faith, of human corruption, of Christ, or of the warfare of flesh and spirit. It is upon *love*; and the tone is exactly that of a Roman writer.

" 'Love to God is a thing which a person must himself taste and experience in his heart, in order rightly to know what it is. Hence, although one may describe to a person, what love to God is—yet he cannot duly and salutarily understand it as he ought, unless his heart be really *inflamed with love to God*.'

" 'But perhaps you think, 'Can you then give us no description whatever of that love, with which we ought to love God?' I answer, 'Yes; some description may be given of it; but experience is requisite duly to understand the description. When I tell you that love to God is that *real angelic sweetness*, which entirely fills the heart, you cannot understand me, till God gives you to *taste a drop of this sweetness*; but if you had only tasted a single drop of it, *your eyes would become as bright and clear as those of Jonathan*, (1 Sam. xiv. 2;) so that you would see and know what love to God is.

" 'This love to God is a fruit of the Holy Spirit, by which we regard God as our supreme good, feel a cordial desire after him, seek our joy and sole delight in him, endeavour to please him alone, and long to be *more intimately united* with him, and cleave continually to him, that we may become, as it were, one heart and soul, and as the Scriptures express it, one spirit with him.'

“ See, my dear children, that you have *now* such a description of it, as is suitable for the present life; for in heaven—if you abide in Christ and thus attain to it—no description will be requisite. Duly consider this description of it, and you will perceive what an extremely excellent thing love to God is; yes, you will then at the same time understand how very different it is from the love of self and the world.”—pp. 189, 190.

After this, he proceeds to speak of our Saviour’s merits; but this is no excuse in ultra-Protestant eyes, for his not having expressly mentioned that most sacred subject before; and after all, he says not a word about faith; but proceeds, instead, in the passage which follows, to speak again of “ the Holy Spirit’s peculiar work, to shed abroad the love of God in the heart;” the very text which is the main stay of Romanism.

Or take again the following passage of Franké’s from Mr. Bickersteth’s Appendix:—

“ What more could be possibly desired, O my soul, which thou mayest not find in this love? That the Son of God should be thy Creator, should be thy life, thy light, which illuminates thee; that commands his word to be revealed to thee by the prophets and apostles, as a testimony of himself, the true light; that the angels themselves should bring thee glad tidings, and rejoice to minister unto thee; that thou shouldst become a true believer, obtain pardon for thy sins, and be again born of God, and from the fulness of his grace and truth, such in all divine riches: that he hath brought forth to thee the knowledge of God from the bosom of his heavenly Father, from the inmost and most secret divinity; that he hath, as the true Immanuel, led thee into communion with God; that thou being baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, admitted into an eternal covenant with God, shouldst be anointed with the Holy Spirit, and illuminated with his gifts, be sanctified, and by him preserved in the true faith, and be powerfully strengthened in all conflicts against sin, the world, death, the devil, and hell; that nothing should ever be able to withdraw and separate thee from the love of him; nay, ‘ That thou art come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly, and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.’ (Heb. xii. 22—24.) That thou mayest obtain all these felicities, here indeed by faith, and a comfortable foretaste; hereafter, by a most perfect intuition, and everlasting glory: and when Christ thy life shall be made manifest, thou also mayest be manifested with him in glory. I say, all these things, and whatsoever else can be entitled to the name of salvation and blessedness, thou entirely owest to this infinite love, which manifested itself to the world in this, that the Son of God himself became the Saviour of men, in such a manner, that he was made man; and his most exalted Majesty dwelt in flesh, as in his temple, among mortals:

of which St. John says, 'He dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.'"
—pp. 284, 285.

This is not ultra-Protestant, but rich and glowing Catholic language, as far as it goes. Of this our amiable editor seems somewhat sensible, and, accordingly, in his preface says—

"There is much that is very instructive in the account of his conversion, and in the description which he gives of that faith by which he was led to the knowledge and enjoyment of the true and living God; and the editor hopes that the reader may find real help from this statement of Franké's spiritual experience. . . . *It might have been well to have opened more the struggle between our fallen nature and divine grace*, which, it is very clear from his own confession, Franké deeply felt, lest any should think too highly of a man whom God so greatly honoured with extended usefulness, and either be led to despair or to glory in man."—pp. iv. v.

Still dwelling on the sin and misery of our unrenowned nature! still anxiously turning to the corruption and odiousness of the flesh, and refusing to contemplate the work of *the Spirit*, lest grace should fail of being exalted, lest glory should be given to man, lest Christ's work should be eclipsed! What a strange and capricious taste, to linger in the tomb, to sit down with Job among the ashes, by way of knowing him who has called us to light, to liberty, to perfection! How eccentric and how inconsequent,—how like, (unless sometimes seen in serious and well-judging men,) how like an aberration, to argue that to extol the work of the Spirit, must be to obscure the grace of Christ? Yet this is firmly held,—held as if in the spirit of confessors and martyrs,—held, *mordicus*, as a vital, sovereign, glorious, transporting truth, by the dominant ultra-Protestantism. Regenerate man must, to the day of his death, have in him nothing better than man unregenerate. In spite of the influences of grace, there must be nothing in him to admire, nothing to kindle the beholder, nothing to gaze upon, dwell on, or love, lest we glory in man. Grace must do nothing in him, or it is not duly upheld. The triumph of grace is to act entirely externally to him, not in him. To save and sanctify is not so great a work as to save and leave sinful. There must be nothing saintly, nothing super-human, nothing angelic in man regenerate, because man unregenerate is the child and slave of evil. Sin must be his sole characteristic, his sole theme, his sole experience; or, as Mr. Bickersteth words it, "the struggle between fallen nature and divine grace" must be "*opened*," that is, like "wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores," as the most acceptable sacrifice, the noblest, pleasantest, fittest return to God for the great gift of regeneration. Faith is to be made everything, as being the symbol

and expression of this negative or degraded state; and charity, which is the fulfilling of the law, the end of the commandment, and the greatest of Christian graces, must not be directly contemplated or enforced at all, lest it be thereby implied that the Christian can be better with grace than he is without it. Such is supposed to be, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, *spiritual* religion, the religion in which the Spirit is supposed to do little or nothing for us.

Here we shall part with Mr. Bickersteth, whom we heartily wish we could agree with better than we do. It may be well, however, before parting with the subject he has introduced to our notice, briefly to obviate a misconception which may arise of what has been above said on the subject of dogmas. A dogma, in the objectionable sense of the word, is a doctrinal statement of man's making, imposed by man's authority as necessary to salvation. Such are not those statements of doctrine which we hold by the right of private judgment, *without* enforcing them upon others; as, for instance, the doctrine of justification by faith only, which, though true, is a human deduction from Scripture, and is not made a condition of church-membership among ourselves. On the other hand, neither are those in any respect dogmas, which, though imposed, have a divine origin, for this is a sufficient reason or call for such imposition. Such, for instance, are the catholic doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which can be proved to come from God, as stated in the creeds, in the same sense in which the Gospels are proved to come from God. Neither then *human* statements, if *private*, nor *enforced* statements, if *divine*, are dogmas in an objectionable sense; but a dogma is a *human* doctrine *enforced*, such as the doctrine of purgatory as enforced by the Roman, or consubstantiation as enforced by the Lutherans of 1600, or justification by faith only as enforced by the ultra-Protestants, or the millenium as enforced by one party in the present religious world, or personal assurance by another. Nothing then that has been above said about the dogmatism of Germany interferes at all with the due strictness incumbent on us in maintaining the Catholic Faith. It is when men, rejecting their Divine Master, make themselves the servants of men—when they will not have “the Lord for their King,” and fall under the Philistines—when they supersede or encumber the true creed with their self-devised additions—when they *hide* the atonement with purgatory and pardons, or the incarnation with justification by faith only, then they become dogmatical. We, of the English Church, hold justification by faith only; we do not hold purgatory; but we neither anathematize those who do hold purgatory, nor those who do not hold justification by faith. Thus we differ

widely from the stiff orthodoxism of Germany, and the present Low Church school among us approaches towards it, inasmuch as we are not dogmatists, and our Low Church brethren are.

We say the same of ordinances. It is a bigoted and schismatical spirit which enforces them for their own sake, on human authority. Such as are of human origin may be adopted by particular Churches at their discretion, but not imposed upon other Churches; but over those ordinances which come from Christ and His Apostles, we have no power, either to alter or dispense with them. We are obliged to keep and to impose them. Hence we might change our postures in devotion, the ministerial vestments, our saints' days, our times and forms of prayer; or again, the constitution of our chapters or schools; and ought to bear with differences as to these points in other Churches. We may not dispense with the sacraments, or the ministerial succession, or the sacramentals, or social worship, or the Lord's day, or the visible Church.

One word, before concluding, as to the author and the translator of the work which has been under review. The author was, when his work appeared (1827), a very young, but able man, (probably about twenty-one,) and he has since given proof of his sincerity by being put out of his office in the university, rather than give up the strict Lutheran doctrine which in Prussia is now proscribed, Lutherans being in Prussia allowed individually to retain their opinions, but not to exist as a body.

In its English dress the character of the work is of necessity much altered by the omission of nearly five-eighths, these omissions being larger or smaller, from passages or pages down to members of sentences. We do not suppose that in so doing the translator has been guilty of wilful garbling; his object was doubtless to produce a popular book, which should inculcate the views which he thought useful for the Church; and so he has omitted what bore especially on the Lutheran body. Yet if history is to be of any use, it must manifestly be as a whole; a fragment of history, however small, is instructive, if complete: even details of single facts are useful in their way, as illustrative of principles; but a view of a period, if incomplete, is worse than useless. Thus the following passages, omitted in page 2, were certainly a desirable addition, when the character of a century is condensed into a single page, at the same time that they tend to destroy any similarity which might be wished to be established between the rigid Lutherans and any body which ever existed among ourselves.*

* We have marked the omissions by inverted commas.

"The favourite theological study everywhere was controversy." Biblical exposition was made altogether secondary, "because they confined themselves to the doctrinal system once established by church authority; and this they treated only in the *logical manner of the schoolmen*." "At some of the most celebrated universities, the only lectures given or heard were on doctrinal systems, controversy, and the art of preaching." Calixtus sought to bring back theology to a more historical basis,—(this is translated "to re-direct the attention of the students of divinity to its historical department,")—"whilst most theologians of his time would only admit of one form of doctrine, that established by the Church, by which means an unhistorical tendency might easily be given, which will pay no regard to the historical tradition of that which belonged to true Christianity, in varied forms, through all, and especially the first, centuries, and which threatened to rend the Lutheran Church entirely out of its connection with the development of the whole church from its first apostolic foundation onwards."

These passages, whether as illustrative of the character of the times, of the individuals, or of the author, ought not to have been omitted. Again, at p. 3 is omitted a chronology of Spener's life, which, if history had been any object, of course would have been necessary, and also the following:—

"Spener made many propositions for the improvement of theological study in his excellent work, *Pia Desideria*, which first appeared in 1675, as a preface to J. Arndt's *Homilies*. But Spener naturally wished to influence not the theologians only, but, and that principally, the non-theologians, and the members of his own congregation: he wished religion to be the chief concern of every individual Christian. With this view he brought out again, in especial prominence, the primitive notion of a priesthood common to all Christians, which, through the erroneous way of handling theology, had almost wholly sunk into oblivion the notion, namely, that all Christians had, through their common union with the one High-Priest and Atoner, Christ, received equally free access to God, so as to be admitted to consecrate their whole life as an offering of thanksgiving to God."

Again, p. 4, on the meetings in Spener's house, there is added in the original, "The evil principle which readily creeps into such assemblages, namely, that those who take part in them account themselves better than other men, or consider the attendance on them as a work which, by its very performance, sanctifies men, he set himself to counteract with great wisdom." Certainly a very necessary caution.

Again, the description of the rigid Lutheranism is generalized, (*ibid.*); and for "a dialectic-scholastic theology and letter of an orthodox system of doctrine, a dead faith," we have only "the letter of a lifeless orthodoxy of scholastic controversy;" as in p. 3 we have "divests the study of divinity," for "bring it back from the scholastic path which it was pursuing."

We said that we did not accuse the translator of wilful garbling, but we think that he is probably a person deficient in practical character, and so has inadvertently given a colour to things. Thus, p. 3, "much which is fanatical," is stronger than the translation, "something of an imaginary and fantastic nature;"—"Christian life," more practical than "evangelical vitality." P. 4,—"*Spener*," we are told, "wished to enter into closer connection with those of *his hearers* who were most susceptible of divine truth, that they might be a salt to *the Church*." In the original, certainly with a more Church notion, it is, "those members of *his congregation*, that they might become as salt to *the whole congregation*." Again,—"*those who attended these meetings*," for "*those members of his congregation*." "The great truths of religion and the *state of their souls*," is substituted for "cases of conscience and Christianity." P. 11,—"*hold religious converse*," for "*edify himself (build himself up) in Christianity*;" "*first impressions*," for "*first-fruits of grace*." P. 12,—"*grant him a real change of heart and make him His child*," for "*fully to alter him, and make him wholly His child*." P. 13,—"*I began to come to myself*," for "*to enter into myself*;" "*to place me in another state of mind*," for "*character of life*." P. 15,—"*a zealous professor of religion*," for "*Christian*," (as "*religion*" seems to be throughout substituted for "*Christianity*.") P. 16,—"*I felt that I myself was still devoid of that faith which would be required in my sermon*," for "*it came into my mind that I could find in myself no such faith*" [*i. e.* such degree of faith] "*as in my sermon I should require of others*." P. 32,—"*a mere outwardly moral walk*," for "*reputable*." In other places the translator is either imperfectly acquainted with German, or has translated very carelessly.

- ART. VI.—1. *Ancient Hymns, from the Roman Breviary, for domestic use, every morning and evening of the week, and on the Holy-days of the Church: to which are added, Original Hymns, principally of commemoration and thanksgiving for Christ's Holy Ordinances.* By Richard Mant, D.D. M.R.I.A., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. Rivingtons, London. 1837.
2. *The Hymns of the Primitive Church: now first collected, translated, and arranged.* By the Rev. J. Chandler, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Curate of Witley. Parker, London. 1837.

At the beginning of a judicious and candid preface, Mr. Chandler observes—

“On putting forth these Hymns to the world, I find a few words are necessary to explain the nature of the compilation, and the views I had in forming it. Some time ago, feeling the want of a collection of Christian Hymns, as an accompaniment to (not a substitute for) the Psalms of David in the Service of the Church, I looked around to those already published, to select one from among them, thinking that of course there could not possibly be any occasion to add another to the already too numerous list of Hymn-compilers. But in the first place, there was the difficulty of fixing a choice amidst the immense multitude of rival collections, each claiming the preference, there being almost as many different Hymn-books as there are churches wherein a reformation of Psalmody has been effected. And then there was the recollection that, from first to last, they are all of them unauthorized; neither are they sanctioned by proper Episcopal authority, nor is their introduction into our churches legalized by statute or order in council, so that a collection allowed by one diocesan might be forbidden by another; and if a clergyman attempted to introduce any one of them into his church, contrary to the prejudices of his choir, not only would the law not support him, but positively decide against him. Moreover, thirdly, the actual contents of these hymn-books are anything but satisfactory; not that they do not all of them contain a certain number of, in themselves, very beautiful hymns, but even of these many are quite unfit for public use; many are from sources, to which our Primitive Apostolic church would not choose to be indebted; many have been subjected to such rude alterations, that their original authors would hardly know them again; while they are generally mixed up with a great deal that is objectionable in taste, doctrine, and expression: they speak no certain language, they contain no defined system of religious feeling;—in a word, they are not, for purposes of praise, what our Liturgy is for purposes of devotion. The fact is, there is not, what there surely ought not to be, in our establishment—a standard book of Christian Hymns, set forth by the spiritual authorities of our Church, and recognised by the temporal government of the State; and it certainly seems incongruous, that whereas the doctrines of our Church are fixed by her articles, and our devotional spirit regulated by

our Liturgy, and possessing, as we do, in our homilies, an outline for our preaching, we should be left entirely to our own private judgment and discretion to provide that whereon so much depends, in the way of rousing the religious feelings, and fixing the religious impressions of our congregations, and any mismanagement in which must be productive of such evil consequences. Moreover, not only does mischief arise from the want of a fixed standard of hymns, but uniformity also, in this part of our service, is thereby put entirely out of the question.”—p. iii.—v.

We have touched upon this subject so often, that we are really glad to have an opportunity of saying the same things in the words of another person, instead of repeating them in our own. Mr. Chandler in fact makes strictures *more* severe than we have felt justified in using, on the present state of our Psalmody; and then adds:—

“It may be said, in answer to this, that we have the Psalms of David, translated into English verse by Tate and Brady. But in the first place, it would not be difficult to show that their version has not a single good point to render it worthy of the monopoly it has so long enjoyed; and, in the second place, even if it were as faithful, simple, and interesting, as it is too confessedly unfaithful, vulgar, and uninteresting, yet of itself the Psalter alone would be as insufficient for the purposes of Christian praise, as the Old Testament would be for Christian instruction without the New. To discard the Psalter, as some have done, is one extreme—to use it exclusively is the other—to alternate the Psalm and the Hymn, the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, is the medium to which we would wish to attain. So long, then, as so legitimate a want as that of a body of Christian Hymns is not regularly supplied, it is sure to supply itself, as it has in fact done, irregularly and inadequately.

“It appears, moreover, that these same opinions very generally prevail—all seem to agree that the present state of things is bad, and loudly calls for some effectual remedy—all seem to allow that the hymn-books which are at present in vogue are only for the present exigency, as just better than nothing, and that of course no one ought to think, and very few people *would* think, of keeping on with them, if a proper hymn-book was put forth by proper authority, by the rulers of the Church. But meanwhile all seem to be aware of the difficulties that lie in the way, and none seem exactly to know how they are to be got over, or what is to be done.”—pp. vi. vii.

The matter is confessedly delicate; and it is far easier to discern the mischief than to provide the remedy, or even exactly to ascertain what remedy is best to be provided. Many plans have been proposed. It has been suggested, for instance, more than once, that a collection of Psalms and Hymns should be put forth by the “*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*.” We cannot at all assent to this scheme. It labours, we conceive, under

the two-fold objection so fatal to many specious devices. It is neither desirable nor practicable. It is not practicable; for the members of that Society, as it is now constituted, could not be induced cordially to agree upon either of the preliminary points; namely, to what hands the task should be intrusted; and what sort of hymns should be admitted and what excluded from the list. And even if the subject should be referred to the Tract Committee, Mr. Cunningham has ingeniously remarked, that “no harp with seven strings could be brought into harmony on such a theme.” Nor is the project desirable, even if its practicability were as apparent as we believe its *impracticability* to be. The advantage supposed to belong to a collection issuing from the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* is, that it *would come with authority*. But if a collection of Psalms and Hymns is to be published by authority, that authority, we must venture to say, ought not to be the authority of *any* mixed Society, however venerable and however influential. Such authority resides only in *the Church itself*, as the great religious Society or community of the kingdom. Such a collection, therefore, ought to emanate from the heads of the Church, and be one, for which they, in their *official* character and capacity, are to be held responsible. No Society is, or can be, accredited for such a purpose. No Society, as such, can be entitled to decide what is to be used in our Churches, or to frame a compilation which should be almost equivalent to a new portion of our Liturgy. It would be a most dangerous precedent to invest *any* production issuing from *any* promiscuous association with *any* shadow or semblance of what is properly to be called ecclesiastical or spiritual *authority*. But, *unless* the *work* came with authority, its end would not be attained. A mere *recommendation* would be, if not utterly nugatory, at least quite insufficient. It would not ensure uniformity. Individual clergymen must be left at liberty to receive or reject it: they must be left as free as they are now, to prefer any other of the hundred extant compilations, or to form a fresh one expressly for themselves and their flocks. Or, if a collection put forth by the *Christian Knowledge Society* should *acquire*, as it probably might, a kind of *imperfect* or half-authority, which some would recognize, and some would repudiate, we can hardly imagine a state more inconvenient than the position into which matters would be thrown. There would then be neither one thing nor the other; we should have a collection, which could not reach the goal itself, yet which might lie as an obstacle in the way of some other collection by which the goal *might be* reached—some other collection to which complete and rightful authority might legitimately be annexed.

The time, however, may not yet be ripe for a compilation to which the prelates of our Church could give their sanction as a body. For the present, therefore, we must look to individuals for gathering materials together, which may hereafter be pared and moulded into an authoritative shape. Our thanks are well due to Mr. Chandler, among the rest of the pioneers.

"It has long struck me," he says, "that as our Liturgy is compiled, in a great measure, from ancient materials, so, if there were any ancient hymns still extant, of the same date and character with the prayers, they would be most suitable for our purpose; for they would, from their antiquity, carry more weight with them than any modern ones could do, and the precedence they claimed would more readily be granted to them; if, then, there could be a foundation laid, and the general mass of the work constructed out of these ancient materials, then the best of the modern ones might be very advantageously brought in to finish it off, and this would be in accordance with what was done in the case of the Liturgy, where some of the prayers and collects are ancient, and some modern, but the additions, and insertions, and restorations, are so carefully contrived, that the whole is blended together in the most perfect harmony. I was not aware, however, till very lately, of there being any such ancient hymns extant: it certainly seemed most likely that if there had been any genuine primitive ones good for anything, they would have been brought into notice long since, and therefore I concluded that there was nothing in that way superior to those rhyming jingling hymns which are found in the Popish missals, as barbarous in their latinity, as defective in their doctrine."—pp. vii. viii.

Mr. Chandler's attention, however, was directed to some translations which appeared in the *British Magazine*; and, in consequence, he procured a copy of the Parisian Breviary, and one or two other old books of Latin Hymns, especially one compiled by Georgius Cassander, printed at Cologne, in the year 1556; and regularly applied himself, as he tells us, to the work of selection and translation. The result is the collection which he now lays before the public.

"With respect to the originals," he informs us, "they bear decided marks of very remote antiquity; some may have been very much altered: some, perhaps, entirely reconstructed, but still as several of them are known to be the work of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, and other Primitive Fathers, and as all the rest bear internal evidence of being about the same age, they may well deserve the name affixed to them of 'The Hymns of the Primitive Church.' To them are added all the hymns which, from the beginning of the Reformation to the present day, have been inserted into our prayer-books; these are few, but mostly well worth preserving. Thus are set forth in one view the Hymns, ancient and modern, which are the peculiar property of the Church of Christ—those which she had before the Papal apostasy, and those which have

been added to her collection since—the Hymns for the Divisions of the Day, the Hymns for the Seasons of the Church, the Hymns for Particular Occasions. Here is a nucleus which, in proper hands, may be added to, and amended in such a way from more modern sources, as to form a Hymn-Book in every respect worthy of our Church. It will not, I trust, be displeasing or unedifying to her members to see a Morning Hymn by a Bishop of Milan of the fourth century joined to one on the same subject by a Bishop of Salisbury of the seventeenth. Perhaps, if the authorities of our Church carry on the design, we may see next to them a hymn by a Bishop of Calcutta of the nineteenth. For it should be remembered, that it was a particular wish of Bishop Heber, that there should be a Hymn-book for our Church, and all his Hymns were written with the view of forming one. Most happy, indeed, shall I be, if the present compilation can contribute, in the smallest degree, towards the accomplishment of so desirable a work.”—pp. ix. x.

Such being the materials of the compilation before us, it is divided into *Hymns for the days of the week*, and *Hymns for the Seasons of the Church*. At the end of the first part is a curious notice on the ancient “*divisions of the day*.” We can only extract a part, having been already almost too liberal in our quotations.

“In the arrangement of these Hymns for the different periods of daily worship, I have preserved, as far as possible, the original order in which I found them; I will add a few words in explanation of the manner in which each day was parcelled out, in the primitive times, into seasons for devotion. It appears there was a service at the end of every three hours, or eight services in the course of the twenty-four. To wit, first, Nocturn, 12 at night; second, Matins, 3 in the morning; third, Ad Primam, 6 A.M.; fourth, Ad Tertiam, 9 A.M.; fifth, Ad Sextam, 12 in the day; sixth, Ad Nonam, 3 in the afternoon; seventh, Vespers, or Evensong, 6 P.M.; eight, Completorium, or Conclusion, 9 P.M.

“This would give seven out of the eight divisions to the day, and only one to the night, and thus agree with Psalm cxix. 164, ‘Seven times a day do I praise Thee;’ and Psalm cxix. 62, ‘At midnight will I rise to give thanks unto Thee;’ or by counting the ‘Completorium’ and the Matins with the night, it would make three Nocturns, which is the most usual division. These divisions were evidently made originally in a country where the length of days is more uniform than in ours; and I may add, at a time when men’s minds reverted with more uniform frequency to their religious exercises than appears to be the case at present.”—pp. 35, 36.

We quite agree with Mr. Chandler, when he observes, that “in the present days, these systematic subdivisions may stand a chance of being objected to, as formal and old-fashioned; or be condemned as tending to cramp the energies of the awakened soul with unwarrantable shackles.” The temper of the age has, indeed, very little sympathy with “*Nocturns*,” “*Matins*” or “*Lauds*,” “*Evensong*” and “*Completorium*.” The very men-

tion of them, we suspect, may be regarded as an undisguised symptom of attachment to Popery.

But our readers may be impatient to see some specimens of these Primitive Hymns. In Mr. Chandler's volume the originals are printed at the end of the translations; but we shall put them side by side in order that a fairer and readier judgment of the English Version may be formed; and also that some opinion may be entertained of the actual merit and value of the *Hymni Ecclesiastici* themselves. We say the actual merit and value; because their authenticity, their claim to veneration from their mere age, and the appropriateness of the mode in which Mr. Chandler has distributed them, we shall not on this occasion examine. It may be a future task to canvass one or more of these points; and likewise to inquire into other and long-neglected sources, from which precious matter for Psalmody may be drawn.

The following is given as *Wednesday, Nocturn*.

"Miramur, Oh Deus, tuæ
Recens opus potentie,
Quæ scripta scintillantibus
Refulgent astrorum globis.

Ut sol diei, candida
Sic luna nocti præsidet:
Exercitu totum novo
Discriminant stellæ polum.

At ipse, cælorum decus,
Sol novit occasus suos,
Sunt certa lunæ tempora
Statique lapsus siderum.

Jugi rotata turbine
Furantur et reddunt diem:
Tu semper idem, nescius
Mortalium spem fallere.

Turbata quid mens fluctuat?
Curâ paternâ nos regis:
Æterna sit cordi salus;
Æterna nos salus manet.

Suprema laus et gloria
Uni sit et trino Deo,
Suo reponi qui jubet
Curas et angores sinu."

"The wonders of th' Almighty hand
Devoutly we admire,
Inscribed upon the vault above
In characters of fire.

The sun is ruler of the day,
The moon controls the night;
The starry host adorn the sky
With varied streams of light.

This ruler of the day must set,
And hide his dazzling rays,
The moon and starry hosts observe
Their own appointed days.

Thou still revolves each orb of light,
Now hidden, now displayed:
Thou, Lord, for ever art the same;
Thy mercy knows no shade.

Oh! fear not, doubt not, that our God
Hath all a father's care;
With joy to heaven your hearts uplift,
For endless joys are there.

All glory to the Three in One,
The God of joy and peace,
Who comforts those who trust to Him,
And bids their sorrows cease."

A morning hymn, said to be by St. Ambrose, which stands as No. 35, is a pleasing ode; and there is some poetical beauty in a hymn on "Innocents' Day," No. 46, which commences "*Salvete, flores Martyrum*." "*The Circumcision*," No. 48, is skillfully turned.

"Felix dies, quam proprio
Jesu cruore consecrat!
Felix dies, quâ gestiit
Opus salutis aggredi.

"Oh, happy day, when first was poured
The blood of our redeeming Lord!
Oh, happy day, when first began
His sufferings for sinful man!

Vix natus ecce lacteum
Profundit infaus sanguinem :
Libamen est hoc funeris,
Amoris hoc præludium.

Intrans in orbem, jam Patris
Mandata jussus exsequi,
Statum præoccupat diem,
Et quâ potest, fit Victima.

Quo Christus ictu læditur,
Lex abrogata cecidit :
Et incipit lex sanctor,
Mansura semper caritas.

Tu Christe, quod non est tuum,
Nostro recide pectore ;
Inscribe nomen, intimis
Inscribe legem cordibus.

Qui natus es de Virgine,
Jesu, tibi sit gloria,
Cum Patre, cumque Spiritu,
In sempiterna secula."

Among the hymns given for *Saints' Days*, we must content ourselves with No. 91.

" Sinæ sub alto vertice
Cœlo tonante, lex data :
Inter tubas et fulgura
Præsens minabatur Deus.

Nunc temperato numine
Per vela carnis blandiis
Amat videri, languidis
Se lumen aptans sensibus.

Insculpta saxo lex vetus
Præcepta, non vires dabat :
Inscripta cordi lex nova
Dat posse quidquid imperat.

Scripsistis hanc fidâ manu,
Hanc voce, voci consonis
Hanc prædicâstis moribus,
Signâstis hanc et sanguine.

Afflante Divo Spiritu
Quæ verba vitæ traditis,
Hæc ille nostris imprimat
Delenda nunquam cordibus.

Sit laus Patri, laus Filio,
Qui nos, triumphatâ nece,
Ad astra secum dux vocat,
Compar tibi laus, Spiritus."

Just entered on this world of woe,
His blood already learned to flow :
His future death was thus expressed,
And thus His early love confessed.

From heaven descending, to fulfil
The mandates of his Father's will,
E'en now behold the victim lie,
The Lamb of God, prepared to die ;

Beneath the knife behold the Child,
The innocent, the undefiled ;
For captives He the ransom pays,
For lawless man the law obeys.

Lord circumcise our hearts, we pray ;
Our fleshy natures purge away ;
Thy name, thy likeness may they bear :
Yea, stamp thy holy image there !

The Father's name we loudly raise,
The Son, the Virgin-born, we praise
The Holy Ghost we all adore,
One God, both now and evermore."

" The law on Sinai's fiery height,
'Mid thunderings was given :
The lightning flash, the trumpet clang
Bespoke the God of heaven.

But now a veil of human flesh
Around his brightness thrown,
Our God in milder beams arrayed,
To favoured man is shown.

The stone-writ law no strength could give
Its precepts to fulfil ;
The Gospel law converts the heart,
And sanctifies the will.

This Gospel law your faithful hands
And faithful lips revealed ;
Commended by your holy lives,
And by your life-blood sealed.

And, oh ! may these your words of life,
Which God's own hand hath traced,
By him be written on our hearts,
And never be effaced !

Amen."

The translations, in general, are *neat* ; but do not rise to a very high level. They are, for the most part, faithful to the sense of the original poems ; but while some parts are impregnated with grace and spirit, others are flat and tame. Of this defect Mr. Chandler seems himself to be aware ; for he urges, by way of anticipative apology, " my aim in translating has been to be as

simple as possible, thinking it better to be, of the two, rather bald and prosaic than fine and obscure." To that greatest of all beauties in composition, which consists in simplicity *without* baldness, he has not always arrived.

Mr. Chandler's publication, we think, would have better preserved unity and originality and character, if he had given us more of the Ancient Hymns, and *none* of the Modern. Even the Morning and Evening Hymns of Bishop Ken—by the way, we never see them printed on any two occasions in quite the same words—beautiful as they are, appear to us out of place. In the Latin poems now presented to us, there is a great sameness. Might not Mr. Chandler, in adhering to unity, have also afforded a much larger variety? Almost all these hymns are *dimeter iambics*—with a very few irregular *trochaics* interspersed—but without any *sapphic* and *alcaic* measures, and with only the old "*Dies iræ, dies illa*," which, in spite, nay, perhaps, partly in consequence of the unclassical jingle of the rhymes, though chiefly of course from the sublimity of the subject and the simple sternness with which it is treated, affects us more powerfully than almost any other composition.* Mr. Chandler's version is creditable; but no translation can convey its full effect.

The volume, however, upon the whole, is one which we would recommend to notice, because it dives into a mine of inquiry which has not been much worked; also because it contains very favourable evidence of the research and talent of the author; and because it is unexceptionable in its tone, as being without false divinity, without sentimental affectation, and without fantastic or prurient expressions.

It but remains to say, that although we should be sorry to vouch for the remote antiquity, and the absolute genuineness of every stanza in these "*Hymns of the Primitive Church*," Mr. Chandler's labours form a valuable contribution to a great and necessary work; namely, the ultimate attainment of a really good

* Upon this point, we find our opinion in some measure corroborated by Sir Walter Scott;—as our readers may see in Lockhart's Memoir, &c.—that most delightful and interesting work, every succeeding volume of which we devour with a more eager appetite than those which had come out before it. In answer to Crabbe, who had made some communication to him respecting a projected collection of Hymns, Scott writes, "I think those hymns which do not immediately recall the warm and exalted language of the Bible, are apt to be, however elegant, rather cold and flat for the purposes of devotion. You will readily believe that I do not approve of the vague and indiscriminate Scripture language which the fanatics of old and the modern methodists have adopted, but merely that solemnity and peculiarity of diction, which at once puts the reader and hearer upon his guard as to the purpose of the poetry. To my Gothic ear, indeed, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Dies iræ*, and some of the hymns of the Catholic Church, are more solemn and affecting than the fine classical poetry of Buchanan; the one has the gloomy dignity of a Gothic Church, and reminds us instantly of the worship to which it is dedicated; the other is more like a Pagan Temple, recalling to our memory the classical and fabulous Deities."—vol. iii. pp. 24, 25.

and unobjectionable collection of psalms and hymns for public worship. They are as another stone brought towards the materials of a sacred temple, which may hereafter be erected. Whether it shall rise in our day, with its full size and its right proportions, is a question which we cannot decide. We can only express our hope, that our Church may at length possess a body of hymns, as well as psalms, worthy to be put side by side with her incomparable Liturgy. Much has been already done. The names of several of our authors, either living or but lately dead, such as Heber, Mant, Keble, Milman, Montgomery, Dale, with many others, will occur to all who are interested in the improvement of religious poetry: the muse of Wordsworth has been often dedicated to ecclesiastical and holy themes: the mind of Southey is too high and fine not to be devotional; and even Mr. Moore, like Lord Byron, has attuned the breathing spirit of verse and music, which was always within him, to Scriptural melodies; and Mr. Bowles, in his first and second series of the *Villager's Verse Book*, has furnished us with pious compositions, in which he appears to much greater advantage than when he is launching the fulminations of his fierce, but somewhat feeble wrath, against the Church Commissioners. But for the completion of all that is requisite, several other qualifications, besides poetical genius, are imperatively needed: nor can we perhaps expect it to be accomplished, or even systematically begun, until the public mind shall have been not merely awakened, but in some measure settled, on the subject.

And here we should have finished, but that *another* collection of sacred Odes has just arrived, to demand our immediate attention.

We have put Bishop Mant's publication first at the head of this article; but the fact is that we did not receive it, until the preceding mention of Mr. Chandler had been made. Our remarks, therefore, must come, awkwardly enough, in the way of an Appendix. The similarity—and, in some respects, the coincidence—of these two contemporaneous works, the *Primitive Hymns*, and the *Ancient Hymns*, in name, origin, design, and mode of arrangement, although this last feature must have been determined, in some degree, by the common sources from which both were drawn, is really curious. The Bishop of Down and Connor has introduced, together with many of the Odes selected and translated by Mr. Chandler, a version of a few Hymns in the Sapphic and other common Horatian metres, although he has not printed the originals; and this version is exquisitely done. Instead, however, of putting the translations together with an invidious comparison, we shall afford ourselves the pleasure of

transcribing two or three of the original Hymns, by Bishop Mant, which will breathe their own recommendation into the heart of every pious and poetical reader. These Hymns, we ought to say, are now and then interspersed, but for the most part added at the end of the translated pieces. We could have wished, we confess, that *all* had been added, and *none* interspersed, that so the two main divisions of his Lordship's work might have been kept distinct. It is nevertheless true, that the original hymns harmonize admirably well with the translated; and so over the whole is cast an antique and primitive character, which might almost have befitted the days of St. Ambrose or St. Gregory.

“ HYMN COMMEMORATIVE OF SINGING PRAISES TO GOD.

PRaise we our God! our voices raise
The Lords of Hosts, our God, to praise!
To Him, by whom our lips uncloze,
The mouth her richest homage owes.

Who, mid glad anthems pealing high,
Would wait in lifeless silence by?
When worship claims the posture fit,
Who in irreverent ease would sit?

Rise, rise, and act the angel's part,
In gesture, voice, and holy heart;

Who loud their Hallelujahs sing,
With crowns cast off, and folded wing.

O may we here our homage pay,
Like angels in the realms of day;
That we in future worlds may hymn
God's praises with the Cherubim.

Praise Him, adored in ages past;
Praise Him, whose praise shall ever last:
Praise Him amid his heavenly host;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”

“ HYMN OF THANKSGIVING FOR THE CHURCH'S CREEDS.

OF frail and fluctuating mind
Is man, and apt to stray;
And baseless objects, ill defined,
His sight and steps betray.

And though Thy word, O God, be true,
And beam with heavenly light,
Of those it oft deceives the view,
Who scan it not aright.

We deem it then Thy act of grace
And providential care,
That not alone we're left to trace
Thy truths unfolded there:

Which widely scatter'd o'er Thy roll,
And thence in one combined,

Thy Church presents, unmix'd and whole,
Arranged, secured, defined.

Hence raised she in her ancient days
The symbols of her creed,
To guard her sons from error's maze,
Their feet aright to lead.

And we those forms of wholesome words
Maintain from days of old;
And what the Church her faith records,
We still unshaken hold.

Then glory to our gracious God,
The Three in One, be paid,
As ever by His Church avow'd,
And by His word display'd.”

“ HYMN COMMEMORATIVE OF HEARING GOD'S MINISTERS.

OFt as in God's own house we sit,
and hear the Preacher there,
Precursive to the grave discourse,
the holy text declare;
Bethink we well, whose name he bears,
and whence his word is given,
The steward of God's mysteries,
the minister of heaven.

Away then with the itching ear,
that craves the pleasant tongue;
Away the eyes that for the sight
of art theatric long;

Away for simple phrase severe
the judgment too refined;
But most away the o'erweening heart
and self-sufficient mind.

Be rather ours to bear our part
with awe and godly fear;
O'erlook the frailties of the man,
and God's high message hear:
Be from our hearts, howe'er disguised,
the pride of life exiled;
And heaven's best gift ingraft instead,
the meekness of a child.

O God, to Thy ambassador
thus speaking in Thy name,
Aid us to show the deep respect
thy messenger may claim ;

To listen, ponder, and digest
each truth and law divine,
And prize Him for His office sake,
and, Lord of all, for Thine !”

“ HYMN OF THANKSGIVING FOR THE CHURCH’S REFORMERS.

WHILE for Thy Saints, who pour’d abroad
Thy Gospel’s glorious light
Through heathen lands, we bless, O God,
Thy wisdom, love, and might ;
We fain would their loved names unite,
Who pierced the clouds obscure,
Which hid from our forefathers’ sight,
That Gospel’s radiance pure.

To clear Thy truth their heart’s desire,
Their life’s pursuit and aim,
They mark’d unmoved the martyr’s pyre,
Unmoved they felt the flame :
There lit, the fire a sign became
Through all the land to prove,
How they could bear Thy cross and shame,
Who for Thy glory strove.

Hence in Thy truth Thy Church delights,
From old corruptions freed ;
Unblemish’d worship, spotless rites,
And unadulterate creed :
Hence Thy pure words her children lead
To speak the united prayer,
Their Saviour’s name alone to plead,
His cup of blessing share.

O God, whose love our country’s guides
Once nerved with courage strong,
And still o’er us their sons presides,
Accept our grateful song.
And O the truth, revived among
Our sires from times of old,
Do thou to future times prolong,
And grant our sons to hold !”

It is observable, from these brief specimens, that the Bishop of Down and Connor, in addition to other objects which will presently be seen, has acted upon two excellent ideas ; of which the one is to describe in verse the different states of Christian feeling, and the different stages of Christian progress, whether actual or desirable ; and the other to connect the history of the Church with the hymns of the Church, and to commemorate, in sacred song, the most remarkable and illustrious events in its sacred annals.

This is not the first time that Dr. Mant has kindled the flame of poetry on the altar of religion. The country is already indebted to him for many delightful strains, connecting the glories of revelation with the beauties of nature. Nor can we well conceive a more worthy employment for the *tempora subseciva* of a Christian prelate than this dedication of the talents, given by God, to the celebration of His praise. And surely all that Cicero has said of poetry, in his oration for Archias, is true, in a peculiar degree, of poetry sublimed and hallowed by Christian devotion. Not only is it, in such a case, the charm of youth and the solace of old age ; but, at the most troublous period, and in the most distracted land, it may carry the imagination into purer and nobler regions, which the storms of mortality can never reach ; and tranquillize the mind, without deadening its sympathies. We therefore heartily congratulate the Bishop of Down and Connor, that, amidst the turbulence of factions and the fatigues of official business, he can devote his hours of relaxation, for we will not

call them his hours of leisure, to the cultivation of pursuits, which, while they entirely accord with the tone of his graver studies and occupations, can soothe, and calm, and elevate the soul, raising it above the world, and even above itself.

As it has been our fortune to go backward throughout this article, we shall conclude it by giving one or two citations from Bishop Mant's Preface to his "*Ancient Hymns*;"—in which, by the way, he does us the honour of alluding to our former notice of an excellent pamphlet, which we did not know at the time to have proceeded from his Lordship. They will afford the proper explanations, relating to his present production, better than any other words which we could use:—

"To those who are acquainted with the history of our Book of Common Prayer, it is well known that our excellent Reformers, studious of goodness rather than of novelty, constructed their provisions for the public worship of the Church upon the foundation of previously existing forms. Accordingly our Common Prayer Book has derived a large portion of its contents from the Breviary, or Daily Service Book, of the Romish Church, purified from corruption, and reduced to the standard of Holy Scripture, as professed by the Catholic Church of Christ.

"Together with its other voluminous provisions, the Breviary contains a considerable number of Hymns, used in the regular course of its daily, weekly, or occasional services; one of which, known by the name of 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' from its first verse, has been adopted by our Church in her 'Ordering of Priests' and 'Consecration of Bishops.' Of these Hymns, some are altogether scriptural and unexceptionable in doctrine and expression; others debased by a sprinkling of error and corruption; others again corrupt and unsound throughout. From the two former of these classes, especially from the first, it appeared to me some years ago that a selection might be made, which, rendered into English verse, (for it is hardly necessary to observe, that these Hymns, as well as the other provisions of the Breviary, are in Latin,) would be an acceptable and useful Manual to many individuals and families of our reformed Church, who are pleased with a metrical form, as an eligible vehicle of their devotions."—pp. iii. iv.

"Some other original Hymns have been added, with especial reference to the holy ordinances of our Lord in His Church; and to the Church's provisions for carrying those ordinances into effect. For both of these ought at all times to be kept in the memory, to constitute the principles, and to actuate the conduct, of all God's people, who are blessed in being members of our part of Christ's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church: and the mention of them is accordingly fit to be incorporated with our devotions, in verse as well as in prose, in the way of commemoration and thanksgiving. Thus in each of these Hymns it has been my object to fix in the mind some article, important to the well-being of Christ's body, and of his members in particular; arranged

so as to give something like a compendious sketch of practical Theology, as exemplified in the Christian means of grace. Should any families or individuals be disposed to make them a part of their devotions, it is submitted that they might occasionally be adopted on the Sunday, or might be used in succession as daily exercises throughout a week.

"I have said that this Book of Hymns is designed in aid of family or personal devotion: with respect to public worship, I do not presume to offer any materials for its use; because, as I know no consideration which will justify the act or sanction of an individual in contributing to the introduction of *Forms of Singing*, any more than of *Forms of Praying*, into our churches and chapels, without public legal authority, so I am persuaded that every new attempt of the kind only tends to aggravate the evils of such a practice."—pp. v. vi.

"I will only add, that should it ever be determined by those, who have the requisite authority in the Church, to take the subject into their grave consideration, and encounter some difficulty for the purpose of remedying, by God's blessing, great and unquestionable, and continually increasing evils; and should the result of their deliberations be a resolution to adopt the necessary steps for providing, under the proper legal sanction, a Book of Hymns for the use of the United Church of England and Ireland: the application of the precedent established by our Reformers in the construction of our Book of Common Prayer, and accordingly the adapting of such compositions, as form the leading contents of this little volume, to the use of public as well as of private devotion, might possibly be deemed not unworthy of a thought. And possibly also it might be not unworthy of inquiry, how far it would be well to apply the principle, which has for the most part regulated the composition of the Original Hymns in the latter part of this volume: the principle, namely, of introducing into this department of divine worship thankful commemorations of the constitution and ordinances of the Church; and thus taking occasion for impressing on her members a sense of the blessings which they enjoy in her communion; as the spiritual privileges of the chosen people of old, their Salem and their Zion, their temple and ark of the covenant, their priesthood, their festivals, and their religious solemnities, were no doubt endeared to the hearts of the members of the Jewish Church, by being commemorated in their sacred songs."—pp. vii. viii.

It remains to be said that we have received other metrical collections of Psalms and Hymns:—but we do not like even to particularize them, as they form a descent some five thousand fathoms deep from the Bishop of Down and Connor.

ART. VII.—1. *Lectures on the Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Blessed Eucharist. Delivered in the English College, Rome.* By Nicholas Wiseman, D. D. Vol. I. Scriptural Proofs. London, 1836.

2. *The Roman-Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist Considered; in answer to Dr. Wiseman's Arguments, from Scripture.* By Thomas Turton, D. D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; and Dean of Peterborough. 1837.

3. *Remarks on Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Rule of Faith and on the Eucharist.* By Philalethes Cantabrigiensis. (Reprinted from the British Magazine.) Rivingtons. 1837.

In the year 787 was assembled the Second Council of Nice, to the dismay and confusion of all impious *Iconoclasts*. Among the propositions condemned by that assembly, was one, affirming that the Eucharist was the only image of Jesus Christ which could be permitted to the Church; and that, consequently, all other images were to be banished, as manifest temptations to idolatry. This notion, it was replied, was altogether intolerable: seeing that the Eucharist was *the body itself, and the blood itself*; and that, therefore, it could with no propriety be spoken of as an image or representation of Jesus Christ. From this it appears that, in the language of the Church, the consecrated elements were, at that period, clearly identified with those things of which they were, sometimes, called the figure, or the symbol.*

In the year 1215, the still fluctuating and unstable notions of men, respecting the presence of the Saviour in the Sacrament, were condensed and consolidated, by the decrees of the fourth Lateran Council, into the form of a doctrine, and enshrined in that imperishable word—Transubstantiation. According to this doctrine, the bread was changed into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood; but, as the flesh and blood together make up the integral body, and, so, are inseparable from each other, it would seem to follow that communion in either kind must, of itself, be perfect. In 1414, the Council of Constance attempted to banish all uncertainty as to that matter, by the following portentous canon:—"Licet Christus sub utrâque specie instituerit, eundemque administrandi modum Ecclesia Primitiva retinuerit, *his tamen non obstantibus*, consuetudo Ecclesiæ, quâ, sub panis "specie tantummodo a laicis suscipiatur, est observanda." This desperate decree was confirmed by a canon of the Council of Basil, in 1437, viz.—"Eucharistiam sub unâ specie a laicis sus-

* Fleury ad ann. 787.

“cipiendam: Christum integrum esse, sub alterutrâ specie : et “consuetudinem Ecclesiæ pro lege habendam.” All this while, the Christian world had been deeply and violently agitated by so outrageous a mutilation of the Saviour’s Institution : and the displeasure continued to accumulate, till *the pressure from without* compelled the Council of Trent to grapple with the question. By those who contended, in that assembly, for communion in both kinds, the 6th chapter of St. John was considered as a fortress of impregnable strength : for it declares—“*except ye eat the flesh of “Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*” On the contrary, the abettors of the Church’s infallibility maintained that this strong-hold could afford the remonstrants no protection ; for that the whole of the sixth chapter of St. John was capable only of a *spiritual* interpretation. The Fathers of the Holy Synod, however, were far too wise to abandon either of these modes of explanation : for, why should they not keep possession of two strong positions, each of which might be eminently useful against the common enemy ? Their decision, accordingly, was as follows :—“Cum, eâ geminæ interpretationis opulentia, de Sancti “Johannis testimonio, Ecclesia frueretur, quarum utraque pro-
“bationem ab hæreticis inde deductam impugnabat, ad unius
“tantummodo paupertatem non esse redigendam.”

Now this really does appear to us a most consummate masterpiece of what we may venture to call *double-barrelled* theology. It is absolutely perfect, and inimitable. Here are two expositions, widely different from each other, of which, the first may be useful against one class of heretics, and the second against another class of heretics. The Church abstains from giving her solemn canonical sanction to either, *exclusively* : but leaves her champions at full liberty to employ whichever of them may, from time to time, be found most serviceable. Is the claimant of communion in both kinds to be silenced ? He is, straightway, reminded that the Church affords him no authority for a literal interpretation of the words of the Evangelist, when he speaks of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, or even for *any* application of those words to the blessed Eucharist. Is the rebel against Transubstantiation to be put down ? He is told that the *spiritual* sense of the words is utterly inadmissible, and that they can indicate no less than the *substantial* presence of the Saviour, under the semblance of the consecrated material. And thus it is that the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, without committing her infallibility to the truth of either exposition, exults and revels in the power and the *opulence* of both !

It may, possibly, be alleged that the Anglican Church abstains, with equal caution, from a dogmatical application of the sixth

chapter of John, to the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood. With equal *caution*, perhaps; but, certainly not with equal *craft*. Her language, in effect, is simply this—"Take your choice; interpret the phraseology of John vi. either with especial reference to the Eucharist, or, merely with reference to the benefits of the Saviour's Advent, generally,—in either case, we maintain that our doctrine is safe. We deny not that our Lord *may*, on that occasion, have spoken with a view to the future institution; and many of us conceive it to be highly probable that he did so. But, whether he did or not, our persuasion is, that his words afford no support whatever to the sacramental doctrines peculiar to the Church of Rome."

Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, indeed, is very far from *parading* the Church's opulence of interpretation. On the contrary, he seems to think of nothing but the exemplary moderation and abstemiousness of the Council, in forbearing to appropriate the texts in question to the settlement of the grand sacramental verity. "See," he exclaims, "how false are the assertions commonly made, that the Council blindly decreed whatsoever it listed, without any consideration of grounds or arguments. So far from wishing, at any cost, to seize upon a strong confirmatory proof, such as it might have drawn from John vi., it *prudently* refrained from defining any thing regarding it, because the tradition of the Church, however favourable, was not decided for it." And then he adds, "Although, when arguing with Protestants, we waive the authority of the council, and argue upon mere *hermeneutical* grounds, and can support one proof on these as strongly as the other, yet, to the mind of the Catholic, who receives his faith from the teaching of the Church, the evidence of the dogma is in the argument, on which we are now entering—(viz: from the words of the Institution)—and which has been pronounced, by her, definitive on the subject." (Lect. p. 160.)

It appears, then, that Dr. Wiseman, being here engaged in the task of edifying the students of the English College at Rome, relative to the sacramental controversy, rejoices in the comfortable liberty provided for him by the modesty and *prudence* of the Holy Synod; and, accordingly, employs, without hesitation, a formidable apparatus of *hermeneutical* science, for the purpose of pressing into the service of the Romish doctrine a certain portion of the sixth chapter of St. John. And we have very little doubt that his labours herein will meet with most gracious acceptance at the Vatican. As little can it be doubted that, if some other master of Romish theology should, at any time, find it needful to suppress the scruples of the faithful, or the gainsaying of the heretic, respecting the practice of communion in one kind, the science of

hermeneutics would, still, be found abundant in resources for that purpose also. The words which relate to eating the flesh, and drinking the blood, of Christ, would then be invested with a purely spiritual sense; and this, without one syllable of disapprobation from the infallible Church. In fact, Dr. Wiseman himself has told us, that "the Church always decides the dogma, and, in "some, though few instances, has decided the meaning of texts: "but, generally speaking, it leaves the discussion of individual "passages to the care of theologians; who are not at liberty to "adopt any interpretation which is not strictly conformable to "the dogmas defined."

Every person will perceive how unspeakably difficult it must always be to encounter a theology, which holds it lawful to adopt one interpretation of Scripture, for the purpose of illustrating one *dogma*, and a directly opposite interpretation for the purpose of illustrating another *dogma*! We know not well whereto to liken such a system, but to a flaming sword which, literally, turns every way—east and west, north and south—to keep the way of Church authority and tradition. Or, perhaps we may be pardoned for describing it by help of another similitude; and saying, that it reminds us of one of those toys, resembling the human form, which, being duly loaded, is sure to assume an erect position, in whatever direction or manner it may be thrown. Is it not true, that the Romish controversial divinity is neither more nor less than a sort of artificial *tumbler*, which is always sure to light upon its feet? The infallible authority of the Church is the interior *loading*. The *hermeneutical* apparatus is the lighter material of the visible figure. And, between the two, permanent overthrow or prostration is absolutely impossible.

But, now, a word or two upon the *hermeneutical* apparatus itself. The whole science of *hermeneutics*, as understood by Dr. Wiseman, depends upon one simple and obvious principle, applicable alike to the writings of all authors, whether sacred or profane; namely, that "the true meaning of a word or phrase, is that which "was attached to it, at the time when the person, whom we interpret, wrote or spoke." (p. 20.) Well—there scarcely needs either ghost from the grave, or oracle from Rome, to tell us this. Undoubtedly, all words, and forms of speech, must be understood according to the notorious usage of the period in which they were uttered, or written. And, since different meanings, or different shades of meaning, will frequently gather round the same word, in the lapse of ages, it becomes, of course, an important province of philology to ascertain the power of that word, at the precise time when the author or the speaker flourished. All this is true, and obvious enough. But, surely, this one exiguous proposition

can hardly be the parent of that giant brood of wonders, which our hermeneutical show-man is here exhibiting to the world! The moment we looked upon it, we were haunted by certain suspicions that more must be meant than meets the ear. We felt as if our footing was on very slippery ground. We began to apprehend—like Dr. Turton—that our conductor might be carrying us, by a gentle and gliding transition, from “the meaning of a word, or phrase, to the impression made by an entire address, or section of an address;” seeing that “a word or phrase might be understood by one, who mistook the import of the sentence; and the sentence by one, who misapprehended the whole discourse.”* As we proceeded, we perceived, at every step, fresh cause for vigilance and circumspection. And yet, with all our care, we found it unspeakably difficult to see our way an inch before our face;—such were the windings and doublings of our guide! The following, as nearly as we can discern and describe it, is his line of exposition. He first tells us that *words and phrases* are to be understood, according to their current import, at any given time. He, next, informs us, that *words* may chance to be misunderstood: and that, therefore, “the science decides, not by the impressions *actually made*, but by those which the words were necessarily *calculated to make*.” And yet, he ends by declaring that “the only true interpretation of any person’s words, is that which *must necessarily* have been affixed to them”—(and which, consequently, *was* affixed to them)—“by those whom he addressed, and by whom he, primarily, desired to be understood.” And, finally, to complete our confusion and perplexity, he confesses, that “when he speaks of our Saviour’s discourses being *understood*, he does not mean that they were *comprehended*!”

And this is the science of hermeneutics! Well might Dr. Turton exclaim—“That person is not a little to be envied, for his *understanding*, or his *comprehension*, or both, who, after winding through Dr. Wiseman’s labyrinth of sentences, can flatter himself that he emerges, with even the slightest notion of the bearings of his position, at any single point of his course.” One thing, indeed, we do *fancy* ourselves able to perceive; and that is, that we *have*, all this while, been sliding on, from one position to another. For, although the lecturer begins by simply contending for that sense of *words and phrases* which was conformable to the *usus loquendi* of the age, the tendency of his whole disquisition is, to make the audience of our Saviour the interpreters of much more than *words and phrases*. However, as it is not impossible that, in our deep

* Turton, p. 62.

bewilderment, we may have mistaken his meaning, we shall only say, that he is quite welcome to the proposition with which he sets out, so long as it remains in its original imbecility and nakedness. But if, as we hugely suspect, he aims at more than this,—if his design is, to impose upon us the sense in which the *discourses* of our Lord were taken by the Jewish multitude,—then, we have nothing to do but to appeal, at once, to the language in which our Lord himself speaks of his infatuated countrymen:—*The hearts of this people are waxed gross; their eyes are blinded; so that they can neither see with their eyes, nor hear with their ears, and that, seeing they see not, and hearing they do not understand.*

To these hermeneutical principles, *Philaletthes Cantabrigiensis* suggests the addition of another, which, of course, all Roman-Catholic expositors will indignantly reject; viz.—that “when a passage relates to a fact, falling within the cognizance of our senses, any interpretation of that passage which contradicts their evidence, is to be rejected as false.” For ourselves, we should, perhaps, be content to say that, where the evidence of the senses is contradicted, the interpretation contended for *must* sink under the presumption which instantly arises against it, unless such interpretation be supported by proof, of irresistible and overpowering cogency. And, in this form, we do maintain that the canon of Philaletthes ought to be engraved in marble, and placed constantly before the eyes of every interpreter of Scripture. We are distinctly aware that this principle has been disputed, not only by Romanists, but, occasionally, by Protestants also. We have clearly in our recollection, the profound metaphysics of a certain lay-divine, who has gravely reminded us that the senses take no cognizance of substances, separately from their qualities or accidents; and that, consequently, their testimony may be safely and legitimately disregarded. But, in spite of all this sage admonition, we still affirm, with entire confidence, that the maxim in question is worth a whole cart-load of *hermeneutics*. It may, perhaps, simplify our inquiries, if we seize the present opportunity of attempting, once for all, to set this matter right.

Let us, then, imagine that a small copper coin were presented to us by a person, who affirmed it to be an ingot of gold. What should we think of that person, if he endeavoured to beat down our incredulity, by telling us that we were unpardonably rash and hasty in our resistance to his assertion,—that we might very easily be deceived by the report of our senses,—that the piece before us might, indeed, be invested with all the sensible properties of copper,—but that, beneath these appearances, for any thing that we could tell, the very substance of the more precious metal might lie concealed,—and, lastly, that the detection of substances was a

matter wholly beyond the province of the senses? Should we not instantly reply that every man is so born, or so taught, that the testimony of the senses is absolutely conclusive as to the difference between one material and another; or, at least, so far conclusive, that nothing short of some *irresistible* evidence to the contrary, could ever be allowed to nullify that testimony?

Let us, next, suppose that the person making this affirmation, were one, who had already astonished the world with an overpowering display of miracles,—all of them, however, appealing to the senses,—all of them, without exception, involving some change or other, the reality of which had been ascertained by the faculties of seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, and handling. What, in that case, is the demeanour which would become us? Undoubtedly it would then be our duty to pause, before we ventured to reject his averment. But, even so, we assuredly *might* venture, humbly and reverentially, to say to him, “*How can these things be?*” We “have been present when the blind received their sight, and the “deaf heard, and the lame walked, and the lepers were cleansed “with a touch, and thousands were fed from a few loaves and “fishes. And we know that all these mighty works were done, “in order that the very *senses* of men might condemn them, if “they persisted in disbelieving that a messenger from God had “come into the world. But, now, for the first time, we are required,—not to consult our senses,—but to cast our senses “aside; and, with them, every faculty by which men can judge “whether, or not, a miracle has been wrought. Again, therefore, “we ask, *how can these things be?*” And, why are we required to “believe that a total change has been wrought, where all appears “to be precisely as it was before? Surely, we cannot have “rightly understood the saying: or, surely, the words must have “some hidden sense, different from that which they seem to express.” Now, if the person so questioned, should distinctly return for answer, that the hand of Omnipotence had been secretly and invisibly at work, although the effect of the operation was concealed from us, it may safely be conceded that nothing would be left for us, but to lay the finger upon our lips, and to bow in silence. But we contend, without hesitation, that nothing short of some such imperative reply, could reasonably be expected to suppress our misgivings. And we further contend, that the most stupendous series of antecedent wonders,—every one of which had been tested and verified by the *senses* of all who witnessed them,—could never, of itself, have prepared our minds for another wonder, which contradicted every faculty we possessed.

It will be observed that, in the above imaginary case, the words asserting the supposed miracle are such as seem scarcely capable

of any but a strictly literal interpretation. And, in this respect, they differ materially from any words of Scripture which have ever been relied upon, in support of the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Bellarmine himself—in his “magnificent controversies,” as they are termed by Dr. Wiseman—cautiously abstains from asserting that there is a single passage in Scripture sufficiently express to compel us to the admission of that doctrine, independently of the declaration of the Church.* We repeat, therefore, that until it shall be shown that Bellarmine’s caution is wholly misplaced,—until it shall be rigorously *demonstrated* that the words of institution, or the words in John vi., can be no otherwise than *literally* understood,—the testimony of the senses must remain conclusive. It is their natural office to arbitrate in all such cases; and, from that office nothing can depose them, save the word of Omnipotence itself,—and that, so clearly, positively, and indubitably pronounced, as to leave no possibility of doubt as to the import of it. Dr. Wiseman, of course, will tell us that the declaration of the infallible Church is equivalent to the sure word of Omnipotence. This assertion, however, manifestly involves another and a distinct controversy. In the mean time, we certainly shall not surrender the testimony of our senses, to the *hermeneutics* of Dr. Wiseman!

While we are about it, we may as well, perhaps, despatch the whole of this portion of the subject, out of hand. We, accordingly, ask Dr. Wiseman, does he contend, or does he not, that the Apostles, when they heard the words, *this is my body*, &c., distinctly understood our Lord to mean that *the thing* which he presented to them with his own hands—(for we suppose we must not call it *bread*)—was his own body, divested as it was of all the corporeal attributes which address the senses? If Dr. Wiseman contends that they did so understand him, we then tell him that he contends for that which is not only without evidence, but against evidence. It is without evidence; for there is not one syllable in the Evangelical narratives which points to any such impression, or any such suspicion, on the part of those who sat at table with our Lord. It is against evidence; because it is beyond all credibility, that the very men who had repeatedly questioned him when he uttered hard sayings—the very men who were staggered when he said, *a little while ye shall see me*, &c. &c.—that these same men

* The words of Bellarmine are,—“Secundo dicit [Duns Scotus] non extare locum ullum Scripturæ tam expressum, ut, sine Ecclesiæ declaratione, evidenter cogat Transubstantiationem admittere. *Atque id non est omnino improbabile.* Nam, etsi Scriptura, quam nos suprà adduximus, videatur nobis tam clara, ut possit cogere hominem non *proterrum*; tamen, an ita sit, meritò dubitari potest, cum homines doctissimi et acutissimi, qualis imprimis Scotus fuit, contrarium sentiant.” (De Sac. Euchar. lib. iii. c. 23). See Turton, p. 285.

should sit, in undisturbed silence, when they were required to believe, that the fragment of something or other which was placed in the hands of each of them, was no other than the identical body of the person by whom that fragment was presented to them. We say, that, to affirm this, is to affirm that the Apostles were, not merely different from all other human beings, but different from themselves. We say, that to suppose the Apostles to have taken the words in their literal sense, and yet to have listened to this, the hardest and most astounding of all the sayings of their Master, without a syllable of inquiry,—without the slightest expression of surprise or doubt,—is to betray the most monstrous ignorance of human nature, and the most prodigious forgetfulness of the Apostolic history. We say, in short, that to affirm this, is to offer positive affront to the understandings of all sane and reasonable men. And, lastly, we say that, if this matter of *fact* had ever been dogmatically asserted—(which it has not, that we know of)—by the infallible Church, she then would virtually have arrogated to herself a dominion, not only over our doctrinal, but over our historical, faith. She would have said, in effect,—You must read every tittle and iota of the Scriptural *narratives*, precisely as I read them, or else remain destitute of all hope of salvation. If, however, on the other hand, it should be conceded that the Apostles did not thus literally understand the words of institution,—then, as it seems to us, the controversy must soon be over. For, we presume, the infallible Church herself will scarcely pretend that things have been revealed to her, which it never entered into the hearts of the Apostles to conceive.

We honestly avow, that we always find it inexpressibly difficult to bring our intellectuals into a fit condition for encountering the perverse artifices with which the transparent simplicity of this subject has been rendered opaque and turbid. However, we must do our best to screw up our patience to the mark; and so proceed to examine, briefly, the hermeneutical experiments of Dr. Wiseman upon the sixth chapter of St. John.

Thus, then, the matter stands:—From the 26th verse to the end, that chapter is occupied with the celebrated discourse of our Lord, subsequent to the miraculous repast of five thousand persons, and with a narrative of the effects produced, both by the miracle and the discourse, upon the minds of the multitude in general, and of the disciples in particular. From v. 32 to v. 48, after mentioning “the true bread from heaven,”—“the bread of God that giveth life unto the world,”—our Lord describes himself, as “the bread of life,” first in v. 35, and then again in v. 48. In v. 51, he repeats, “I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for

“ever.” And then he adds,—“the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.” Here, then, his *flesh* is spoken of by our Lord, for the first time. And here, accordingly, one would imagine, the line of division must be drawn, *if* any transition was intended by our Lord, from the “bread,” of which he had been speaking in the former part of the chapter, to his own “flesh,” which is repeatedly referred to, in the latter part. With this division, however, though generally adopted by Roman Catholics, Dr. Wiseman declares that *he* is “not satisfied.” He contends that, in the earlier part of our Lord’s discourse, the language is to be understood in a metaphorical sense; and, throughout the latter, in a rigorously literal sense. In the former portion, “the bread of life” is no other than the *doctrine* of our Lord, to be received by *faith*. In the remaining portion, the bread of life is the flesh of our Lord—his real corporeal substance—which is to be veritably manducated by the receiver; and to the due reception of which, the principle of *love*, or *charity*, is the one thing needful. Now, it so happens, that the 47th verse is that, in which *faith* is adverted to for the last time, previously to any mention of the “flesh” of Jesus Christ. His words in that verse are, “Verily, verily,”—(or, as Dr. Wiseman will have it, *Amen, Amen*)—“I say unto you, he that *believeth* in “me, hath everlasting life.” And here, as the lecturer maintains, we have “an appropriate close to a division of discourse”—“a “manifest summary and epilogue of the preceding doctrine”—namely, the doctrine, that the “bread of life” is something, the reception of which requires only the principle of belief, and, consequently, can be no other than the teaching of our Lord. The 48th verse, however, he tells us, commences a new section in the chapter. At that point, the principle of *faith* may be considered as dismissed, and a new internal principle introduced in the place of it: and the “bread of life” which, before, had been identified with Christ, as a teacher of divine truth, is henceforth to be identified with Christ, as the giver of his own material bodily frame, to be actually eaten by those who are one with him in love. This, if we rightly comprehend him, is the scheme of Dr. Wiseman. And manifold and bewildering are the subtleties, by which he has laboured to transfer the line of demarcation from the 51st verse to this more convenient position. And, in our estimation, most consummate is the success with which Dr. Turton and Philathes have swept away his “thin designs,” and have shown that a “barricado of gossamer” is not more unsubstantial than the visionary land-mark, set up by the hermeneutical ingenuity of this great *surveyor*. We cannot, however, enter deeply into the question. We could scarcely convey any distinct conception of it to

our readers, in all its detail, otherwise than by transferring to our own pages a very considerable portion of their masterly disquisitions. They who are curious about the matter, cannot possibly do better than follow these steady and clear-sighted guides, throughout the mazes of the investigation. For our own parts, if there is to be *any* line of transition, we hesitate not to confess that we care not one rush where that line is to be drawn. We, really, do not see why we should. For,

In the first place, the mighty surveyor himself—albeit he has expended a vast deal of sagacity and toil in fixing the new boundary—nevertheless allows distinctly, in another part of his writings,* that the point of division is altogether “immaterial.” And, if so, why should time or patience be wasted on the discussion?

In the second place, let the line be drawn where it may, we shall still ask, with Dr. Turton, “if an interpreter is allowed,” (not only “to divide a discourse where he pleases, without the concurrence of a single commentator, good, bad, or indifferent,” but also) “to decide that the word on which the import of the discourse mainly depends has one signification above the line of division, and another signification below it? What is such a process, but the means of extracting from the pages of Holy Writ any doctrine that may be agreeable to the fancy of the individual?” We say, once more, that it matters comparatively little through what point the line of intersection is to run. The grand question is, whether the artist shall be allowed to fence off a continuous discourse like this into two distinct compartments,—to leave one of those compartments open to the common sense of mankind,—and to fix upon the other for a process of hermeneutic alchemy, employed for the purpose of effecting the most portentous transmutations. Again, like Dr. Turton, we protest against *any* such plan of operation, “as one of the most extraordinary moral phenomena which have been exhibited in modern times.”†

Thirdly, nothing, within the whole range of scriptural interpretation, appears to us clearer than this—that, whether the wall of partition be raised at the end of v. 47, or at the end of v. 50, in either case it can do nothing to protect the position of Dr. Wiseman. That the reader may perceive this, we would beseech of him to peruse attentively that portion of the chapter which lies between the beginning of v. 26 and the end of v. 57. And we would, more particularly, request of him to fix in his recollection the remark of the Jews in v. 31—“*Our fathers did eat manna in the desert: as it is written, He gave them bread to eat;*” and,

* Discourses, vol. ii., p. 142, cit. in Turton, p. 142.

† Turton, p. 79.

with it, the subsequent language of our Lord, in which he declared that the bread to which they alluded was not the true bread from heaven,—that he himself was come to give them the true bread,—nay, that he was himself that bread which giveth life unto the world. With these things clearly in his remembrance, let him proceed to the 58th verse, in which (after having mentioned—*first*, his flesh and blood, and *then* himself, as the meat and drink which imparts life) he adds—“*THIS is the bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.*” And now, let him ask himself, is it credible that the words of our Lord, in reply to the cavil of the Jews respecting the manna, *are* to be spiritually understood, and yet, that the words in the 58th verse *are not* to be spiritually understood? Is it to be believed that the bread, *as opposed to the manna* in v. 32, &c. is Christ, as the giver of life, to be received purely by faith; and that the bread, *still as opposed to the manna* in v. 58, is Christ, as the giver of his own flesh, to be received by carnal manducation? Are we to endure a scheme of hermeneutics, which exacts the submission of our faculties to this sort of double-faced and arbitrary exposition? If this is *not* to be endured, then, two things are evident:—*First*, that Dr. Wiseman may safely enough be left to take his own choice, as to which of the two is the fittest point for his shadowy line of division, seeing that (let him place it where he will) he never can succeed in amputating one member of the discourse from the other. Secondly, that if v. 58 *is* to be figuratively and spiritually understood, there must be an end of the controversy, so far as John vi. is concerned; for the 58th verse, beyond all question, relates to the flesh and blood of Christ, which had been spoken of in the verses immediately preceding.

It may here possibly be asked, what says Dr. Wiseman to the 58th verse? And, in reply, all we have to say is, that we really cannot tell; for not one syllable, good or bad, does Dr. Wiseman say of the 58th verse! It will scarcely be credited—but, nevertheless, such is the fact—that the 58th verse appears to have utterly escaped his notice, even while engaged in a laboured analysis of our Lord’s reply to the Jews, when they strove among themselves, saying, “How can this man give us his flesh to eat?”—which reply, be it observed, extends inclusively from the 53rd verse to the 58th. We very willingly leave to Dr. Turton the office of a commentator upon this strange lapse of—memory! “Some people,” he observes, “would dwell upon the disingenuousness of such a proceeding. My disposition leads me to lament the unhappy condition of the individual who has recourse to such an expedient. To him, truth in religion must have become as

“ nothing—the support of an opinion, everything. Literary attainments, I would hope, have a tendency to cherish higher feelings and better principles. If we can discover no such feelings and principles in the case under review, let us, before we entirely condemn the individual, reflect upon the sort of ecclesiastical *training* to which he owes the character of his mind.” Of that *training*, it will be remembered, one invariable principle has been stated by Dr. Wiseman himself, namely, that dogmas are defined by the Church, and individual passages left to the care of theologians, with this condition however, that the theologians, under peril of the anathema, must adopt no interpretation but what is rigorously conformable to the dogmas so defined.

So much for Dr. Wiseman’s favourite line of division. So much for the momentous transition from Christ, the teacher, as the spiritual repast by which we are nourished into everlasting life,—to Christ, as the provider, who sustains us by our carnal manducation of his own body and blood. But here it may possibly be inquired, do we maintain that there is no transition whatever throughout the whole discourse? Do we affirm that, from the beginning to the end of that discourse, our Lord is speaking of his doctrine, and of nothing but his doctrine, as the bread of life? And to this we reply, that we contend for no such thing. We conceive it to be highly probable that the earlier portion of the discourse was delivered by him chiefly with reference to the truth which he came to reveal; and that the latter portion, in which he says that he will give his flesh for the life of the world, was spoken with reference to the future sacrifice of himself upon the cross, and to the ineffable and mysterious blessings to be derived from that precious blood-shedding to the souls and bodies of the faithful. We, moreover, allow it to be not at all improbable that the future institution of the Eucharist was in his thoughts, when he declared that, unless we eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, we have no life in us. What we *do* maintain is this,—that, whatever may have been the transitions, in the course of our Lord’s exposition, they were transitions resembling those by which the morning’s light shineth more and more unto the perfect day. There was no abrupt movement from a figurative manner of speech, to a statement, the letter of which must have shaken to pieces the whole fabric and contexture of human feeling and conviction. There was no sudden vaulting, as it were, over an iron frontier-line, from the ground of intelligible metaphor, into a region, not only full of mystery, but absolutely full of horror. Let the change of subject be what it might, it was only that sort of change which is implied in a gradual expansion and development of one and the same class of truths. First, we have

the doctrine, as the bread of life. Then we have that from which the doctrine itself may be said to derive all its vital influence and power—the passion of our Lord, with all its mighty consequences and unspeakable effects upon the hearts and final destinies of mortal men! And lastly, we have, perhaps, the holy mysteries to be instituted for a perpetual remembrance of that awful propitiation, and in which we are to feed upon the Saviour by faith with thanksgiving. In short, we contend with *Philaletes*, that, although Christ may pass “from his doctrine, first to his passion, and then to the Eucharist, there is an easy and natural transition from one topic to the other, and a connection between all the parts of the discourse.” If any one doubts this, we would recommend him to peruse the whole chapter, as he would peruse it if it were laid before him for the first time in his life,—to dismiss, as much as possible, all recollection of the monumental controversies beneath which the plain sense of the matter has been overwhelmed, and well nigh buried,—and then, to ask himself whether he should ever have discovered the barrier, which is now supposed to separate the discourse into distinct compartments. Does he still doubt? We, then, would again beg of him to consult for himself the luminous discussions of our two critics, to which we could do no justice by a selection of specimens and fragments. If, after this, he remains unsatisfied, we scarcely know what merely human aid could extricate him from his difficulties.

Of these difficulties, indeed, there is manifestly but one which could give him any serious pause; and that one is, the strange and apparently unnatural phraseology, by which our Lord expresses the benefits to be derived from all that he was to do and suffer for mankind. That a teacher of the truth should be the “bread of life” to his faithful followers and disciples, was a saying which, perhaps, the most ignorant of his hearers might well be prepared to receive. The figure is one with which men have always been, more or less, familiar; as Dr. Wiseman has taken immense pains to satisfy us. That he would give his flesh, or sacrifice his body, for the good of the world—though more remote from common apprehension—is, nevertheless, an assertion which might be listened to without any violent insurrection of prejudice or feeling. It might convey the notion that the speaker was prepared to endure the most fatal extremities, in order to accomplish the purposes for which he visited the earth. But when, in addition to all this, he declares that his coming will be in vain to all, save those who shall “eat his flesh and drink his blood,” it can scarcely be thought wonderful that such a mode of speech should throw the hearers into

some commotion. It is suggested by Dr. Turton, indeed, that persons, of less carnal minds might, *without further elucidation*, have understood his meaning (p. 116.) We confess, however, that we are not quite prepared to allow the probability of this. It was scarcely, we think, to be expected, that any persons then present should interpret such language as this, with reference to the vital doctrines which the Saviour came to teach: and it was absolutely impossible that *they* should interpret them with reference either to the Crucifixion, or the Eucharist. And, if so, we apprehend that the question, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" might, naturally enough, rush into the minds even of an unprejudiced, teachable, and sober-minded hearer. But then, we further contend that such a hearer, instead of turning away, in disgust and unbelief, would probably have reasoned thus,—“This is a hard saying! If *literally* understood, it conveys “a sense from which human nature recoils with abhorrence; a “sense, therefore, which cannot possibly have been in the “thoughts of the speaker. Nothing, then, is left for us, but to “conclude that some deep and gracious spiritual mystery is “concealed beneath these startling expressions. It, accordingly, “becomes us to wait submissively, till time and circumstance “shall bring the true import of these words to light; or else, to “resort to the speaker himself, and humbly implore him to set “our doubts at rest.” And when, we would ask, did our blessed Lord refuse to administer relief to the meek and lowly spirit, when labouring under the weight of his awful and mysterious declarations? Ought we to question, for a moment, that, *if thus solicited*, he would have given, at once, a full exposition of the matter; or else, that he would have admonished the inquirers to possess their souls in peace and faith, until the season should arrive for the revelation of all such dark and hidden things? It would appear, from the sequel, that the Apostles exhibited,—on this occasion at least,—precisely that tractable and obedient temper, which was always of so great price with their Divine Master. For, when our Lord said unto the twelve, *Will ye also go away?* Simon Peter replied, *Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the son of the Living God:*” thus wrapping up all their perplexities, as it were, in the mantle of a full assurance, that He, who came forth from God to speak the words of eternal life, would, in his own good time, make the rough places smooth, and the crooked things straight, before their face.

This simple view of the matter, of course, does not suit Dr. Wiseman. His own opinion, and the judgment of the Infallible

Church, demanded a very different line of exposition. And we cannot but admire—(though our admiration is unmingled with one particle of envy)—the desperate fidelity, and the microscopic subtlety, and the untiring perseverance, and, withal the bland and commendable gravity, with which he has laboured to apply his hermeneutical dynamics to the whole sixth Chapter of St. John. His zeal appears to have deprived him of all consciousness of the manifold dangers of his position. He commits himself, headlong, to assertions and principles which must not only appear positively monstrous to all Protestants,—but which are, for the most part, destitute of all sanction or support from the Doctors of his own Church. He tells us, that we must understand the first part of the chapter figuratively, and the remainder literally,—why? even because they were actually so understood by the Jewish multitude, who *must* have been good and sufficient judges of the current phraseology of their own tongue. In other words, he exalts to a most important office—the office of interpreting to all future ages, the hardest sayings of Jesus Christ—those very people, whom Jesus Christ himself had pronounced to be under judicial blindness and infatuation. He sees in the people of Capernaum, “a crowd of ardent and enthusiastic hearers,” who listened “with admiration and reverence” to the discourses of our Lord; of Capernaum, respecting which our Lord declared that it should be more tolerable for the land of Sodom, in the day of judgment, than for her. He invests these men of dull ears, and sluggish hearts, with the faculty of clearly discerning the spiritual import of the former portions of that discourse, when nothing can be more irresistibly evident than the fact, that they misunderstood the whole of it from first to last,—that the only thing in their thoughts and wishes was a repetition of the miracle by which their necessities had been relieved,—and that whether our Lord spoke of the bread of life, or of his own flesh and blood, they were equally destitute of any other key to his language, than their own impatience for a continued supply of mere physical sustenance. He dwells on the notable distinction, that, in the first part, the bread of life is spoken of without any intimation that *this* bread was to be *eaten*; whereas, in the latter part, where his *flesh* is affirmed to be the bread, it is declared that they who *eat* of it shall live for ever: and all this he advances in utter oblivion, or utter disregard, of v. 35, where Jesus, having said that he was the bread of life, declared that the believers in him should neither *hunger* nor *thirst*; and all this, too, he affirms in defiance of the obvious consideration, that, where a spiritual repast is spoken of, a spiritual consumption of that repast is necessarily involved and implied in the same figure

of speech. Another of his ingenious distinctions is this, that throughout the first part, the bread of life is spoken of as given by the Father, and in the second part, as given by Jesus Christ himself: a distinction to which there is one mortal objection; namely, that it has no foundation in fact; seeing that, as early as the 27th verse, the Son of man is said to give "the meat which endureth unto everlasting life;" which meat, of course, can be no other than the bread of life. The argument, therefore, recoils upon himself. For, as Dr. Turton very justly observes, "Our Lord is the giver of the spiritual food, as well as the Father, no less in the former part of the discourse, as well as in the latter. If, therefore, according to Dr. Wiseman's views, a diversity of gifts implies a diversity of givers, an identity of givers, in the two parts of the discourse, indicates an identity of gifts in those parts." From which it follows, that for both parts, the same method of interpretation is manifestly requisite. But there is no end to the resources of Dr. Wiseman. He next reminds us, that if to *eat*, &c. &c. signifies believing in Jesus Christ, to eat his flesh must signify to believe in his flesh. Well—and what then? Dr. Wiseman, indeed, tells us that this would be absurd. We suspect that the Apostle who wrote these words, would pronounce a very different judgment. For, what is believing in the flesh of Christ, but believing in his real humanity, a matter, Dr. Wiseman must allow, of no light importance in the estimation of the Apostle, and the whole Catholic Church, from the Apostolic times to the present day; and of such transcendent importance, in the judgment of the Church of Rome, that, when the words *Homo factus est*, are sung or recited in the Mass, the people kneel down or prostrate themselves, conformably to the tradition of the Fathers.* Besides, to believe in Christ is, in fact, to rely upon Christ, as the Messiah: and, in the same manner, to believe in the flesh of Christ, may, very properly, signify to rely upon his flesh; or, in other words, to rest our hopes of salvation on his meritorious cross and passion. On every account, therefore, we are inexpressibly astonished to hear this exercise of faith stigmatised as an *absurdity*; and this, too, by a faithful Champion of the Infallible Church! Where are the thunders of the Vatican, if they are silent now! And how potent must have been the influence of the hermeneutic "poppy and mandragora," to render even Dr. Wiseman deaf to the roar of the anathema!

But, not merely slumber, but delirium, seems to have come over him. For he, here, springs upon us with an argument, which was, doubtless, meant to be utterly exterminating: and destructive enough it certainly is to the whole hypothesis of our

* Rhem, Test. ad. John i. 14; Turton, p. 89.

interpreter! His words are these: "Protestants say, that as, to feed on Christ, signifies to believe on him, so, to eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, means to believe in his passion. But they do not bring a single argument to show that such a phrase was in use, *or would have been intelligible to his hearers.*"—"I have never yet known an instance," says Dr. Turton, "in which excessive subtlety did not entail disastrous consequences upon a controversial writer." (p. 91.) And, in truth, most fatally disastrous are the consequences in the instance now before us! Why, what is the main object of Dr. Wiseman's elaborate process of hermeneutics? What, but to show that the phrase in question is applicable to the blessed Eucharist,—that is, applicable to a solemnity which was not instituted at the time when the words were spoken, and any reference to which must, of course, have been unintelligible to the hearers? And yet this same Dr. Wiseman, in his blind impatience to damage his adversaries, now gravely saws away his own argument from under him: for he condemns the Protestants for applying the same phrase to the Passion of Christ, not yet undergone; that is, to a subject not a whit more unintelligible than the other! When will they, who wield that ponderous and rather unmanageable instrument, the flail of polemical theology, remember the caution which is needful to avoid its aggressions on the cranium of the performer! When will they, who are intently busy in digging a pitfall for their adversaries, be duly careful that they fall not into it themselves! The condition of Dr. Wiseman recalls to our mind the calamitous fate of an individual, who (as we have somewhere read) was desirous of concealing and securing some precious treasure in his cellar. He, accordingly, took with him a lantern and a hammer: and having safely deposited his burden, applied himself vigorously to the task of nailing up the door. The business was most effectually accomplished; so effectually, that it cost the adventurer his life. For, while he was intent upon his work, he forgot that he was standing inside the door, instead of at the outside. And, being unable to undo his own job, he perished miserably in the prison he had closed upon himself! Of a truth, Dr. Wiseman has fairly nailed himself in, with his own hermeneutical hammer!

Nevertheless, for our parts, we are not disposed to deal inhumanly with him. We shall be content to let him out of his confinement, upon a fair compromise. If he will allow us to apply the words in question to the Passion, we shall have no great objection to his application of them to the Eucharist; retaining to ourselves, of course, full liberty to protest against the peculiar transubstantiating application, for which he is under the necessity

of contending. We have already stated, that many of our own divines are satisfied that the language of our Lord, throughout this chapter, was framed by him with a sort of prophetic reference both to the crucifixion, and to the sacramental institution. They conceive that Christ is the bread of life, first as the teacher of the words of eternal life; secondly, as the sacrifice by which we are redeemed from death; and, thirdly, as the nourisher and sanctifier of our souls, by that most powerful of all the instruments of grace,—the great commemorative rite. It is true that a reference to the sacrifice, or a reference to the commemoration of it, must, each of them alike, have been wholly “unintelligible to the hearers.” But it is also true that, if the faith of the hearers were sufficient to embrace the sayings of Christ, so far as they were intelligible, their faith might likewise have prepared them to wait, in patience and humility, for the full elucidation of that which still was left in darkness: for, faith is a principle, which is always ready to expand, in proportion as the objects of it emerge into more distinct and plenary development. If, however, it should be the pleasure of Dr. Wiseman to persist in denying to us this reasonable freedom of exposition, then we really must leave him to his own self-inflicted incarceration; there to make the most of the treasure buried with him.

But the most adventurous enterprize of Dr. Wiseman still remains to be told. Most persons, we presume, would be apt to conclude, from the repulsive strangeness of the expressions, in the second part of the discourse, that a literal interpretation of those expressions could not possibly be safe or right. The persuasion of Dr. Wiseman, on the contrary, is, that *because* the expressions are strange and repulsive, they cannot be *otherwise* than literally interpreted. And, the following is the process by which he labours to reach this most portentous of all conclusions.

He begins by quoting Burke!—who (in his description of those great “artificers of mischief,” the members of the *Tiers Etat* of revolutionary France,—the men who were “actuated by “sinister ambition, and a lust of meretricious glory”) has the following reflexion,—“In all bodies, those who will lead, must also, “in a considerable degree, follow. They must conform their “propositions to the taste, talent, and disposition, of those whom “they conduct.” The application of this maxim is, then, smoothly insinuated. “A kind and skilful teacher”—says Dr. Wiseman—“will ever select words and phrases which, while they are most “intelligible, may, at the same time, least shock the natural feelings, and *just* prejudices of his audience. He will never study “to make his doctrines as repulsive and odious as possible. He “will, on the contrary, divest them of these qualities, if they

“ appear to have them, so far as is compatible with their substance.”* Having thus laid before us a representation of the address and art, with which the political *orator* wins his way to the public confidence, by adapting himself to the weaknesses and prejudices of his audience, Dr. Wiseman next exhibits to us a corresponding element in the character of the popular and successful *preacher*,† who, as Dr. Whately reminds us, when “ intent upon carrying his point, should use all such precautions as are not inconsistent with it, to avoid raising unfavourable impressions in his hearers.”‡ The reader will perceive in a moment the object for which these instances are produced. They who would lead, must needs, occasionally, follow. We see that this is the unavoidable course of things, in the senate, and in the pulpit. Without this spirit of wise accommodation, both orator and preacher would speak in vain. The inference is obvious. The purpose of Jesus Christ being to “ persuade men,” it may naturally be supposed that he would not disdain to employ the caution and the skill by which all eminent orators and preachers are distinguished. “ He would propose his doctrines to the Jews, in the manner most likely to gain their attention and to conciliate their esteem.”

Dr. Turton protests that he is melancholy and heart-sick at this spectacle of a Christian minister, thus presuming to assimilate the proceedings of Him, *in whom were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*—of Him, *in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead, bodily*—to the artifices of human demagogues, and lecturers, and rhetoricians.§ And heart-sickening and melancholy enough the spectacle undoubtedly is! With us, however, we confess, that all other emotions are well-nigh lost in astonishment, not merely at the irreverence of this illustration, but also, at the prodigious disregard, which it betrays, for all the facts and phenomena of the case. Let any man review the Evangelical narratives; and then let him tell us where he finds any thing to correspond to the picture held up to us by Dr. Wiseman,—the Son of God condescending to follow, in order that he might lead; conforming his propositions to the taste, talent, and disposition, of those whom he would conduct; studiously consulting the natural feelings and prepossessions of his hearers! In one respect, indeed, he did adapt himself to the *dispositions* of men: he was always willing to instruct the ignorant, when he knew that they brought with them, an “ humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart.” But we will venture to affirm, that if there is any one thing, which, more than another, would be likely to arrest the attention, and sometimes even to excite the surprise, of a reader

* Lect. pp. 28, 29. † Ib. pp. 85, 86. ‡ El. of Rhet. p. 152. § Turton, p. 106.

who should peruse the Gospels for the first time, it would be, precisely the serene abstinence of our Lord from those very artifices, which are here ascribed to him by the master of hermeneutics. In this respect, as in all others, He spake as never man spake. He spake with authority, and not as did the Scribes, or the wise, or the disputers of this world.

There is nothing, that we can remember, in the whole course of his ministry, which indicates any thing like an habitual desire to avoid collision with the prejudices and feelings of the perverse and crooked generation, in the midst of which he walked. On the contrary, He openly denounced a woe against the masters of Israel. He said that the Scribes and Pharisees were fools, and hypocrites, and extortioners, and blind guides, who made their proselytes the children of Gehenna. When beset by the Jews, he told them that they were of their father, the devil, and the lusts of their father they would do. He professed to speak in parables, and dark sayings,—not that he might gently win the contumacious to the truth,—but, (if we may believe Himself,) because the doom, foretold in prophecy, had fallen upon them,—because all their moral and spiritual faculties were darkened and obstructed,—because, having nothing, even that nothing should be taken from them. In short, in the midst of all that can command the reverence, and awaken the affections of the candid hearer,—there was, likewise, in the teaching of our Lord, much to give the assault to the presumptuous thoughts of man,—much to stir up the fiercest enmity of an infatuated race. But, of all the peculiarities that can be ascribed to it by human ingenuity, the very last—as we should imagine—is that which has been selected by Dr. Wiseman. However,—to adopt the phrase of Dr. Turton,—he has seen “with hermeneutical spectacles:” and these implements have produced the strangest of all optical delusions. They have invested the Saviour of the world with certain of the popular attributes, which frequently belong, in ample measure, to the *blind leaders of the blind*, among the sons of men!

Having thus got into his head the image of a great master of political and rhetorical address, Dr. Wiseman proceeds to assail us with divers overwhelming considerations. Our Saviour being gifted with all the highest arts of persuasion,—“it is repugnant”—we are told—“to suppose him selecting the most revolting “images wherein to clothe his dogmas; disguising his most “amiable institutions under the semblance of things the most “abominable in the opinion of his hearers; and inculcating his “most saving and most beautiful principles, by the most impious “and horrible illustrations. Yet”—he adds—“in such manner “we must consider him to have acted, if we deny him to have

“been teaching the doctrine of the real presence, and supposing him to have been simply inculcating the necessity of faith.” (Lect. p. 86).

The next step of Dr. Wiseman is to show that the phrases and images in question deserve all the hideous epithets which he has been pleased to lavish upon them. He had already collected a heap of superfluous erudition,—from the Old Testament, the Arabic, the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin,—to prove that, in its figurative acceptation, to eat the flesh of any person, usually implied the notion of tearing him to pieces by slander, or persecution. And he now labours, quite as superfluously, to show that nothing could be more frightful to a Jew than the notion of literally devouring human flesh, and drinking human blood. What, then—he asks—could have impelled the Saviour to use these horrible expressions, as appropriate to “the most cheering and consoling” of all his doctrines, but the stress of absolute necessity? The argument, therefore, is now brought to its consummation. The language is so abominable, that it would never have been used, if the use of it could have been possibly avoided: and nothing but the certainty of its *literal* fulfilment could render it unavoidable. Hence it follows that the very strangeness and repulsiveness of the language, is, itself, sufficient to prove that it *must* be literally understood; and that the *very* flesh and blood of our Lord, are to be truly and physically eaten by the faithful, in the sacramental mystery.

Now, we really cannot tell how our Protestant brethren will be affected by this most extravagant and most audacious line of commentary. But we can, most honestly, say for ourselves, it has only aggravated our contempt for the Romish hermeneutics. The truth is, than an infinity of fraud lies hidden under the plausible contrast between the figurative, and the literal, interpretation of the phrases we have been considering. The use of such phrases by Jesus Christ, may, perhaps, seem unaccountable to us; but, be this as it may, the Romish hypothesis is, to say the least, quite as unfit as the Protestant hypothesis, to get rid of that difficulty. Dr. Wiseman maintains that the Jewish multitude understood the words literally; *and that they were right in so doing*. Were they so!—Why, then, we confidently affirm that the Romanist is wrong—quite as wrong as we. The phrases, if *literally* interpreted by the Jews, could have conveyed to *their* imaginations no other notion but that of a meal of cannibals, in which the solid flesh was to be actually torn, or cut, in pieces, and devoured; and the liquid blood to be poured out, and swallowed. They could have conveyed nothing resembling the sacramental manducation of the Church of Rome. The hearers who took them according to the

letter, could have nothing in their mind but a sanguinary repast, which human nature shudders at the very thought of. The unbloody, unseen, imperceptible sacrifice of the mass, was a thing quite as remote from all their apprehensions and capacities, as the spiritual reception of the body and blood of Christ by faith. If, therefore, the words were improper, with reference to the Protestant solemnity, they were equally improper with reference to the Romish solemnity. And, in that case, where was that overpowering necessity for their use, which Dr. Wiseman so vehemently labours to establish? What was there to *drive* our Lord to the employment of phrases, which were never to be fulfilled, in the only sense which presented itself to the understandings of the hearers? That our Lord had good reasons for the use of such words, will never be disputed. But, most assuredly, the Church of Rome is quite as far from the discovery and development of those reasons, as any other church on earth.

Dr. Wiseman is pleased, in the course of his lectures,* to advert to what he calls the "*singular enigma* which Protestants "suppose our Saviour to have uttered." Now, if we are to talk of enigmas, we must beg to come to a distinct comparison of the Protestant exposition with the Romish oracle. Let us, then, suppose that one of the Jewish multitude had humbly approached our Lord himself, to implore of Him an explanation of his words; and that He had graciously consented to answer. And, since there are two principal expositions of his words at this moment before the world, let us hope that we may be allowed, without the imputation of unbecoming presumption, first, to imagine Him replying, according to one of those expositions; and, next, according to the other. First, then, let us conceive Him to answer in this manner:—"It is, indeed, most true, that the time will "soon come, when the faithful shall eat my flesh, and drink my "blood. But be not affrighted, or offended, with the saying. "There shall be nothing whatever in the repast to trouble their "hearts, or even to give them notice of the presence either of flesh "or blood. The things which shall pass their lips, shall, to all "outward seeming, be no more than a small round wafer, and a "drop of wine. Nevertheless, remain firmly assured that, under "these simple appearances, the substance of my whole person "shall lie mysteriously concealed; nay, more,—that the whole "substance of my person shall be contained under each of the "appointed elements, the wafer and the wine; and that, thus, I, "who now stand before you, shall be, actually and really, eaten "by each, and all, who are assembled at the altar."

* Lect. p. 127.

And, now,—having imaged to ourselves the reply of the Saviour, such as it might be, if the Romish doctrine were conformable to the truth of his sayings, let us, on the other hand, assume the Protestant doctrine to be right. In that case we might conceive of Him, as replying to the inquirer, on this wise:—"The hour is at hand when the Son of Man shall give his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed, that they who believe on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. And then shall the saying be fulfilled, that my flesh is the bread which I give for the life of the world. Moreover, for a perpetual remembrance of my death, my will is, that hereafter the faithful shall, in company together, eat bread and drink wine, as the symbols and emblems of my body and my blood. And, as oft as they do this, I will so be present with them, that they shall be truly said to feed on me, in their heart, by faith. And thus, again, shall the saying be fulfilled, that my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Here then, we have the Romish doctrine, and the Reformed doctrine, expressed, as nearly as we may presume to conjecture, in words which might have been used by our Lord himself, to express either of those doctrines, had it been his pleasure to satisfy a lowly and teachable inquirer. Or,—if we must resort to the phraseology of Dr. Wiseman,—we have here before us two *enigmas*. And now, the question is, which of these two enigmas would have been most likely to perplex and confound the honest seeker after truth? Whichever of the two might have been delivered by Jesus Christ, the seeker would, of course, have been bound to receive it, whatever might be its difficulties. But still, the point is this,—which of the two would have tasked his faith more heavily;—the spiritual interpretation, which the Protestant believes to be according to the mind of Christ,—or, what may be called the metaphysico-mystical interpretation, contended for by the Romanist. The Protestant, we are told, puts an enigma into the mouth of the Saviour. We ask, then, confidently, does not the Romanist put into his mouth an enigma, beyond all comparison more dark, and more bewildering? We dwell on this point the more emphatically, because it appears to us to involve nearly the whole essence of the dispute, so far, at least, as it depends on the sixth chapter of St. John. There is an appearance of simplicity about the so-called *literal* interpretation, which is likely enough to recommend the Romish scheme to many an honest and submissive heart. But, after all, the whole is really an affair of false pretences. To swallow a morsel or a drop of *something*—(whatever that *something* may be)—which is destitute of every sensible attribute of flesh or blood, is as far as any thing that can

be imagined from a *literal* fulfilment of the saying, that real flesh and blood are to be actually eaten and drunk. It may be a *mystical* fulfilment of that saying. But it is not, most certainly, a fulfilment at all corresponding to that notion of the phrase which, Dr. Wiseman tells us, the Jews were *right* in entertaining. The flesh and blood which they had in their thoughts, were neither more nor less than the visible and tangible *compages* of the human frame. And it is a gross delusion to pretend that their *literal* conceptions of the matter could be answered by the presence of an invisible, intangible, undiscernible something, which we call substance, stripped of every accident or quality by which their faculties might distinguish it from all other substances. We repeat it, therefore,—(and we earnestly implore attention to our words),—to say that the Jews understood the phrases literally, and were *right* in so understanding them, is utterly to overthrow and shake to pieces the sacramental hypothesis of the Papal Church. To sum up the matter in a single word,—the Protestant interpretation may have its difficulties: but the Romish interpretation is all over difficulty!

We are, here, compelled to dismiss this department of the subject, and to leave unnoticed a multitude of things which have been admirably, and, as it seems to us, quite irresistibly written, both by *Philaletthes* and the Regius Professor. We now come to the Second Part of the work, which relates entirely to the words of Institution; and which involves the discussion of two main questions; first, whether the words *may* be taken figuratively; and, secondly, whether they *must* be taken figuratively.

Dr. Wiseman proceeds to this portion of his task with an air of triumphant confidence. He seems to feel as if the hermeneutic axe had done its work, and had cleared the ground before him, throughout the region over which he has been travelling. And, having performed this good service, he marches boldly into the fortress and citadel of the Truth, where he is sure of a cordial welcome from the Sovereign Infallibility which presides there. "The Council of Trent"—he tells us—"has expressly defined that "the words of Institution prove the real presence of Christ's Body "and Blood, in the adorable Sacrament." Here, then, strictly speaking, is an end of the hermeneutical office. Nevertheless, he appears to think that its aid may still be graciously accepted, if it be only for the benevolent purpose of winning back the wanderers, who have strayed from the fold of the universal shepherd. Accordingly, Dr. Wiseman still goes on with the business of interpretation.

Our limits positively forbid us to attend him, step by step, throughout the train of his disquisition. We can do little more

than briefly to indicate the line of argument and reply. The question, as every one knows, is simply this,—Are we to understand the words—*this is my body—this is my blood*—in a literal, or a figurative sense. And, first, we can have no hesitation in contending that, at least, there is every presumption in favour of the figurative sense. We abstain from affirming that the literal interpretation involves an absolute impossibility, remembering the question, *Is any thing too hard for God?* But we do maintain that it involves a most stupendous improbability; so stupendous, that any one, who should hear or read the words, for the first time, would, instantly, look out for some interpretation which would relieve him from the almost intolerable pressure of the literal sense. Now, such an interpretation, the Protestants hold, may, without difficulty, be found. And, in order to show this, they produce a multitude of other passages, similar in form; all of which, not only are capable of a metaphorical explanation, but absolutely demand it. And, here it is that Dr. Wiseman displays “the sharp fence, and active practice” of the Hermeneutic School. He endeavours to parry all these thrusts by a succession of nimble shifts and movements, of which we cannot stop to give any detailed account. The chief force and virtue of his defence, however, lies in the notable averment, that the passages in question do not, properly, fall under the description of *parallel* passages, and that, consequently, they can be of no weight or value, towards the decision of the matter in debate. Of no weight or value? And why not? The passages undoubtedly are parallel, in the only sense of parallelism, for which we are contending. They are passages, in which the structure of phraseology is precisely similar to that which is found in the words of Institution; and they are passages incapable of any but a metaphorical sense. They are, therefore, of weight, abundantly sufficient for our purpose;—namely, to show that Scripture abounds in sayings, which seem, on the face of them, to predicate certain things absolutely, although it is quite notorious and undeniable, that they predicate those things only in a metaphorical manner. And then comes the question, whether the words—*this is my body, &c.*—may not be one among the number of such sayings. Whether, in any technical sense, such passages can be called parallel, or not, is, to us, a matter of the profoundest indifference. At all events, they are *similar* passages; similar, that is, in the only particular, in which the similarity is of any importance to the question.

But, then, Dr. Wiseman (it will hardly be believed) complains of the passages produced by us, *because* those passages *are*, all of them, beyond question, clearly figurative and metaphorical.

He tells us that, before we can “thrust the words, *this is my body*, into the same category, and treat *them* as parallel, we “must show them to contain the same *thing*—the explanation of “of a symbolical instruction.” In other words, you must first show the words of Institution *to be* symbolical; for, until you have done this, there can be no similarity between them, and the other instances! Why—if it can be proved, by other means, that those words fall under the symbolical category, our work is already done; and, then, to collect passages parallel or similar, would be altogether a needless and superfluous toil. We should like very much to know what Dr. Wiseman would have said, if our collection had consisted of passages, the figurative signification of which was at all doubtful. Surely, he would have had his answer ready: he would have said—“these instances are “nothing to the purpose. They are not clearly and undeniably “figurative. For any thing that you know, they may be just as “literal as we hold the words *hoc est corpus*, &c. to be. You “must establish them in the metaphorical category; or else they “can render no service to your cause.” “Whether”—says Dr. Turton—“this perplexity of thought is voluntary, or involuntary, “I know not. It would be thought strange in most writers. “But, for some reason, it does not appear extraordinary in Dr. “Wiseman.”—(p. 267.)

Having thus, for a time, hovered over the flank of our battle, the polemic directs a terrible attack against its main body. He seeks to bear us down with a tremendous charge of heresy. You deny transubstantiation—he says—and your denial drags after it an abandonment of one main article of the Catholic faith. You tell us that the passage, *this is my body*, &c., is not to be literally understood. Well then—now look at the sentence—*the Word was God*: and tremble at the consequences of your own rashness. For, what is to hinder the Socinian from using the same freedom with the latter of these passages, which the Protestant has ventured to use with the former?

Now, we are by no means disposed to go off into King Cambyzes’ vein, or to “make all split.” Otherwise, we could easily vent some sonorous periods of astonishment and wrath, at this monstrous, and, we must add, most stupid imputation. We shall, however, content ourselves with sedately asking Dr. Wiseman whether, while he was penning this charge, he did not himself distinctly know the answer to it? Was he not clearly aware of the utter dissimilarity of the two cases? Did he really believe that the Protestant, by his interpretation of Christ’s words, had disqualified himself for all future conflict with the Socinian? Does he not feel that the words, *this is my body*, if literally un-

derstood, point to something, on the face of it—we will not say impossible—but to something so utterly astonishing, as to have nearly all the effect of a physical impossibility, on any mind which has not been prepared for it, by some *very peculiar* mode of discipline? But, will he venture to affirm that any man's knowledge of the divine essence is such as to drive him, or vehemently to tempt him, from the literal to the figurative interpretation of the saying—*the Word was God*? A man may, surely, be excused for striving against the assertion that a morsel of something that looks like bread is, in fact, the body of the very person who had just placed the morsel in his hand; and yet he may be left utterly without excuse from presuming to deny that the Word can be sharer in the essence of the deity. In the one case, we have an appeal to the whole constitution of our sensitive and intellectual nature; an appeal which nothing can put down, save the manifest and unquestioned declarations of the God of nature. In the other, we have an appeal to nothing, but our own proud ignorance, which is too apt to dress itself up in the robes and attributes of sovereign Reason!

If we were inclined to retort, means would not be wanting, to thrust the Romanist headlong into heresy, as he fain would thrust the Protestant. Upon the strength of the words, *this is my body*, the Romanist affirms that the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ. Be it so. We then insist that, upon the strength of the passage—*the Word became flesh*—(ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο), he must hold that the divine Word was *transubstantiated* into flesh, that is, into mere humanity. Perhaps, the Romanist will say,—no; the thing is incredible. And, even so say we. But *he* has shut himself out from this defence: for he will hear nothing, about incredibility, or impossibility, when we object to the sacramental transubstantiation.

But why should we waste our time on any further discussion? Seeing that Dr. Wiseman has delivered himself up into the hands of his adversaries, by the concession, that “two material objects cannot be identical; that when there is a definite object which is said to be something else, the literal meaning cannot be maintained; and that, therefore, we are compelled to fly, by a positive repugnance and contradiction, to another sense.”* Dr. Wiseman, indeed, does not seem to be at all conscious of the destructive nature of this concession. It is manifest that he considers the postulate as entirely innocuous; and utterly incapable of any inconvenient bearing upon his own argument. But, alas! he will soon find himself egregiously mistaken. In the mean

* Lect. p. 179.

time, the manner in which he contrives to deceive himself, is as follows. He assures us that “Christ does *not* say *bread is my body—wine is my blood.*” But he says, “*this is my body,—this is my blood.*” The *THIS*, is nothing but the body, and the blood. “It represents nothing, it means nothing, till identified, at the close of the sentence, with the substances named.” And then he adds—“This is even more marked in the original Greek, than in our language; because the distinction of genders shows clearly that the bread is not indicated; but only a vague something, to be determined by the remainder of the sentence.”

The original Greek, referred to by Dr. Wiseman, is, *τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά μου—τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμά μου*: which, to make his meaning more clear to English readers, we will freely turn into English, for him, thus, “*What I hold in my hand, is my body, &c. &c.:*” in which sentence, Dr. Wiseman’s “vague something” is represented by the indefinite and gender-less monosyllable *what*. So that Dr. Wiseman shall not have to complain that we have not generously done the best we can, to help him, in his evil case. But, now, we must go back to the Greek—to the *demonstrative* neuter pronoun *τοῦτο*—which, by itself, according to Dr. Wiseman, *demonstrates* nothing, but a vague *nescio quid*. And, here, we have to thank *Philalethes* for directing our attention to the pages of a writer, at whose feet even Dr. Wiseman might not disdain to sit; which writer will remind him of something which he never seems to have suspected; namely, that “the pronoun *οὗτος*, when it is demonstrative of any thing which has no person, and which the writer would not personify, is often put in the *neuter* gender, although the noun, which it represents, be *masculine*.”* One instance produced, in support of this canon, is the very instance before us. But, any reliance on this, for our present purpose, would, of course, be stigmatized as a *petitio principii*. We, accordingly, put it aside; and beg the attention of Dr. Wiseman, to a few words of *heathen* Greek, referred to by the same writer. In his third Olynthiac, Demosthenes had been speaking of certain laws (*νόμοι*), which he desired to have repealed. And then he goes on to say, “when you shall have repealed *these*—(*ἐπειδὴν ΤΑΥΤΑ λύσῃτε*), then will be the time to look out for one who will propose more beneficial and salutary measures.” Here, the masculine noun, laws (*νόμοι*), is referred to by the gender-less pronoun *ταῦτα*. And, even so, we opine, may the masculine noun *ἄρτος*, be referred to by the neuter pronoun *τοῦτο*. A more familiar acquaintance with the Greek idiom might, perhaps, have abated the confidence of the

* Horsley’s Tracts, Append. No. 11, p. 334, ed. 1812.

hermeneutical doctor, in this, his palmary exploit in philology and criticism.

And yet, we are by no means sure! For what has an expositor to dread from the grammarians, when once he is under the wing of the infallible Church? Unfortunately, however, the grammarians are by no means the worst enemies with whom he has to contend. It does so chance, that both St. Luke and St. Paul withstand him to the face! For, St. Luke and St. Paul have, each of them, these words:—ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστίν, ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου.*—THIS CUP is the New Testament, in my blood. This, really, is very untoward! But, for these testimonies, how pleasantly might Dr. Wiseman have laughed at the grammarians and the critics, with nothing before him, but the words of St. Matthew, and St. Mark, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἶμά μου.† As it is, we greatly fear that τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον must condense the *vague and indefinite something* into the wine within the chalice; and, by inevitable consequence, that the neuter pronoun τοῦτο, in the preceding sentence, will—without any assistance from the grammarians—compel Dr. Wiseman to think upon the bread! If so, we have, here,—as Dr. Turton remarks,—in separate instances, “two material objects, which cannot be identical.” If the cup, or the wine in it, cannot be human blood, surely, the bread cannot be the human body. And thus, after all, “we are “compelled to fly, by a positive repugnance and contradiction, “to another sense.” And what sense can this be, but a figurative and symbolical sense?—Well may Dr. Turton say—“the argument is at an end”—seeing that “on Dr. Wiseman’s own principles, the words of institution are fatal to the doctrine of “transubstantiation.”‡

We have already adverted to the argument of the Romanists, and their champion Dr. Wiseman, that, when the Almighty condescends to work a miracle, man has no right to withhold his credence, because he is unable, by his senses, to perceive whether a miracle has been wrought or not. Nothing more, therefore, needs to be said, on that subject, except briefly to state, that only two ways can be imagined, by which we can possibly ascertain whether, or not, there has been any preter-natural operation. The first is, by the application of our senses. If the senses give us no information,—or, if their testimony is adverse to the assertion that a miracle has been performed,—the presumption against the miracle is all but absolutely overpowering. In that case, the only other evidence for its performance, must be sought for in some direct, express, and positive declaration, to that effect, from the

* Luke, xxii. 20.—1 Cor. xi. 25.

† Matth. xxvi. 28.—Mark, xiv. 24.

‡ Turt. p. 278.

Almighty himself. Now the Protestant contends that the use of words, which *may* be capable of a figurative sense, cannot amount to a declaration sufficiently potential, to overbear the testimony of the senses. And, we have already seen, that, in this view of the matter, the Protestant is, virtually, supported by certain of the highest authorities in the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, it is the pleasure of Dr. Wiseman to tell us,—in defiance of Duns Scotus and Bellarmine,—that the words in question “can have but one meaning;” and that they who reject that meaning, must reject it “solely on account of the philosophical difficulties with which it is surrounded. Now—to use the language of Dr. Turton,—“We repel this insinuation with unspeakable scorn.” True it is, that all our faculties, both of sense and intellect, do join in reclamation against the alleged miracle of the Romish Sacrament; and true it is, that, in resorting to Scripture in search of the truth, we do not think it necessary to leave those faculties behind us. But it is most foully false that, in so doing, we reject the witness of God, and betake ourselves to the oracles of this world’s wisdom. We reject nothing, but the hermeneutics of the Romish schools, and the imperious decrees of the Romish Church. We do not trample under foot the word of God; but we do trample under foot the insolent dictations of men. And who—we must take the freedom to demand—who is Dr. Wiseman, that he should take upon himself to say to us—Behold, I, even I, have shown that *this*, or *that*, is infallibly the word and mind of God; and, whosoever shall reject my exposition, thereby proclaims himself the pupil of philosophy, and not the disciple of Jesus Christ? “Is it for him”—we ask, in the words of Dr. Turton—“is it for him, who is scarcely ever right, even by accident, to decide that the literal meaning of certain texts is so “indubitable, that to accept, or refuse them, is to choose between belief, or disbelief, of the Saviour of the world?” Is it for him to set up certain canons of correct interpretation; and then to demand for them a reverence and submission, which some of the mightiest masters of Romish theology have forborne to claim for any thing, less than the infallible authority of the *Catholic Church*? There may, indeed, as Dr. Turton remarks, be something sublime and “grand, in this kind of superiority “over the laws of the moral and intellectual world!” But, truly, it is a very dangerous sublimity; a sublimity, from which there is but one short step to a very different region. And that this step has been taken by Dr. Wiseman, must be manifest to all who will but patiently survey his present position.

In that region we must now leave him; which we do, with sentiments of profound respect and gratitude to the two conduc-

tors who have brought him thither. Of them, and of their labours, we scarcely know how to speak in terms sufficiently expressive of our high estimation. It will be found, by those who will resort to their pages, that *Philaletthes* has thrown upon the discussion the pure, serene, and steady light, of a wise and excellently-disciplined mind; and that the Regius Professor has done honour to his chair, by a patience and closeness of investigation, which is altogether admirable. Between them, they have thoroughly and minutely *demonstrated* the morbid anatomy of their *subject*. There never, we believe, was a dissection more complete. And, we only regret that we have been unable to do them justice, by a more perfect exhibition of the process.

Of the *subject* himself we must say a word or two. He is an extremely curious specimen of a controversial divine! He, really, is the glossiest and most silken of polemics; "quite a jewel of a man." In style and manner, he, frequently, reminds us of nothing so much, as of an exceedingly well-powdered, well-dressed, fair-spoken, voluble, and most accomplished empiric, with the brilliant on his finger, and the cambric in his hand. And, then, he has such winning ways with him; there is so much blandness and complacency; such captivating appeals to the sense and candour of a discerning public; so much abstinence from all provoking and ill-bred forms of speech; so much of the plausibilities of logic and induction;—that it is quite impossible to wonder at his success. Sometimes, it must be confessed, there is a good deal of sonorous pomposity; and, occasionally, there do occur some slight indications of supercilious contempt for his adversaries. But all this sort of thing is in admirable keeping with the rest. So that, taking him for all in all, we scarcely may hope to look upon his like again. But we gladly turn over the description of him to a hand incomparably more able than our own:—

"Plausibility"—says Dr. Turton—"is the characteristic of the learned author's labours. On their surface there is a smoothness—a gloss—which can scarcely fail to beguile the individual, who is content with a hasty perusal. And how few, of those who read and pronounce an opinion, have the leisure or the inclination—even supposing them to have the requisite attainments—to examine such a work with sufficient attention to enable them to form a correct judgment on the subject. Without the slightest wish to depreciate the lectures or their author, I cannot help here stating, that I have never met with another production so abounding in petty criticism on small portions of text apart from their contexts—in hermeneutical devices of every kind—and in arguments which, being directly opposed to each other, serve only to cause perplexity. The author is subtle, but not sagacious; he is dextrous,

but not circumspect; he is learned after the manner of a controversialist, not after that of a student. It would have afforded me real pleasure, if I could have pointed out a single instance of fair, manly investigation in the course of his lectures; and I sincerely regret that he has not enabled me to pay him the compliment.”—p. 322.

We cannot conclude, however, without expressing our cordial acknowledgments to Dr. Wiseman: for, in truth, we have found in him a most potent auxiliary to our own Protestant persuasions. Stupid heretics that we are!—we do solemnly declare that we have risen from the Lectures of the great professor of hermeneutical science, with an augmented intensity of conviction, that the Romish doctrine of the Eucharist is the most portentous of all the delusions, which have ever abused the credulity of the human race. Yes,—it is our deliberate belief, that, if any doubts had been lingering in our mind before, these Discourses—(which may have entranced the English College at Rome)—would have swept them all away. Now, this—it must be acknowledged—is no ordinary weight of obligation. For, we entirely agree with Dr. Turton, that “those persons totally mistake the matter, who “fancy that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is but of minor “importance; constituting an unessential difference of opinion, “between persons of different persuasions in religion.” Thus much, indeed, we have no hesitation to confess,—that, if this were a *mere opinion*, wandering about among certain members of the Catholic Church, we should feel but little alarm or disturbance about the matter. We really see nothing in it, considered as a *mere opinion* entertained by individuals, which should constitute an element of schism. We cannot discern anything in the simple abstract persuasion, which should hinder us from going to the communion table with any one who, here and there, might happen to entertain it. We might regard it, to be sure, as a most astounding absurdity, whether physically or metaphysically considered. Theologically considered, however, it implies nothing, so far as we can discern, which tends to lower the efficacy or the dignity of the sacrament. Why, then, should it be allowed to separate between us and our brother, when about to approach the table of the Lord? Unhappily, however, it has grown, by a sort of forcing process, into something infinitely more formidable than a *mere private opinion*. It has acquired all the strength and solidity of a *dogma*. It is among the massiest portions of the masonry, whereof the church of Rome has built a wall up to heaven, between herself and all the rest of Christendom. It has become the very centre and citadel of a vast empire of superstition. It is the tower and the fortress which the papal tyranny has made so strong for herself. It is the grand chamber

of imagery, which forms the mysterious recess of her most potent and pernicious sorceries. It is the element which, of all others, imparts an irresistible and superhuman might to the whole body of the Romish hierarchy. It invests the ministers of the Church with a mysterious and *theurgical* character, before which all human faculties and energies bow down in the dust. So long, therefore, as the Church shall be militant here in earth, so long must there be no truce or compromise with this tremendous deception. For upwards of six centuries, the warfare has been carried on against it; and the controversy has often been "by fire and by blood." At this day, the conflict has assumed a more mitigated aspect. But the principles to be encountered are unchanged, and unchangeable. Whether, therefore, the genius of the Church, which has *canonized* this opinion, be represented by an inquisitor, or by a doctor of hermeneutics, the duty of those who contend for truth, and freedom, will be comprehended in one syllable—*Watch!*

ART. VIII.—*Introduction to the Second Edition of the Bampton Lectures, of the Year 1832.* By R. D. Hampden, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, Canon of Christ Church, &c. London: Fellowes. 1837.

DR. HAMPDEN having published this "*Introduction*," and having done us the honour of forwarding a copy for our perusal, we do not like to be altogether silent. We propose, therefore, to make one or two remarks; but almost literally one or two: because, if any one thing be farther from our wishes than all others, it is to open those wounds of controversy which time, with reference to all parties, may have done something to heal.

The pamphlet before us, which is printed in a separate shape, contains a brief development or explanation of the views put forth in the Bampton Lectures of 1832. As such, it has its use, and is well worthy the attention of the theological student. At the same time, we cannot but observe, that there is *primâ facie* evidence of the obscurity at least of these Bampton Lectures, and the misconceptions to which some statements contained in them were liable, in the fact that, five years after their delivery, their author feels it necessary to offer this explanation and development. We might show, too, if we were inclined to pick holes, that some propositions in this development itself, although not exactly explaining the "*obscurum per obscurius*," are yet either doubtful as to their meaning, or questionable as to their truth;

and that others, again, cannot be made consistent, by any fair method of grammatical construction, with the *letter* of his preceding works. On the whole, however, it certainly exhibits Dr. Hampden's system in a more favourable light, and ought to be taken as the expression of the fixed, ripened, and deliberate opinions of a man, whose personal sincerity, as well as whose personal amiability, no one has ever disputed. Dr. Hampden says—

“It is well known, that, as an author, or rather particularly as the Bampton Lecturer of the year 1832, I have been the object of no common or measured attacks. Such has been my singular infelicity!—or, perhaps I should say, felicity; when I look to the advantage that must result to the truth, from general attention being drawn to that track of theology on which I have entered. It is not necessary to describe how I have been assailed, not only by angry publications, but by the more open polemics of ungentle and disrespectful acts. All this being known to the world, some perhaps have wondered that I have not been stirred up to the conflict.”—p. 1.

After stating his reasons for “not entering into personal controversy with his adversaries,” Dr. Hampden proceeds:

“I would first point out what is the object proposed in the Bampton Lectures. There has been much misrepresentation on this head. The work has been held up as an attempt to explain away Christian truths—to leave nothing of Christian doctrine—to reduce the creed of the Christian to a few historical events, or else to certain abstract general points in which the various opinions of discordant sects may be found to agree—and generally to unsettle the minds of believers as to what is Christian truth, and what is not. Unfair objection to my line of argument has thus been raised; and persons have been prevented from giving that calm, unprejudiced attention to the subject, which it strictly requires. It is not only true that men condemn what they do not understand; but they are disabled from understanding what they have been taught to condemn.

“Let me premise, then, that the inquiry pursued in the Bampton Lectures leaves the *matter* of Christian doctrine untouched. It is one thing to inquire into the *mode* of statement, supposing the substance of the statement to be true; and another thing to inquire into the *matter* or *substance* of the truth stated. A truth, whether we call it a fact or a doctrine, is quite independent of any particular mode of statement.”—pp. 4, 5.

Again—

“So far respecting the general design of my Bampton Lectures. Agreeably to what I have here said, I have in that work described my business there, as an inquiry into the nature of theological terms. And as the philosophy of the schools of the middle ages, or the scholastic philosophy, as it is called, presented copious and fresh materials for tracing the history of the statements of doctrine, I selected that particularly as

the field of my observation. Not that I confined my observation strictly to the authors properly denominated scholastic; but I took their writings, as the crisis of a method of philosophizing antecedent to themselves; as displaying at its maturity a mode of thinking and reasoning, which had exerted a very considerable influence in the formation of our theological language. For we may speak of scholasticism before the proper age of the schoolmen, as we may speak of Manicheism before the Manicheans, and of Calvinism before Calvin."—p. 22.

We subjoin one other specimen, which will sufficiently denote the nature of this "*Introduction*."

"In pursuing my inquiry, I have been led to speak of the truths of religion as *facts*. To persons who have thoroughly entered into the spirit of the inductive philosophy, it would be unnecessary to explain what I mean by this term. Such persons would know, that this term is not to be restricted to mere events or occurrences, or what may be called historical or singular facts, but denotes, as I have elsewhere said, *WHATSOEVER IS*,—universal, as well as particular, truths, whether founded on experience, or on the authority of divine revelation; and that it is opposed to theory or hypothesis. Thus the divinity of our Lord is a fact; His consubstantiality with the Father and the Holy Spirit, His atonement, His mediation, His distinct personality, His perpetual presence with His Church, His future advent to judge the world, the communion of saints, the corruption of our nature, the efficacy of divine grace, the acceptableness of works wrought through faith, the necessity of repentance,—though stated in abstract terms, are all facts in God's spiritual kingdom revealed to us through Christ. So I might proceed to enumerate, one after the other, all the Christian verities. But these instances may show, that it is not merely such truths as our Lord's birth, and crucifixion, and resurrection, and ascension, and the miracles which He wrought, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, or the call of Abraham, and the thunders of Sinai, and the dedication of the temple, that come under the appellation of facts, in the philosophical sense of that term.

"These last indeed are facts in a sense in which *all* the Christian truths cannot be said to be. They are events; and are accordingly facts in the popular, as well as the philosophical, sense of the term. They form an historical basis to the other truths joined with them in the Christian scheme; not only being important in themselves, but also serving as occasions for the development by the pen of inspiration, of truths beside and beyond themselves. This relation between the two classes of Christian truths is the foundation of my observation, that the truths declared in Scripture are to be understood in their reference to the doings of God in the world. Nothing was further from my thoughts than to say that Christianity is made up wholly of mere events, and has no doctrinal truths in it. I have wished only to point out strongly a great characteristic of our religion, by which it is distinguished from all other religions professing to have their sacred books. Our revelations, we may say, were not the literary work of some sage or legislator, or put forth as a mere writing or collection of writings: but they are a series of histo-

rical revelations given at different times, and in different manners, and by different messengers; each for its special purpose, in connexion with what was then passing in the world; and yet all having reference to one great Evangelical purpose. Not so, for example, the Korân. Here is the work of one man, dealt forth to the world by himself as so many divine communications to him, and having no connexion in its parts with the history of the world."—pp. 24, 25.

Now, if we were polemically disposed, we might prove without any difficulty that, *so far*, "this connexion of the doctrinal truths of Christianity with the historical," is by no means an original notion of Dr. Hampden; but has been urged, with great force and clearness, as a glorious characteristic of the Bible, by many religious controversialists. We might also contend that this explanation does not quite do away the confusion about *facts and doctrines* to which Dr. Hampden, partly at least, has given rise. We feel, as strongly as the Oxford Professor of Divinity himself, the impossibility of marking an absolute line of distinction between *facts and doctrines*; just as we hear men saying, "that one fact is worth a hundred arguments;" and yet we never knew a fact that was not, in the highest sense, an argument; or an argument deserving a moment's consideration, that was not, in some sense, also a fact. Yet to use popular words, without sufficient notice, in a philosophical, or rather an uncommon signification, is to lay a snare for the unwary, and even, perhaps, to lead the most cautious into error. We might enlarge upon the ambiguity, certain to accrue from employing the same identical term, without adequate intimation of its comprehensiveness, as an *event*, and as a *proposition*; as a *particular transaction*, and as an *universal truth*; as a thing *done*, and as a *reality*, or *entity*, of any kind whatsoever. This ambiguity, too, has been enhanced in the present case; because, on the one side, it has been argued that the *doctrines* of the Bible are all in all, and that the *facts* recorded in it,—that is, the physical and historical *events*,—are not necessarily a part of the matter of inspiration; and, on the other side, it has been argued, that the Bible, in strictness, contains no *doctrines*, but only *facts*; and the explanation is, when men have started with wonder at the hardihood of this assertion, that a fact, philosophically conceived, *includes* every thing that is properly a doctrine.

Our harshness, if we have ever been harsh towards Dr. Hampden, has been produced by our deep conviction of the disastrous and manifold evils which must result from vagueness, or lubricity, of language, in theological investigations. It renders peace and unity unattainable; it diverts the minds of Christian inquirers from the calm pursuit of truths to logomachies, at once endless and profitless; it affords a triumph to the sneering sophist who

finds in the disputes among believers an excuse for his infidelity ; and it heats the minds of men, who might otherwise be firm friends and mutual admirers, with acrimonious and angry controversy, while there is really no essential difference of opinion between them. Our contempt is unspeakable for those who are determined, at all events, to misunderstand an author's meaning : but the author, too, is fairly subject to expostulation and remonstrance, if he is so careless, or so unfortunate, as to write in a manner which it is difficult *not* to misunderstand. If allowances ought to be made for Dr. Hampden, because his creed has never been so heterodox as some of his expressions, they ought also to be made for other men, not less estimable than Dr. Hampden himself, who have been led, by some of his expressions, to mistake the nature of his creed.

But we purposely abstain from saying more :—or we might be tempted to offer some strictures on what Dr. Hampden has said concerning “ *tradition* ;” and, likewise, on the *extent*, and on the *manner*, in which the *inductive* process is applicable to biblical study.—For our own parts, as we look back on the whole of this Hampdenian controversy, we see much reason for regret, but little, or none, for self-reproach. We spoke of Dr. Hampden and his works with the utmost impartiality : for we had not the advantage, or rather, in this particular case, the *disadvantage*, of any private acquaintance with him ; and our observations could not be tinged either with the bitterness of jealousy, or with the more generous injustice of personal friendship. Our criticisms, too, were hazarded, before Dr. Hampden was lifted into the disquietudes of his conspicuous station ; before political feelings, whether of attachment or aversion, could be connected with his name ; and while his speculations seemed scarcely more likely to be invested with a paramount importance, than any work of Mr. A., or Dr. B., forming part of that multitudinous flood of new productions which rolls in upon us from quarter to quarter.

But, dismissing the past, we would look only to the future. And, painful as the dispute has been, we do sincerely hope that good may yet be evolved out of the evil.—The use and abuse of technical terms in theology, and the changes of meaning which they have undergone, amidst the fluctuations of thought and language ;—the nature and history, the origin and progress, of the scholastic philosophy ;—and, generally, the labours, and errors, of men, who have been equally the subjects of absurd blame and extravagant encomium ;—these are topics on which the Christian divine ought not, surely, to be quite in the dark. It will be a benefit, therefore, to *some* of Dr. Hampden's opponents, if they are induced to read systematically, and to think closely, upon the

matters which he has brought under discussion. And Dr. Hampden, on his part, will have learnt, since he really entertains no sort of antipathy against creeds, symbols and formularies of faith, never, in inadvertency or haste, to speak of them in terms offensive of necessity to those, who regard them with an affectionate reverence:—he will have learnt to mature his scheme of divinity, and, in maturing, to soften it;—to surround his sentiments with the requisite qualifications, to express them in guarded and well-considered phrases, and to rub away from the fabric of his compositions those rough and salient points on which it was so unpleasant to touch. The religion of the land is partly entrusted to his keeping; and he will be mainly indebted to his impugnors, if his guardianship of it is approved. A career of usefulness and honour is open before him; and he will be mainly indebted to his impugnors, if he fulfils it to the satisfaction of the Church and country. He will be mainly indebted to them for a lesson the most valuable to a man of his intellectual habits and capacities: he will be mainly indebted to them for any improvement in his future efforts; and, yet farther, for the extended circulation which is given to his present opinions; for the opportunity of writing this explanatory *Introduction*, which, although it comes rather late, and is “born somewhat out of time,” would not otherwise have appeared; for a larger number of readers than would else have been attracted to his works; and, very probably, for the circumstance, that he is now presenting to the world a second edition of his Bampton Lectures.

ART. IX.—1. *Edinburgh Review*, No. CVI. Art. VI. “*Universities of England, Oxford.*”—No. CVIII. Art. IX. “*English Universities, Oxford.*”—No. CXXI. Art. X. “*Admission of Dissenters to the Universities.*”—No. CXXII. Art. IX. “*The Universities and the Dissenters.*”

2. *The Legality of the present Academical System of the University of Oxford asserted against the new Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review.* By a Member of Convocation. 8vo. Oxford, 1831.
3. *The Legality of the present Academical System of the University of Oxford re-asserted against the new Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review.* By a Member of Convocation. 8vo. Oxford, 1832.
4. *On the Origin of Universities and Academical Degrees.* By Henry Malden, M.A. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cam-

bridge, Professor of Greek in the University of London. 18mo. London, 1835.

5. *An Historical Vindication of the leading Principles contained in the Earl of Radnor's Bill, entitled "An Act for appointing Commissioners to inquire respecting the Statutes and Administration of the different Colleges and Halls at Oxford and Cambridge."* 8vo. London, 1837.
6. *The History of the Visitation of the University of Oxford by a Parliamentary Commission in the Years 1647, 1648, abridged from the Annals of Anthony à Wood.* 8vo. Oxford, 1837.

"This is the age of reform: next in importance to our religious and political establishments, are the foundations for public education; and having now seriously engaged in a reform of 'the constitution, the envy of surrounding nations,' the time cannot be distant for a reform in the schools and universities, which have hardly avoided their contempt. Public intelligence is not, as hitherto, tolerant of prescriptive abuses, and the country now demands that endowments for the common weal should no longer be administered for private advantage. At this auspicious crisis, and under a ministry no longer warring against public opinion, we should be sorry not to contribute our endeavour to attract attention to the defects which more or less pervade all our national seminaries of education, and to the means best calculated for their removal. We propose, therefore, from time to time, to continue to review the state of these establishments, considered both absolutely in themselves and in relation to the other circumstances which have contributed to modify the intellectual condition of the different divisions of the empire."

It is now just six years since the Edinburgh Review thus announced its intention of taking under its paternal inspection and superintendence the Universities of England. Nor has it proved unfaithful to the office thus charitably undertaken. About once in three years it seems to perform a kind of visitation. The first* was in June, 1831; there was another in October, 1834; it is now about the time for a third; and we feel convinced therefore, independently of the disposition shown in certain quarters at the present moment to adopt the suggestions of the Edinburgh Review, that no apology is necessary for recalling the attention of our readers to articles of so old a date. They are even now probably preparing to make their appearance again before the admiring public in some new dress.

"In proceeding to the Universities," said the northern visitor, when he entered with befitting solemnity upon the duties of his office, "we commence with Oxford." And, doubtless, there were very good reasons. "This University," it seems, "is entitled to

* There had not been one since 1810; long ago, however, as that is in the history of ephemeral literature, the circumstances are not yet quite forgotten.

precedence from its venerable antiquity, its ancient fame, the wealth of its endowments, and the importance of its privileges;" all very solid and substantial reasons doubtless, but it seems there is "another reason," and one still better and more cogent, for this "preference."

"Without attempting any idle and invidious comparison, without asserting the superior or inferior excellence of Oxford in contrast with any other British University, we have no hesitation," says the Edinburgh Review, "in affirming that, comparing what it actually is with what it possibly could be, Oxford is, of all academical institutions, at once the most imperfect and the most perfectible. Properly directed, as they might be, the means which it possesses would render it the most efficient University in existence; improperly directed, as they are, each part of the apparatus only counteracts another; and there is not a similar institution which, in proportion to what it ought to accomplish, accomplishes so little."

"But it is not in demonstrating the imperfection of the present system," proceeds the Review, "that we principally ground a hope of its improvement; it is in demonstrating its *illegality*." This, it must be admitted, was a judicious proceeding. The former method had been tried before, and had signally failed; it was high time to have recourse to some other mode of attack. "But in the reform of an ancient establishment like Oxford, the great difficulty," as Edinburgh Reviewers were destined to discover, and as wise men had discovered long before, when they took into consideration how to move bodies still larger, and which had been still longer established, "the great difficulty is to initiate a movement." Δὲς πῆ στῶ: Give me the fulcrum,—and I will move the world. "In comparing Oxford as it is with an ideal standard," experience, it seems, has taught the wise, "there *may* be differences of opinion in regard to the kind of change expedient, if not in regard to the expediency of a change *at all*;" for even this, it seems, is just possible; "but in comparing it with the standard of *its own code of statutes* there *can be none*." Here then was an opening for the engines of assault. "It will not surely be contended," said the Reviewer, with sufficient plausibility, "that matters should continue as they are, if it can be shown that, as now administered, this University pretends only to accomplish a petty fraction of the *ends* proposed to it by *law*, and attempts even this only by *illegal means*. But a progress being determined towards a state of *right*, it is easy to accelerate the momentum* towards a state of excellence:—ἀρχὴ ἡμῖν παντός."

* Query. Is it quite so easy, philosophically speaking, to "accelerate momentum?" "Velocity," we all know, is very easily "accelerated," but something more is necessary to make up the "momentum." And this, perhaps, there may be found a difficulty in supplying.

This was indeed a very plausible scheme; the “illegality” of the system established in our Universities was a banner under which parliamentary forces would be found ready enough to march. *Eureka! Eureka!* we would that we had seen the hecatombs of the grateful sage.

At all events he betook himself most strenuously to his task. He laid the plan of his campaign in due order, but the work undertaken was great.

“Did the limits of a single paper allow us to exhaust the subject, we should, in the *first* place, consider the state of the University, both as established in law and non-existent in fact, and as established in fact but non-existent in law; in the *second*, the causes which have determined the transition from the statutory to the illegal constitution; in the *third*, the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems; and in the *fourth*, the means by which the University may be best restored to its efficiency. In the present article, however, we can only compass, and that inadequately, the first and second heads. The third and fourth we must reserve for a separate discussion, in which we shall endeavour to demonstrate, that the intrusive system, compared with the legitimate, is as absurd as it is unauthorized—that the preliminary step in a reform must be a return to the Statutory Constitution—and that this constitution, though far from faultless, may, by a few natural and easy changes, be improved into an instrument of education, the most perfect perhaps in the world. The subject of our consideration at present requires a fuller exposition, not only from its intrinsic importance, but because, strange as it may appear, the origin, and consequently the cure, of the corruption of the English Universities, is totally misunderstood. . . . It is generally believed that, however imperfect in itself, the actual mechanism of education organized in these seminaries, is a time-honoured and essential part of their being, established upon statute, endowed by the national legislature with exclusive privileges, and inviolable as a vested right. We shall prove, on the contrary, that it is new as it is inexpedient—not only accidental to the University, but radically subversive of its constitution,—without legal sanction, nay, in violation of positive law,—arrogating the privileges exclusively conceded to another system, which it has superseded, and so far from being defensible by those it profits, as a right, that it is a flagrant usurpation obtained through perjury, and only tolerated through neglect.”—p. 385, 386.

The Reviewer proceeded to state his theory, and to set forth, first generally, and then in detail, the contrast between his two systems, the “statutory” and the “illegal,” the professorial and the tutorial; the result of which was, that, though it was to be admitted that “there is much of good, much worthy of imitation by other Universities, in the present spirit and present economy of Oxford, which” the Reviewer was “happy to acknowledge, and might at another time endeavour to demonstrate,” yet that “this good is *occasioned* not *effected*, and that, as *at present organized*,

it is a doubtful problem whether the tutorial system ought not to be abated as a nuisance." (p. 398.) Next the Reviewer proceeded to his "second subject of consideration,—to inquire by what causes and for what ends this revolution was accomplished; how the English Universities, in particular Oxford, passed from a legal to an illegal state, and from public Universities were degraded into private schools? The answer is precise," says the Reviewer, "this was effected solely by the influence, and exclusively for the advantage of the Colleges." But seeing that it required "some illustration to understand," amidst the profound ignorance of the public, "how the interests of these private corporations was opposed to that of the public institution, of which," according to the Reviewer, "they were the accidents; and how their domestic tuition was able gradually to undermine, and ultimately to supersede the system of academical lectures, in aid of which," he informs us, "it was established;" there followed a learned "sketch of the collegial system as variously organized and as variously affecting the academical constitution in foreign Universities," in order to "afford a clearer conception of the distinctive character of that system in those of England, and of the paramount and unexampled influence it had exerted in determining their corruption."—(pp. 398, 399.) It remained only to explain more particularly "how a revolution so improbable in itself, and so disastrous in its effects," was accomplished, by showing, with reference to Oxford, "1st. How the students, once distributed in numerous small societies through the halls, were at length collected into a few large communities within the colleges; 2d. How in the colleges, thus the pen-folds of the academical flock, the fellows frustrated the common right of graduates to the office of tutor; and 3d. How the fellow tutors supplanted the professors—how the colleges superseded the University."—(p. 407.) This last, it appears, was the crowning effort, the grand master-piece of policy.

"Could the professorial system on which the University rested be abolished, the tutorial system would remain the one organ of academical instruction; could the University be silently annihilated, the colleges would succeed to its name, its privileges, and its place. This momentous revolution was consummated. We do not affirm, that the end was clearly proposed, or a line of policy for its attainment ever systematically followed out. But circumstances concurred, and that instinct of self-interest which actuates *bodies* of men with the certainty of a natural law, determined, in the course of generations, a result, such as no sagacity would have anticipated as possible. After the accomplishment, however, a retrospect of its causes shows the event to have been natural, if not necessary."—p. 413.

"The subversion of the University" then, it appears, *mirabile*

dictu, "is to be traced to that very code of laws on which its constitution was finally established." "The statutes ratified under the Chancellorship of Laud, and by which the *legal* constitution of the University is still determined, changed this republican polity into an oligarchical." The heads of houses were "now first clothed with an authority such as rendered them henceforward the principal—in fact, the sole administrators of the University weal." (pp. 413, 414.) "And whereas, in foreign Universities, the University governed the Colleges," but "in Oxford the Colleges were enthroned the governors of the University;" and whereas "corporations never blush," (p. 415); and whereas, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, "it would have been quite as reasonable to expect that the heads of colleges should commit suicide to humour their enemies, as that they should prove the faithful guardians and the zealous promoters of the professorial system" (p. 417); and whereas, seeing that the hebdomadal meeting of the heads of colleges and halls "had the charge of watching over the due observance of the statutes," and "the heads had only to violate their duties, by neglecting the charge especially entrusted to them, and the dowfal of the obnoxious system was inevitable" (pp. 417, 418)—"this," of course, "they did," and the system fell. "The great interests of the nation, the Church, and the professions, were sacrificed to the paltry ends of a few contemptible corporations: and the privileges by law accorded to the *University* of Oxford, as the authorized organ of national education, were, by its perfidious governors, furtively transferred to the unauthorized absurdities of their *college* discipline."—(p. 420.)

The Reviewer had now only to put the finishing hand to his work by the charitable labour of involving the heads of houses as a body in the sweeping charge of "converting the great seminary of the English Church into a school of perjury." "This grievous charge," says the Review, "though frequently advanced both by the friends and enemies of the Establishment, we mention with regret; we do not see how it can be rebutted, but shall be truly gratified if it can." On the other hand, if it could not, the "fact" was to be employed to complete the theory of academical corruption, by proving "that the representatives of the collegial bodies, as constituting the hebdomadal meeting, were the authors of this radical subversion of the establishment of which they were protectors,—that the greatest importance was attached by them to its accomplishment,—and, at the same time, that they were fully conscious of sacrificing the interests of the University and public to a private job." "All this," it seems, was "manifested" by the fact, that "the whole statutes that con-

stitute the being and well-being of the University, as an establishment of education in general, and in particular of education in the three learned professions,—that these fundamental statutes were, one and all, absolutely reduced to a dead letter. And why? because they established the University on the system of professorial instruction.” But, perhaps, “dispensation affords a postern of escape.” No. Besides that “the statutes bestow this power exclusively on the houses of congregation and convocation, and the limits of “*dispensable*” and “*indispensable matter*,” we are told, “are anxiously and minutely determined,” beside all this, “of itself the very fact that there was aught indispensable in the system at all, might satisfy us, without farther inquiry, that at least the one essential part of its organization, through which the University, by law, accomplishes the purposes of its institution, could not be dispensed with; for this would be nothing else than a dispensation of the University itself.”—(p. 421). Still further, it appeared that the University itself, in its “Epinomis, or explanation of the oath,” had declared “the magistrates” to be “guilty of broken faith and perjury,” if they suffered any statutes whatever to fall into desuetude.” Now, whom could the University mean by these “magistrates,” said the Edinburgh Reviewer to himself, but the heads of colleges assembled at the hebdomadal meeting?—a most gratuitous assumption, and one utterly erroneous, as might easily be shown.—“It must,” however, the Reviewer proceeded, by an irrefragable *à priori* argument, “it *must*, as we observed, have been powerful motives which could induce the heads of houses originally to incur, or subsequently to tolerate, such opprobrium for themselves and the University; nor *can* any *conceivable* motive be assigned for either, except that these representatives of the collegial interest were fully aware that the intrusive system was not one for which a sanction could be hoped from the academical and civil legislatures, while, at the same time, it was too advantageous for themselves not to be quietly perpetuated, even at such a price.” It is equally evident, that “no body of men would, without inducement, sit down under the brand of ‘violated faith and perjury.’” Now this inducement,” it is equally clear to logic, “must have been either a public or a private advantage. The former,” it is equally clear, “it could not have been.” For, “there is *no imaginable* reason, if the professorial system were found absolutely or comparatively useless, why its abolition or degradation should not have been openly moved in convocation; and why, if the tutorial system were calculated to accomplish all the ends of academical instruction, it should, at first, either have crept to

its ascendancy, through perjury and treason, or, after approving its sufficiency, have still only enjoyed its monopoly by precarious toleration, and never demanded its ratification on the ground of public utility." All this is clear to the plainest understanding, even south of the Tweed. And thus "we are *driven*," reluctantly as it may be, "to the other alternative of supposing, that, in the transition from the statutory to the illegal, the change was originally determined and subsequently maintained, not because the surreptitious system was conducive to the public ends of the University, but because it was expedient for the interest of these private corporations, by whom this venerable establishment has been so long administered."—(pp. 424—426.)

It is, in its degree, satisfactory to find that the *genus* that perpetrated these atrocities has now passed away; and that some kind of reform has, in some mysterious manner, found its way into Oxford during the last half-century, even without a parliamentary commission.

"The strictures," says the Reviewer, "which a conviction of their truth, and our interest in the honour and utility of this venerable school have constrained us to make on the conduct of the hebdomadal meeting, we mainly apply to the heads of houses of a former generation, and even to them solely in their corporate capacity. Of the late and present members of this body we are happy to acknowledge, that during the last twenty-five years, so great an improvement has been effected through their influence, that, in some essential points, Oxford may, not unworthily, be proposed as a pattern to most other universities. But this improvement, though important, is partial, and can only receive its adequate development by a return to the statutory combination of the professorial and tutorial systems."—(p. 426.)

Due care, however, is taken, before the Reviewer and his readers part, that this admission shall not extend, nor be construed to extend, to any thing incompatible with that great principle of reform which "all experience proves, that universities, like other corporations, can only be reformed from without." And on this point our friend and well-wisher gives us good hopes from the North. "A committee of visitation," he informs us, "has lately terminated its labours on the Scottish Universities: we should anticipate a more important result from a similar, and far more necessary, inquiry into the corruptions of those of England."—p. 427.

This sweeping attack on the University of Oxford produced an immediate reply in the pamphlet which stands second at the head of our present article: and it is no unworthy successor, though in a different way, to the "Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh

Review against Oxford," which, in 1810, inflicted on the Northern Visitor so memorable a chastisement. The new article in the Edinburgh Review, was found to consist of Arguments and Artifices. Accordingly, the Reply was divided into two parts, in the first of which the Arguments, in the second the Artifices were to be considered; the object of the first part was to be Refutation; of the second, Detection and Exposure. And most complete were both the refutation, and the detection and exposure. In the first part, the legality of the system *de facto* was laboriously shown on various grounds, e. g. "from the general principles of human law;" "from the principles of municipal incorporation, and the right of making bye-laws (the University being proved to have that right, and not to be "a national institution in the sense in which the Reviewer labours to inculcate"); "from the express words of the statute-book;" "from the usage, or immemorial practice of the University;" "from the principle upon which the Laudian code was compiled," &c. In the second part were exposed "the artifice of attributing false, that is, defective and inadequate ends to an university education;" "the artifice of misrepresenting the state of the University previous to the foundation of the colleges;" "the artifice of misrepresenting the nature of the old academic prælections or readings in the schools, in order to detract from the excellence of the tutorial system;" "the artifice of saying that the limits of dispensable and indispensable matter are minutely determined;" "the artifice shown in the misrepresentation of the object of the *Epinomis*;" and, finally, "the artifice of saying that every master or doctor continued to possess the right of reading lectures in the schools after the Laudian code, by tit. iv. s. 1," whereas "no such declaration, express or otherwise, is to be found in that statute;"—the author concluding with the promise of adding some more sections of "artifices," whenever the Reviewer should produce his farther demonstration of the absurdity of "the intrusive system." (p. 142.)

This speedy, thorough-going reply, was by no means agreeable to the Reviewer, as may be sufficiently seen from the tone of the opening paragraph of his review of this pamphlet in the Number for December, 1831. It appears, he had not expected, he had "hardly hoped," as he informs us, "that the advocates of the present order of things would be so ill-advised as to attempt a defence which could only terminate in corroborating the charge." The sequel of the discussion, (in which it was "proposed to consider in detail the *comparative merits* of the statutory and illegal systems, and to suggest some means of again elevating

the University to what it ought to be,) might be expected," he thought, "to afford a wider field for controversy;" and, accordingly, he "anticipated that the objection of *illegality*, now allowed to pass, would be ultimately slurred over, a reply to his whole argument being pretended under cover of answering a part."

"In this," however, he was,—“agreeably,” as he would fain have us believe,—“mistaken.” The ground of “legality” was at once taken up: and the Reviewer felt himself “bound to accord it a reply,” though he would have his readers understand, (while he admitted at the same time it might “sound like paradox to say,”) that this pamphlet was no answer to his paper. He asserted boldly that he “had no interest in disproving its statements;” for that it was, “in truth, no more a rejoinder to his reasoning than to the principles of Newton. Nay, less,” he says, “for that, in fact, his whole proof of the illegality of the present order of things in Oxford, and of the treachery of the college heads, would be invalidated, were the single proposition which his antagonist had vindicated against him not accurately true.” He admits, that if he held what his antagonist refutes as his, his position would be “not only false but foolish: nay, that if he had not established the very converse, as the beginning, middle, and end of his whole argument, that argument would not only be unworthy of an elaborate answer, but of any serious consideration at all.” He asserted, accordingly, that, in so far as it had any reference to his reasoning, the whole pamphlet was, “from first to last, just a deliberate reversal of all his statements.” He was, therefore, as he tells us, “compelled to recapitulate the principal momenta[?] of his argument, of which he felt that he must not presume that his readers retained an adequate recollection.” Necessity, however, he pleaded, must be his “excuse for again returning on [to?] a discussion not less irksome to himself than others;” to which, however, he was “reconciled by the consideration, that though he had no errors to correct”—how, indeed, should he, for when was a Reviewer otherwise than infallible?—“he had thus the opportunity of supplying, on this important subject, some not unimportant omissions.” This “irksome” discussion, however, being most conscientiously “returned on,” and these “not unimportant omissions” duly supplied, the “three great propositions which the former paper was intended to prove,” re-asserted, and the suggestion kindly offered that, “in this conflict of delicacy, interest, and duty, the heads themselves ought to desire,—ought to invoke,—the interposition of a higher authority;” that, in short, “a royal parliamentary visitation is the easy and appropriate mode of solving the

difficulty"—all this duly gone through, it was necessary to take some notice of the argument of his opponent. With him, however, he made "brief work." And thus it is that he dispatches his opponent.

"His whole argument turns on two cardinal propositions: the one of which, as maintained by us, he refutes: the other, as admitted by us, he assumes. Unfortunately, however, we maintain, as the very foundation of our case, the converse of the proposition he refutes as ours; and our case itself is the formal refutation of the very proposition he assumes as conceded. The proposition refuted is, that the legitimate constitution of the University of Oxford was finally and exclusively determined by the Laudian code, and that all change in that constitution, by subsequent statute, is illegal. The proposition assumed is, that the present academical system, though different from that established by the Laudian code, is, however, ratified by subsequent statute.

"(This refutation and assumption, taken together, imply the conclusion, that the present system is legal.)

"The former proposition, as we said, is not ours; we not only never conceiving that so extravagant an absurdity could be maintained, but expressly asserting, or notoriously assuming, the reverse in almost every page, nay, establishing it even as the principal basis of our argument. If this proposition were true, our whole demonstration of the interested policy of the heads would have been impossible. How could we have shown that the changes introduced by them were only for the advantage of themselves and of the collegial interest in general, unless we had been able to show that there existed in the University a capacity of *legal change*, and that the voluntary preference of *illegal change* by the heads, argued that their novelties were such as, they themselves were satisfied, did not deserve the countenance of convocation, that is, of the body legislating for the utility and honour of the University? If all change had been illegal, and, at the same time, change (as must be granted) unavoidable and inexpedient; the conduct of the heads would have found an ample cloak in the folly—in the impossibility of the law."—p. 50.

Now this is nothing but a mere mystification of the question. The Reviewer had contended that there did not exist in the University "a capacity of *legal change*," such as that which had taken place in its system of education; and that system was *illegal*, not (mainly) because it had not received the sanction of Convocation, but because it was a departure from "the statutory system," enacted once and for ever; because it was "radically subversive of its constitution," as well as "without legal sanction, nay, in violation of positive law." And this is repeated even in this supplementary article. For though in one place the Reviewer admits that "*if* the former academical system has been repealed, and the present ratified by convocation, the actual order of things in Oxford

is *legal*, and the heads stand guiltless in the sight of God and man," (p. 502); yet a few pages before, after saying that "as *not sanctioned by convocation*, the illegality of the present system is flagrant," he proceeds; "but had it been so sanctioned, it would *still be fundamentally illegal*; as that body would have thus transcended its powers, by frustrating the ends for the sake of which alone it was clothed with legislative authority at all. The public privileges accorded (by king or parliament, it matters not) to the education and degrees of a University, are not granted for the private behoof of the individuals in whom the University is realized. They are granted solely for the public good, to the instruction of certain bodies organized under public authority, and to their certificate of proficiency, under conditions by that authority prescribed. If these bodies have obtained, to any extent, the right of self-legislation, it is only as delegates of the state; and this right could only be constitutionally exercised by them in subservience to the public good, for the interest of which alone the University was constituted and privileged, and this power of legislation itself delegated to its members. If an academical legislature abolish academical education, and academical trials of proficiency in the several faculties, it commits suicide, and as such, the act is, *ipso facto*, illegal. "In the case of Oxford," the Reviewer, indeed, says "Convocation is not thus *felo de se*." (p. 483, note.) But whether convocation had indeed committed suicide, or the heads of houses murder, the University of Oxford *de jure*, according to the Edinburgh Review, was dead in law—entirely defunct and without a spark of life;—because it had lost that which was essential to the existence of an University, viz. a certain form of "academical education," and certain "academical trials of proficiency in the several faculties;" because the *end*, the *means*, and the *conditions* of its being, had utterly disappeared. There was an entire suspension of "the University proper:" the tree was dead, and nothing was to be seen with any signs of vegetation but the parasitic fungus;—"the collegial interest," its corrupt heads and governors, with their respective societies, "fellows by chance and tutors by usurpation." In direct opposition to this view of things, the "Member of Convocation," having first proved the strict legality of the system at present established under the several heads of argument, of which some have been already specified, had proceeded to argue the matter on the broad grounds of the true *ends* of an University education, and the subservience of *means* and *conditions*. Proceeding from his antagonist's "pretended demonstrations" to his "real deceptions," from his "arguments" to his "artifices," he charged him in the first place, as we have seen, with "the artifice of attributing false,

that is, defective and inadequate ends to an University education," and making its essence to consist in those accidental circumstances which must necessarily vary in the course of ages.

"There is not," he observes, "in the whole circle of arts sophistic, a contrivance more clever, and, generally speaking, more successful than that of setting up, and assigning to a matter or thing in question, some particular end Nothing more is necessary than to assign an end, *ad libitum*, and reason up to it, and the thing is done

"The Reviewer maintains throughout this Barringtonian character. In the present instance he has recourse to the *ruse* of misrepresenting the ends of academic institutions, and of calling those 'the mighty, 'the comprehensive,' 'the essential' ends which craft supposes to be most conducive to its scheme of delusion. To tell us, as the Reviewer has told us, that education in the seven arts and three philosophies is the end of University residence, lectures, honours, is to tell us that a ship is the end of ship-building, that the *opus operatum*, be it what it may, is the end of the particular art or science, handicraft, or profession, by which it was effected. Such petty philosophy is too much occupied upon the *idola specūs* and the *idola tribūs*, to enlarge or enlighten the understanding. Let us see what statesmen have declared to be the great ends of an University Incorporation, and its whole system of discipline moral and religious, literary and scientific. Let us read them in the preambles of our charters, in the records of legal and parliamentary declarations. What were the ends of University residence and instruction entertained by a Burghley and a Cecil? Perhaps some minute philosopher will answer from his *ὑπερῶν Education in the seven arts and three philosophies*. But the men who guide the counsels of a great nation, and look for the ends of academic institutions beyond the corners and cobwebs of a garret, will reply that a knowledge of the arts and philosophies is valuable only in its subordination and subserviency to ulterior ends, in its furtherance of the temporal and eternal happiness of man. Speak, ye Privy Councillors of Queen Elizabeth, and let these men of the fourth age of Scholasticism unlearn the small principles which they are endeavouring to revive. 'Whereas the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are the nurseries to bring up youth in the knowledge and fear of God, in all manner of good learning and virtuous education, whereby after they may serve their prince in divers callings, for which respect a special care is to be had of those two Universities, that all means may be used to further the bringing up of youth that are bestowed there, in all good learning, civil education, and honest manners, whereby the state and commonwealth may receive hereafter great good.' Such were the sentiments of the Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth, in their address 'to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxenforde, and to the Masters and Heads of the several Houses, July 29, 1593.' So spake Lord Buckhurst, its Chancellor, in the year following, in his letter to the convocation, recommending a reformation of the statutes, as Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Leicester, Cardinals Pole and Wolsey, had done before, and as Archbishop Bancroft, Lord Pembroke, and Archbishop Laud, did afterwards. In that letter he presses it upon

the attention of Convocation, that ‘the good estate and quiet government of the realm, both in Church and commonwealth, dependeth not a little upon the good proceedings and careful government of Universities, as being the very well-springs from which *religion, learning, virtue, and good discipline*, should flow over all the realm.’ To the same effect spake Edward III. our great Protector, in the preface to his charter, 29 Ed. 3. ‘Whereas the University of Oxford, as the fountain and chief stream of these studies, has in an eminent manner dispersed the dew of learning throughout the realm of England, and as a fruitful vine sent forth many useful branches into the Lord’s vineyard, most learned men, by whose abilities both Church and state are many ways adorned and strengthened.’ In consideration of these benefits the king proceeds to grant privileges. It is true that this is an enumeration of effects produced, and not of ends proposed; but it equally serves to illustrate the views entertained by statesmen of the use and purposes of an University. King Henry VIII., in the preface of that ample charter, granted through the intercession of Cardinal Wolsey, expresses himself in the same way. The act of parliament (13 Eliz. 29), which confirms the ancient privileges, liberties, and franchises heretofore granted, ratified, and confirmed by the queen’s highness, and her most noble progenitors, makes *the mighty, the comprehensive, the essential* end of our academic incorporation to be ‘the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth,’ and ‘to give greater force and strength for the better increase of learning, and the further suppressing of vice.’ Without carrying on citations without end, I shall consider these as the true and faithful expositions of the great public purposes of an University education; purposes, which are as much beyond the Reviewer’s capacity to comprehend, as they are beyond the compass of his patriotism to embrace, and the little scheme of his casuistry to make the final causes of academical incorporation. But taking these to be the great, and publicly recognized, ends of all our academic establishments. . . . it follows, as a consequence, that the means and methods to be resorted to for the accomplishment of those ends, must be such as have a right constitution; they must have such powers and proportions as will make them fit and able to effect the ends which have been propounded to the ambition, and required of the loyalty and Christian faith of the University. . . . The claims of piety as well as patriotism are to be satisfied; the wants of the Church as well as the state are to be supplied. Whatever tends to the advancement of true religion and useful learning must be consulted and provided for. Whatever changes may take place in the opinions of men as to the best method of effecting these ends—still in respect of the *ends* themselves, it is not in the power of any revolution or reversal of human opinion, to change their nature; these venerable realities will for ever retain their primæval characters of great, necessary, and fundamental truths. They will still remain as fresh in complexion, as vigorous in strength, as royal in port and dignity, as they were six hundred years ago. They have for ever formed, and will continue to form for ever, the great polar constellation of our hemisphere; they will serve to guide the *navis academica* in

safety through streights too narrow to admit of any but a direct course, and through dangers too numerous to be avoided without such starry guidance; and through those waves of adverse opinions and conflicting theories, and angry feelings and slanderous imputations which may threaten but cannot overwhelm, may strike but cannot injure us. Such ends as these endure for ever, like Him who gave them their nature and their law; unchanged and unchangeable by Anno Domini; in principle, the elements of our health; in guidance, the motives of our exertion; in operation, the means of our safety, and the instruments of our usefulness; in effect, the guarantees of our fame and the securities of our charters. But with respect to the means and instruments by which those great ends are to be accomplished, with respect to the agencies and offices and operations which are to be employed in the undertaking, the same great things cannot with truth be predicated of them. These are not only changeable, but have been often changed. From the very nature of the things, and by the ready concession of every reasonable person but this Reviewer, the means of bringing about objects so great and numerous must for ever continue subject to the variations which time produces in the number and kind of man's wants; in his wants natural and moral, civil and religious, literary and scientific; in the compass of man's duties in respect of such wants, and in the force of his obligations in respect of such duties; in short, in the nature of those provisions which are necessary for 'the due supply of persons qualified to serve God in Church and state.' All these things have respect to, and are to be governed by, the great ends of an University education. The same great ends are to govern all its corporate acts of legislation or repeal, of limitation or restriction, of change or dispensation, its studies and instructions, its tests of improvement, its criterion of sufficiency, its measures of honour and reward. These must all have a clear and direct reference, not to the ends proposed by crafty philosophists or ignorant literators, but to those which the wise and the good of all ages have asserted and defended, and which the wise and good of all ages have adopted and applied."—pp. 101—113.

We make no apology for the length of this extract; it sets the question at once on the broad principles by which alone it can be decided, in the judgment of sound common sense and enlightened Christian wisdom.

In reply to all this, the Reviewer, shifting the question, as has been already observed, from that of the alleged illegality of the change itself, which had been introduced at Oxford, to the question of the illegality of any such change being carried into effect without the authority of convocation, declares that, inasmuch as this was just the matter in question, and instead of the affirmation being granted by him, the whole nusus of his reasoning was to demonstrate the negative, he must hold that, since the asserter had adduced nothing to invalidate his statements on this point, he had left the controversy exactly where he found it. "To take a single instance," says the Reviewer,—“has he shown,

or attempted to show, that by any subsequent act of convocation those fundamental statutes which constitute and regulate the professorial system, as the one essential organ of all academical education, have been repealed? nay, that the statutes of the present century do not on this point recognise and enforce those of the preceding?"—(p. 503.) He had shown much more. He had shown that there were no such "fundamental statutes," and that "the professorial system," which they were supposed so unchangeably to "constitute and regulate," was not to be looked upon as "the one essential organ of all academical education." The Reviewer takes very little notice of the second part of the pamphlet. He enumerates duly all the eleven sections of "Part i., concerning the Reviewer's arguments," observing upon it simply that "this elaborate parade of argument (the pamphlet," he says, "extends to 150 mortal pages), is literally answered in *two* words—*Quis dubitavit?*"—(p. 502.) But no notice is taken of the seven sections of "Part ii., concerning the Reviewer's artifices;" though nearly 50 out of the 150 "mortal pages" are devoted to them. And certainly the question of the *ends* of an University education, those ends for which, looking to it as an historical question, the Universities were actually chartered, was a very important one, and one on which there was evidently not merely room for "doubt," but open variance of opinion between the Reviewer and his antagonist. However, the Reviewer was pleased to declare that, in the propositions he had now considered, the whole pamphlet which had been written against him was confuted—(p. 503.) So, after noticing (what he says he could not "condescend to disprove"), some of the "subaltern statements" of his opponent, he declares that "enough has been now said," and that he has "proved that his positions stand unconfuted—uncontroverted—untouched."—(p. 504.)

We must own, however, if we too may be permitted to give our judgment, that we are "disposed to think," with the "Member of Convocation," not only "by reason of the Reviewer's '*Quis dubitavit?*'" (Legality, &c. re-asserted, p. 8,) but also by reason of his avoiding altogether the question treated of in the first section of Part ii. of his antagonist's former pamphlet; viz., that which concerns the ends for which the University was incorporated, that he found the whole argument "rather an awkward one to deal with." There are certainly strong symptoms of his having "discovered by experience that the ten positions" of Part i. "were ten bones too hard even for his practised tooth—

'Fragili quærens illidere dentem

Offendit solido'—

for certainly," says his opponent, "he has not ventured to gnaw

one of them, but finding them *uninfringible* (Ed. Rev. June, p. 390), gives them hard names, calls what really is an argument *a priori* a *mutatio elenchi*, and then grants in a lump the whole contents of 82 out of my 150 once mortal, but now immortal pages;” and accordingly that he thought it best not to try the powers of his teeth upon the file which, in the opening of the Second Part, was laid in the way of his further progress. The “Member of Convocation” was thus left in possession of his main ground his “master principle” of “the accommodation of *means* and *conditions* to the one great *end* of all education, the duly qualifying men to serve God in Church and State; while the nibbling which had been so diligently practised upon the technicalities of his argument respecting the strict ‘legality’ of the present academical system, had served but to suggest, as the motto for his second pamphlet, the appropriate quotation from the high legal authority of Co. Litt. (ii. 34.) ‘*Glossa viperina est quæ corrodit viscera Textus.*’” In “The Legality, &c. re-asserted,” he thus reviewed the ground of which he was left in possession:—

“I have hitherto called my argument simply an assertion of the legality of our present academic system; but, under the authority of my adversary’s ‘*quis dubitavit,*’ I may henceforward be disposed to imitate Thraso, and call it a demonstration; for he has admitted the truth of all its points and principles, premises and conclusions, facts and opinions. . . . He has granted that, upon every principle of general or municipal legislation, it is fit and proper that academic corporations should possess and exercise those powers of self-adjustment, which are necessary appurtenances, or rather inherent properties, of their constitution; that they ought, from time to time, and at all times necessary, to adapt the kind, course, and order of their studies and exercises, to the wants and interests of the Church and country, and in furtherance of those great ends which have been prescribed to them in the preambles of their acts and charters of incorporation. . . . I showed, and the Reviewer has conceded, that the principle has been in full operation for 194 years: that it has, in particulars too numerous to be stated, too various to be described, modified the form, softened the rigour, and corrected the discrepancies, of the statutes, not as this gratuitous slanderer would have it, for the base purpose of helping on personal or collegiate interests, but with the Christian, patriotic, and truly academic design of adapting things old to things new; the provisions of old laws to the new relations and new necessities of life, and always with a view to bring out of the treasury of the ancient code, things both old and new, some for the more effectual advancement of true religion, some for the increase of useful learning, and all for the more ready and abundant supply of men qualified to serve God and their country, by a well-principled, as well as able discharge, of their duties towards both.”—p. 9—11.

The question of "legality" being thus made to rest on the broad basis of the constantly varying adaptation of *means* to the one great *end* for which the Universities were chartered, the charge of perjury which the Reviewer had brought against the heads of colleges in a body, falls at once to the ground. For according to the "doctrine of the academic oath," laid down on Sanderson's authority by the Member of Convocation—a doctrine in which the Edinburgh Review *fully coincides*, (the italics are the Reviewer's,)—"it is, and always will be taken and kept with a safe conscience, as long as the taker shall faithfully observe the academic code in *all its fundamental ordinances*, and according to their true meaning and intent."—(p. 503.) The only question then is, what are "*fundamental ordinances*?" "In the case adduced," says the Reviewer, "the *unobserved* professorial system is a 'fundamental ordinance.'" But this the Member of Convocation takes the liberty to question.

"What are fundamentals?" he asks. "What is it to observe the statutes in fundamentals? What is it to keep the academic oath so far forth as it relates to the observance of the statutes in fundamentals?"

"The adversary is sophist enough to know, that there is no method more likely to embarrass a question than to shift it from particulars to generalities; the more indefinite the subject-matter, so much the better for fraud; *dolus versatur in generalibus*; and if there be any one generally better adapted than another to the purposes of delusion, it is this very question about fundamentals. . . . The Reviewer, in his last article, has shown himself very skilful in this tactic of throwing himself into the strong-hold of a generality. He lately took part behind the generality of *ENDS*; he now has recourse to the generality of *FUNDAMENTALS*."

"But if there be any one thing clearer than another, it is this, that the ancient professorial or prælectorial system of teaching up stairs and down stairs, out of little square deal boxes, placed in some twelve or fourteen very cold unfurnished rooms called schools, is not a fundamental in any sense of the word. Teaching is a fundamental; teaching by every method—synthetic, analytic, inductive—is a fundamental. So is the duty of teaching. Order and regularity, energy and perseverance, in teaching, are fundamentals; because without these things, all informations of academic youth, all scholastic studies and disciplines, would fail, and become fruitless. . . . What are the fundamentals which Sanderson says are necessary to be observed, to prevent the violation of the academic oath? The Reviewer makes the delivery of school lectures, and attendance upon them, fundamentals, and adduces the passage I had cited to prove it; but then, as usual, he cites falsely and fraudulently; he leaves out Sanderson's explanation of what he meant by fundamentals; viz., 'such things as

have an immediate and necessary tendency to preserve the public order, polity, and honour of the whole body corporate ; ' quæ necessario et proxime tendunt ad conservandum publicum statum, ordinem et honorem totius corporis sive communitatis.' Here we have the author's explanation of what he means, but that would have spoiled the Thrasonism of the Reviewer's retort ; he has therefore suppressed it. I assert then, again, upon the authority of the Statute Book—I assert it upon the evidence of the mind and purposes of our legislators themselves, and of that principle of discreet accommodation to the times, upon which our code was constructed, and of those facilities which it has provided for carrying the principle of accommodation into full effect—I assert it upon the warranties of our charters and acts of parliament, and upon the authority of every academic principle—that the mode of reading pointed out by the good and wise men of 1636, according to the doctrines of certain venerable text books, in a certain course and order, as to time, place, and person, is not, and ought not to be called a fundamental. . . . Nothing is absolutely a fundamental in the economy of teaching, but that which is necessary for a full and effectual conveyance of the best and surest knowledge, in the shortest time, to the greatest number of students. It matters not, upon this question, whether the person communicating the knowledge be called professor, prælector, or tutor. If the thing be done, the title of the doer is of very inferior consequence. . . . In spite, however, of all these assaults upon tutors and tutorial instructions, I assert, that these are the collegial elements which best deserve the name of fundamental. Upon these foundations were reared the men, famous in their generation, who have gone forth from Oxford to support the dignity of its name, and with it the honour of their Church and country, as statesmen, and senators, jurists, physicians, and divines ; and these still continue the foundations, upon which the present and future fame of the University, as a place of education, depend, upon which mainly depends the attainment of those great ends which our charters, our statutes, our act of incorporation, propose, or rather prescribe, to the teachers and teachings of Oxford. Such has been the culture, and such the labourers employed and bestowed upon our olive-tree, ' quæ in Domo Domini fructifera, quam plurimos palmites, viros scilicet fructuosos, in scientiis liberalibus imbutos, in singulas partes regni dispersos, protulit et produxit.' Chart. Hen. VII."—p. 57—66.

The charges of " illegality" and " perjury" being thus dispatched, the " Member of Convocation" proceeded to enumerate some " Bynkershoeks," as, he remarked, the late Mr. Canning used to call the " making a false citation from some writer of authority to help on a lame argument ;" cited some additional testimonies to these corrected citations, in favour of the tutorial system ; and, threatening the Reviewer with a republication of some " terrible Alcaics"—

‘Si non redibis turpis in Arcticas
Scotus cavernarum latebras,
Et patriæ loca foeda noctis;’

and giving him to understand, before he parted with him, that this was the last time he should permit him to indulge his *latu-riency*, so took his leave.

And thus rested the question of the “Universities of England,” and “Oxford,” which, by the special favour and “preference” of our northern neighbours, had been selected as the first point of attack;—we beg pardon, we should rather say, as the most hopeful subject of reform, among those “foundations for public education” which had “hardly avoided the contempt” of “surrounding nations:”—thus the matter rested, till the question of the “admission of Dissenters to the Universities” gave occasion to a renewal of operations in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1834. The old note was sounded again, and the Reviewer thus resumed his former labours.

“The whole difficulty of the question, in regard to the admission of Dissenters into the English Universities, lies in the present anomalous state—we do not say *constitution*—of these establishments. In them the University so called, *i. e.* the necessary national establishment for general education, is now illegally suspended, and its function usurped, but not performed, by a number of private institutions which had sprung up in accidental connexion with it, named colleges.”—No. cxxi, p. 202.

Not however that, during the intermediate period, our self-appointed visitor had altogether lost sight of our universities, especially of Oxford. In the Number for April, 1833, some “Recent publications on logical science,” which, with one exception, it was observed, “emanated from that University,” awoke again his fond recollections of “the scholastic ages,” when “Oxford was held inferior to no university throughout Europe,” “more especially for its philosophers and dialecticians;” and renewed his lamentations over the unhappy time when, though logic had its place preserved among the subjects of academical tuition, “the kindred branches of philosophy, with other statutory studies, were dropt from the course of instruction actually given,”—the time “when the system under which they could be taught was, for a private interest, *illegally* superseded by another under which they could not”—“when the college fellows supplanted the university professors,” and “the course of statutory instruction necessarily fell with the statutory instruments by which it had been carried through.” (No. cxv. p. 196.) Then followed, in order due, a pathetic description of the downward pro-

gress of things, by which, when "the one unqualified fellow-tutor could not perform the work of a large body of qualified professors," it was "evident that, as he could not rise and expand himself to the former system, the present, existing only for his behoof, must be contracted and brought down to him," and "this minimum was to be made less," and there was "a lower deep beneath the lowest deep," till, at length, "when even the Heads could not much longer have continued obstinate, and logic seemed in Oxford on the eve of following metaphysic psychology to an academic grave, a new life was suddenly communicated to the expiring study, and hope at least allowed for its ultimate convalescence under a reformed system." "This," says the Review, "was mainly effected by the publication of the *Elements* of Dr. Whately, then Principal of Alban Hall, and recently (we rejoice) elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin." "The success and ability of the '*Elements*,'" it appears, "prompted imitation and determined controversy. Mr. Bentham (nephew of Mr. Jeremy Bentham) published his *Outline and Examination*, in which Dr. Whately is alternately the object of censure and encomium." Mr. Lewis's "*Examination of some passages in Dr. Whately's Elements of Logic*," though "on two points only," was "likewise controversial." "The Principal, as becoming, was abridged and lauded by his Vice, (Mr. Hinds):" and other treatises had been published, "all more or less relative to Dr. Whately's, and all so many manifestations of the awakened spirit of logical pursuit," so that the logic-loving Visitor had the satisfaction of making his report, that "the last decade" had "done more in Oxford for the cause of this science than the whole 130 years preceding." Yet after all, when he came to the important question, "at what value are we to rate these new logical publications," it was not much that could be said for the revival of scholastic learning. "Before looking at their contents, on a knowledge only of the general circumstances under which they were produced, indeed, we had formed a presumptive estimate," says the Reviewer, "of what they were likely to perform: and found our anticipation fully confirmed, since we recently examined what they had actually accomplished. None of the works are the productions of inferior ability; and though some of them propose only an humble end, they are all respectably executed. A few of them display talent rising far above mediocrity; and one is the effort of great natural power. But" even here, alas! "when we look from the capacity of the author to his acquirements, our judgment is less favourable." "Even Dr. Whately," it appears, "'walks in the trodden ways.' . . . His work never transcends, and generally does not rise to the actual level of the

science; nor, with all its ability, can it justly pretend to more than a relative and local importance. Its original and most valuable portion" being "but the insufficient correction of mistakes touching the nature of logic, long exploded, if ever harboured, among the countrymen of Leibnitz, and only lingering among the disciples of Locke." Its own *deficiencies* meanwhile would have opened too wide a field of discussion, amidst the universal ignorance in this country of logical philosophy, and of a high logical standard: "omitting imperfections," therefore, the Reviewer was obliged to confine himself "to an indication of some of Dr. Whately's positive errors." And many and great they were:—"matter of controversy even in the first page: in the very passages where he formally defines the science, we find him indistinct, ambiguous, and even contradictory; and it is only by applying the most favourable interpretation to his words, that we are able to allow him credit for any thing like a correct opinion." (p. 207.) Alas! poor ghost of Oxford! Again, "nothing can be more meagre and incorrect than Dr. W.'s sketch of the history of logic:" and "the same unacquaintance with philosophical literature and Aristotelic criticism is manifested by every recent Oxford writer who has alluded to the subject:" whether we "refer to the *Excerpta ex Organo, in usum Academicæ juventutis*—to the *Oxonia purgata* of Dr. Tatham—to Mr. Hill's *Notes on Aldrich*—to Mr. Huyshe's *Logic*, or to the *Philosophy of Aristotle*, by Mr. Hampden. This last even makes the Stagirite derive his moral system from the Pythagoreans, although the forgery of the fragments preserved by Stobæus, under the name of *Theages*, and other ethical writers of that school, has now been for half a century fully established!" And "Dr. Whately's errors relative to Induction"—errors in which he "exceeds all other logicians," (p. 232,) "are, however, surpassed by those of this able writer; errors the more inconceivable, as he professes to have devoted peculiar attention to the subject." But unfortunately, it appears, he had "so misconceived so elementary a point" as "the two grand methods of investigating the definition," as to have "actually reversed the doctrine, not only of Aristotle, but of all other philosophers!" The misfortune, it seems, was, that "in his extemporaneous study of the subject, and not previously aware that there were two opposite methods of investigating the definition," he "took up the notion that these were merely a twofold expression for the same thing! Mr. Hampden is an able man, but to understand Aristotle in any of his works, he must be understood in all; and to be understood in all, he must be long and patiently studied by a mind disciplined to speculation, and familiar with the literature of philosophy." (p. 238.) But alas! where can such a "mind" be found?

Say, Father Tweed: for "Father Thames" and Isis, *cheu! Alma Mater*, are profoundly silent.

This article might, at first sight, appear to be upon a distinct subject unconnected with the rest; but if any of our readers are disposed to think so, let them carefully study it in connexion with the descriptions given in the first article on Oxford, respecting the study of logic in early days, and the "constant disputations to which the highest importance was not unwisely attributed through all the scholastic ages," together with the remarks on the same subject by the "Member of Convocation," in the introduction to his pamphlet. The Reviewer's special patronage of dialectics is no accident of the system.

In April, 1834, the English universities were again favoured with a passing notice in an article on the "Patronage of Universities," containing a review of the "Report made to his Majesty, by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland." This report was "ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 7th October, 1831." In the outset of this article, "universities" having been defined as "establishments founded and privileged by the state for public purposes," to which it was added, that "they accomplish these purposes through their professors," a friendly asterisk guided the reader to a note in which the tomb of the English universities was dutifully pointed out to him, by the following brief notice. "Oxford and Cambridge are no exceptions. Inasmuch as they now accomplish nothing through their professors, they are no longer universities; and this even by their own statutes." (No. cxix. p. 197.) It was satisfactory, however, to hear the result of a comparison, made towards the close of the Review, between Scotland and England, in regard to theology. It was incidentally remarked that "in the latter, the clergy have a tolerable classical training," which is found more than to compensate for their having had "for ages, we may say," says the Reviewer, "no theological education at all.—In Scotland, on the other hand, the clergy must accomplish the longest course of theological study prescribed in any country, but with the worst and shortest classical preparation. Yet, in theological erudition, what a contrast," exclaims the Reviewer, "do the two Churches exhibit! And this, simply because a learned scholar," as he very judiciously observes, "can easily slide into a learned divine, without a special theological education; whereas, no theological education can make a man a learned divine, who is not a learned scholar; theology being, in a human sense, only an applied philology and history."—(p. 225.) These remarks are especially satisfactory, when taken in connexion with the discussion respecting "classical education" and certain points,

connected with "philology" and "history," which arose in 1810, out of a certain article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on "Edgeworth's Professional Education."*

But on the 21st of this same month of April, 1834, there was brought into the House of Commons, "a Bill to remove certain disabilities which prevent some classes of his Majesty's subjects from resorting to the Universities of England, and proceeding to degrees therein." Then it was, as we have already seen, that the old argument of "illegality" was to be brought up again; for at the close of that session of Parliament, it was found, to the great sorrow of the friends of the supposed "*de jure*" system of our universities, that "neither in the bill itself, nor in any of the pamphlets and speeches in favour of the Dissenters, or against them, was any attempt made to grapple with the real difficulties of the question; and the opponents of the measure were left to triumph on untenable ground."

"O Corydon, Corydon: quæ te dementia cepit?"

"The sum of all the arguments for exclusion," says the Reviewer, looking back on the campaign of the summer, "amounts to this. The admission of the Dissenters is *inexpedient*, as inconsistent with the present state of education in the universities, which is assumed to be all that it ought to be; and *unjust*, as tending to deprive those of their influence who are assumed to have most worthily discharged their trust. In reply to this, it is feebly attempted, admitting the assumptions, to evade the right, and to palliate the inconveniences, instead of contending boldly—in the 1st place, that the actual state of education in these schools is entitled to no respect, as contrary at once to law and reason; and that all inconveniences disappear the moment that the universities are in the state to which law and reason demand that they be restored; and in the 2nd, that, so far from unjustly degrading upright and able trustees, these trustees have, for their proper interest, violated their public duty; and, for the petty ends of their own private institutions, abolished the great national establishment, of whose progressive improvement they had solemnly vowed to be the faithful guardians."—(pp. 202, 203.)

The former lucubrations of the Reviewer were now, therefore, to be brought up again, and one more effort made to awaken the public attention to "the present preposterous state of the Universities," and to enlighten "the utter ignorance that prevails in regard to their natural condition. (p. 205.) His readers were then referred to the "two former articles," which were duly "recapitulated, because, in considering the consequences of the proposed

* See "A Reply to the Calumnies of the *Edinburgh Review* against Oxford, containing an account of studies pursued in that University." Chap. iii.

measure, it was requisite to bear in mind, not only what is the actual, but what the *legal* system of these Institutions.”—(p. 204.)

First, however, “with the view of simplifying the question, and removing all unnecessary confusion,” the Reviewer volunteers to “make at once certain preliminary admissions.” Of these, the first is, “that the Colleges are foundations private to their incorporated members; that their admission of *extranei*, or independent members, is wholly optional; and that, as that they may exclude all, they consequently may exclude any. The legislature cannot, therefore, without a subversion of their constitution, deprive them of this fundamental right.” The fifth and last of these admissions is, that, *in the actual state* of the English Universities, they exist only in and through the Colleges; that as these Colleges are private foundations, the Universities, *in their actual state*, are not national establishments; and that, as it is unjust to force the Dissenters on the Colleges, consequently, either unjust or idle, *as things at present stand*, to bestow on Dissenters the right of entering the Universities.” But then it is argued, “these admissions, though the points mainly contended for by the opponents of the bill, do not however determine the question. It is certainly true, that if in Oxford and Cambridge the colleges constitute the university, the Dissenters have no claim to admission: because, in that case, the university is not a national foundation”—(pp. 205, 206): but then, on the other hand, “the Dissenters, and all other citizens, are entitled to demand, that the Universities be restored to an efficient—to a *legal* state; and that the guardianship of the reformed school be confided to worthier trustees than those who have hitherto employed their authority only to frustrate its end. We gladly join issue,” says the Reviewer, “with the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis, on this point.”—(p. 207.)

Let us see, then, what ground was actually taken by the defenders of the “system *de facto*.” Did they shrink from the questions—What is the system “*de jure*?”—What is the original and essential character of our Universities, and for *what end* they were incorporated? No: nor did they fear, in their turn, to charge the opponents of the system “*de facto*,” with utter ignorance of the true character of an English University.

“The fact is,” said Sir Robert Inglis, “that very little is known to those who speak upon this subject, of what an English University is. We were told this night by one hon. member, comparing the English Universities with those of foreign countries, that they were of the same general class. If, by being of the same class, it is meant that they bear the same name, then, but only then, do I concur in the statement; but, in other respects, there exists in the whole world nothing at all approach-

ing the system of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge : and even they themselves differ essentially from what they were 300 years ago. The real distinction between the two English Universities on the one hand, and those of Scotland and Ireland, France, Germany, and Italy on the other, is, that there is *domestic* education in the former, and not in the latter. The young men are brought together, almost under the same roof, during their residence in the Universities : under these circumstances, there is given to them a domestic character, and to the Universities themselves a character of domesticity which does not exist in any other institution. It is that which constitutes, not only their *distinguishing feature*, but their *prevailing merit*. There is a re-union every morning, as in a family, of the members of every college at prayers. . . . Almost every college was founded ‘in honorem Dei.’ . . . Religion was connected with every endowment. The *charters* of our kings refer to the supply of the Church from the Universities ; *the act of 1570, which incorporates us*, and confirms all our ancient privileges, *makes the end of our incorporation to be* ‘the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth.’ On the 29th of July, 1593, the council of Queen Elizabeth say, ‘Whereas the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are the two nurseries to bring up youth in the knowledge and fear of God,’ &c. (vide *sup.* p. 181.). This was *the great object* of the statesmen of those days, and of every other day till the present, that the Universities, always connected with religion, might provide a due supply of persons qualified to serve God in Church. Another set of men, with another set of principles, has arisen. Their attack on the Universities will, if successful, terminate in one of two calamities—either it will render them scenes of godless indifference, or of bitter disputation.”

Not less pointedly did the Bishop of Exeter meet the grand argument of the Edinburgh Review.

“Of the bill itself,” said the Rt. Rev. Prelate, “I must say that it seems to me to be almost *felo de se*. It says that education should be given to all the subjects of the realm. Now, let me ask, what is education ? It is not merely a scheme of instruction in any of the precise sciences, or even in the range of classical literature. No ; education is that which is to make men good Christians, and good citizens. Education, therefore, cannot be given without instruction in religion,—nay, it must be founded upon religious instruction. Religion is the pervading principle of true education. But allow me to remind your lordships, that when I ascribe this general importance to religion—the existing system of teaching religion at the Universities is, I repeat, strictly in accordance with the *objects for which those great bodies were founded, and for which they secured their charters*. The Noble and Learned Lord (Chancellor) has not (as I was sure he could not) at all attempted to invalidate the claim made by the Noble Duke (of Wellington) for these great chartered corporations. The Noble Duke said, ‘Are not these bodies chartered ? *Do they, or do they not, discharge well and truly the objects for which they were chartered ?* If they do, has parliament, as contradistinguished

from the Crown, any right to interfere, and to drive them to the adoption of a course of action different from that which they have hitherto pursued? I contend they have a distinct right to decide for themselves, *how they will carry into effect the objects* for which they were founded, and unless you can show that they have in any way departed from these objects, you cannot interfere."

And no body could show it.

"We have been told," continued the Bishop, "that these are national institutions,—I admit that they are national institutions, but in what sense? They are national, because they are the two great seminaries for instruction in the national religion—they are national, inasmuch as they afford that high glory for which England is so much honoured in all foreign parts—namely, of being possessed of two such institutions."

The Bishop of Exeter concluded his speech with observing, that the pretensions of the Dissenters were not new in the history of this country.

"We have a very remarkable precedent for them," observed the Right Reverend Prelate. "Two centuries ago, I find that in the year 1647, a Parliamentary Order, No. 74, was passed, by which visitors were appointed for the better regulation of the University of Oxford. They were especially empowered and authorized 'to examine into and consider of all such oaths, rules, and regulations, as were enjoined by such University, and of the respective Colleges and Halls of the said University, and to present their opinions concerning the same to the Lords and Commons, in order that such only may be required as should be agreeable to the intended reformation of the said University.' Now, this is what is sought by the Dissenters of the present day. They have told you what they wish, and it is for your lordships to say, whether you will comply with it. Will you be their dupes? . . . Will you be their accomplices? No, my lords, that is equally impossible; for being an accomplice implies some communion of interest, some unity of end and aim. Now, what possible interest can you have, in common with these persons who aim to seize upon the Universities, and thus to pull them down? And what end and aim can you have in adopting that change? Will you be their instruments—their tools—the poor ministers of their sordid hatred against these Universities? Will you be the betrayers of the very sanctuaries of British honour? Will you be the corrupters of these nurseries of British virtue? Will you be the poisoners of these religious wells of Christian knowledge? Will you be all this? No; it is impossible; and I beg pardon of your lordships for putting the case even as a supposal. I am sure it is impossible to contemplate such a supposition, as that you can join with parties who have thus disgraced themselves before their country, by demanding an act of injustice, which will be the destruction of the most venerable of the institutions of the land. I will not trespass further upon the attention of your lordships."

Thus, after a few words of reply from Lord Radnor, ended the

debate in the House of Lords on the bill for the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, August 1, 1834; when, by a large majority, the bill was "ordered to be read a second time this day six months." The reference to historical precedent, which the Bishop of Exeter supplied, was not lost, as we shall presently see, on the noble Earl; but there is yet another instance to be noticed of the watchful superintendence of our Scotch visitor over our university system. The Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis published their speeches; and this raised to its highest pitch the indignation of the Reviewer, in the retrospect of the session of 1834. The subject of "the Universities and the Dissenters," was thus taken up again in January, 1835.

"The opponents and supporters of the recent measure for restoring the English universities to their proper character of unexclusive schools, may pretend indifferently to the honour of having argued their cases in the worst possible manner; and in the cloud of pamphlets (we have seen nearly thirty), and throughout the protracted discussions in Parliament, which this question has drawn forth, the reasons most confidently urged are precisely those which, as suicidal, they ought especially to have eschewed; and these same reasons, though cautiously avoided, as unanswerable, by the latter, are the very grounds on which the necessity not only of this, but of far more important academical reform, were to be triumphantly established. So curious in fact was the game at cross-purposes, that the official defenders of things as they are in Oxford and Cambridge, do, on the principle of their own objection to this partial restoration of the ancient academic order, call out for a sweeping overthrow of the actual administration of these establishments; and we are confident of proving, before the conclusion of the present article, that, unless apostates not only from their reasoning on this question, but from their professions of moral and religious duty, we have a right to press into the service, as partisans of a radical reform in Oxford, (besides the Chancellor of that University, his Grace of Wellington,) the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis themselves."—p. 423.

The Reviewer now informed his readers, that, in the article on this subject in the preceding Number, though he had been "compelled to omit or hurry over many important matters," yet "one portentous error, common to both sides," he had "indeed (for the second time) exposed,—that the English universities are the complement or general incorporation of the colleges;" that "there was, however, another not less important error on which he could only touch;—the argument, attempted to be drawn from the injustice of interfering with trustees in the faithful exercise of their duty, so confidently advanced by the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis." Then follow quotations from their speeches, in which, as the Reviewer observes, "the whole reasoning is drawn from two places; the one, the rights of public trustees; the

other, the obligation of the academic oaths." We will transcribe a portion of the extracts from each.

The Bishop of Exeter—"My Lords, it is, I apprehend, an admitted principle, that where a corporation has received its charter for a specific purpose, the law of England repels, and the legislature of England has hitherto repelled, every attempt to break in upon that corporation, except on an allegation that its members *have omitted to perform the duties for which they were incorporated*, or that the purposes for which they were incorporated, were originally, or have been declared by subsequent enactments, to be illegal, immoral, or superstitious. Such, I will venture to say, is the principle of the law of England in respect to corporations; and even if a lawyer could devise any plea in derogation of it, I am quite sure that there is no Englishman of plain understanding, who would not proclaim his assent to the reasonableness of that principle. *Now is it, can it be alleged, that either of the universities, or that any of the colleges within them, have violated the duties of their corporate character, or that they have abused the powers entrusted with them for the performance of those duties . . . My Lords, no man has ventured, nor will any man venture, to say any of these things.*"

Sir Robert Inglis—"Tell me, if you please, that the gift was a trust, and that the trust has been abused, and then I can understand you. *Until it can be proved, however, that the two Universities have betrayed their trust*, you cannot in good faith, or common honesty, require us to restore the boon which you gave . . . and unless [which, in his speech of the 26th March, Sir Robert says, . . . is not even alleged] *it can be proved that the trust has been abused*, I contend that it ought not to be disturbed. Is the House prepared to take away the rights and privileges of this University, without any proof of delinquency?"

"The Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis not only object," says the Reviewer, "that no abuse of trust can justly be alleged against the Universities . . . but that no one has dared to hazard such an allegation . . . Defiance like this," he goes on, "from such a quarter, was alone wanted to carry to its climax the history of that official treason of which the University of Oxford has been the prey; for not only has the abuse of trust in this venerable school been denounced by us as unparalleled in the annals of any other Christian institution, but our exposure of it has been so complete, that those interested in its continuance—those on whom defence was a necessity, moral and religious—have been unable to allege a single word in vindication.* "It is now," says the Review, "above three years and a half since we

* In a note we are informed that, "in deference," as is said, "to the common sense and common honesty of the collegial interest," the Edinburgh Review "will not consider two unparalleled pamphlets," as it terms them, "published (by one of its Fellows we presume) under the name of 'A Member of Convocation,' as representing more than the moral eccentricities of an individual."

published a principal, and above three years since we subjoined a supplementary article on the subject. In these we stated," &c. &c. &c. Then came the old charges of "illegality" and "perjury," repeated for the third time, only in more violent and coarser language, pointed by the reflexion, "*what* must be the conviction" of the importance, the truth, and the evidence of the charge of "a betrayal of trust, self-seeking, and perjury," when the Reviewer had "not been deterred from the painful duty of such an accusation, by the dread of so tremendous a recoil" as that which must be looked for, if the charge could not be substantiated "against a body of men, the presumption of whose integrity is founded on their sacred character as clergymen, on their hallowed obligations as the guides, patterns, instructors of youth, and on their elevated station as administrators of the once most venerable school of religion, literature, and science, in the world." It must, indeed, have been a most "painful duty;" but public duty, we all know, must be performed, however "deeply" we may "feel" on the subject: and so the Edinburgh Review put on the black cap, and delivered over the heads of houses, in due form, to the secular arm, due time having now been allowed for their amendment, and allowed in vain! Thus the Edinburgh Review tenderly, and at the same time firmly, passes final sentence.

"And in reference to the actual heads, it is now nearly four years since we first exposed the fact and the illegality of the present suspension of the university, with the treason and perjury through which that suspension was effected, and is maintained. In our exposition we were, however, anxious to spare, as far as possible, the living guardians of the university and its laws, and to attribute rather to an extreme, an incredible ignorance of their duty what would otherwise resolve into a conscious outrage of the most sacred obligations. But since that period the benefit of this excuse has been withdrawn. The heads cannot invalidate the truth of our statements or the necessity of our inferences; they have, therefore, in continuing knowingly, and without necessity, to hold on their former lawless course, overtly renounced the plea of *ignorance* and *bona fides*, and thus authorized every executioner of public justice to stamp the mark, wherewith the laws, by which they are constituted, and under which they act, decree them to be branded."—pp. 444-5.

And so from January 1, 1835, any one had full authority, without scruple or proof, to call the present system of academical education at Oxford by the style and title of "illegality" and "perjury;" and its administrators, aiders, and abettors, as perjured knaves and rogues: this article of the Edinburgh Review (No. cxxii.) being their "sufficient warrant."

We may now proceed to trace the progress of hostilities against the Universities, as renewed in the present session of parlia-

ment. The reference to the parliamentary commission of 1647, with which the Bishop of Exeter supplied Lord Radnor, was not lost, as we have already said, upon the noble lord. How accurately the noble lord had studied the precedent, and how essentially he had improved upon it in several important particulars, may be seen in the "Historical Vindication of the leading principles contained in the Earl of Radnor's Bill, intituled 'An Act for appointing Commissioners to inquire respecting the Statutes and Administration of the different Colleges and Halls at Oxford and Cambridge.'" The parallel between the two commissions, in their several provisions, is very well traced; the advantage, however, being shown to be on the side of Lord Radnor's commission, as, indeed, might be expected from the improvements in legislation during the last two hundred years. The writer refers to the well-known story of the Quaker and the dog, to whom he so kindly said, with all the tenderness of a modern reformer, "I will not hurt thee, but I will give thee a bad name," observing that this worthy individual "only availed himself of a principle, well understood and acted upon by astute calculators of every age and country, who always find it more easy to effect their purposes of injustice if they can but succeed in fastening some stigma upon the objects of their bad offices. As, however," he says, "it is our happiness to live where liberty is too highly prized, and the rights of all classes too jealously protected, to admit of injustice being practised by the legislature of the present day"—we will only say, may that "present day" last long!—"the object of the following pages is rather to supply the lovers of antiquity with matter of speculation, than to moderate the truly liberal principles which pervade the bill intituled 'An Act,' &c." (pp. 5, 6). To such "lovers of antiquity" we would also recommend a careful study of "The History of the Visitation of the University of Oxford by a Parliamentary Commission, in the years 1647, 1648, abridged from the Annals of Anthony à Wood." And a singular history it is. "It is presumed," says the editor, "that such a narrative could hardly fail to be interesting at any time; but the reader will best judge for himself, how far a parallel may be drawn between the present and the past; and whether any thing can be discerned in the peculiar circumstances of the day, to justify the endeavour here made to circulate more widely a record of courage, moderation, and Christian temper, on the part of our ancestors, on which few can look back without gratitude and admiration, and which may serve, when occasion requires, to be a guide and precedent for the future."

But to return to events of "the present day," Lord Radnor,

it seems, when moving the second reading of his bill, found himself met by the suggestion, "that previous investigation should precede the adoption of any legislative measure on the subject." This, which the noble lord found "the principal argument urged against the proposal," induced him to withdraw it, though he "still thought a commission the best means of attaining the end: and he had now to propose, as appeared to him, the next best mode of acquiring information." And this was, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of such of the colleges and halls in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as have statutes enjoined by their respective founders and benefactors, in so far as relates to the provisions of the said statutes and the practice relative thereto, the oaths by which the members of the institution are bound to obey the same, and the power which may be vested in their respective visitors to alter, modify, and amend them; and to report to the House their opinion of the expediency or necessity of a legislative measure on the subject." It was pointed out at the time, as rather a remarkable coincidence, that the same day of the month on which the Parliament issued their ordinance for the visitation of the Universities (May 1), 1647, was the very same day of the month that Lord Radnor, 190 years after, gave notice of his intention to move for a committee of visitors, viz. Monday, May 1, 1837.

In this new act of the drama, it will be observed, the scene of battle is transferred from the University to the Colleges; and it is scarcely possible to get rid of the recollection of the former attempts in behalf of the admission of Dissenters, or of the impediment which was then found to lie in the way of "liberal" principles in the constitution of the "collegial system." Now, however, the colleges were destined to be the special object of attack; but, on the 11th of April last, when Lord Radnor was to move the second reading of his bill in the House of Lords, petitions having been presented from almost every college in Oxford, there was presented also by the Duke of Wellington a petition from "the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the *University of Oxford*." Lord Radnor could not conceal his amazement. "The University of Oxford," his lordship said, "had petitioned against the bill, and upon a ground which appeared to him as rather extraordinary,—viz. upon the ground that those colleges were public branches of the University. That they were not so, he thought was quite as manifest as that they were not branches of the corporation of Oxford. The Universities had existed long before the colleges, and as independently of them as did the corporation. If all the property of all the colleges were confiscated, it would not in the least degree

impair the Universities, which would continue to exist as heretofore. The petition he alluded to stated that those colleges were public bodies. Now, those colleges had, over and over again, affirmed that they were private bodies, private benefactions, and that they owed nothing whatever to the state. In that they were correct, at least as regarded their fundamental position. They were private eleemosynary foundations."

Doubtless, this was very mysterious, and to a student of the Edinburgh Review hopelessly perplexing. And the Edinburgh Review had, evidently, been studied with much diligence by the supporters of Lord Radnor's motion. Lord Melbourne was soon ready at his side with the remark that, "even if it were so," that the colleges in our Universities were private foundations, "yet that the character of the Universities themselves, which it would not be denied were public institutions, had become greatly changed. The old plan of general education in them no longer existed, by which any man could set up a school and teach. This could be done now only in one of the colleges, which the petitioners called private foundations. On this subject he would read a short extract from a very sensible and clever writer, whose work had lately fallen in his way. That writer said, 'that if public institutions had private establishments so connected with them, that a man could not belong to the public unless he was a member of one of the private foundations, that would not make the public institution private, but would raise the private into a public institution, which the country had a right to deal with as such.' If their education was to be carried on in those colleges, or private foundations, as they were called, the argument he had quoted would show that they might be made subjects of investigation on public grounds. Another ground on which he would rest the proposed inquiry was—that those institutions had not the power to correct the abuses which, from time to time, had grown up in them. This assertion did not imply any thing offensive to them. It was not to be expected, that the resident directors of those establishments could be the most fit judges of any errors or abuses which had been the growth of time. These things required a fresh eye, and an external one—one which would not be dazzled by the new atmosphere into which it might be brought. It was by such only that errors could be effectually discovered. He repeated, that the proposed commission could not be considered as meant offensively to our Universities or to any of the Colleges. A commission had been appointed to inquire into the system of education in the Scotch Universities, and that had received the sanction of the noble duke (Wellington) opposite. Now, it was

not conceived that any offence was meant to them by the appointment of the commission. Why, he would ask, should it be so considered with respect to the English Universities? He admired the talents which the Universities nurtured and possessed; he admitted that of late years they had done much of themselves to remedy the evils that had crept into their institutions, but he must, nevertheless, maintain that they were not without blemish; that there was a great deal in their institutions to remedy, and that they had not force of themselves to apply that remedy. He therefore thought that this inquiry would be advantageous to their interests, and should consequently support the motion of his noble friend."

Thus faithfully was the view of our University system, which had been painted in such dark colours on the "fresh" and "external" eye of our Polypheme, the "gentle shepherd" of the North, reflected, though in somewhat softer shades, yet with most exact correspondence, in the optic mirrors of Parliament. It is unnecessary to compare the debate and the Review, to trace, step by step, how well the lesson had been learnt, and how accurately it is repeated.

The work of the "sensible and clever writer" to which the noble Premier referred, is that which stands fourth at the head of the present Article, "On the Origin of University or Academical Degrees, by Henry Malden, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, Professor of Greek in the University of London." This "short essay" originated, it appears, in the application made by "the University of London" for a charter. An intention was entertained in 1834, of publishing the whole argument, as it came before the Committee of the Privy Council, and Mr. Malden "was requested to write a preliminary discussion on the antiquities of the subject." The essay having been written "hastily," and without the opportunity of consulting many books, partly while the author was confined to a sick room, partly when he was a convalescent in the country, he laid it aside, when the intention was dropped of publishing the whole argument. But "after a while," the writer informs us, when he "called to mind, that not only the question of the charter of the University of London had been brought before Parliament, but the much more important question of the admission of Dissenters to Oxford and Cambridge, and that the discussion was sure to be renewed, and when he considered the very great ignorance of the nature and primitive constitution of the Universities, which had been shown on all sides, in and out of parliament, by those who had spoken, and those who had written on the subject; it appeared to him, that even a short

essay, which, imperfect as it was, he believed to be correct as far as it goes, might give some useful information, and might prevent some mischievous mistakes. In this hope of doing good he made up his mind to publish it." Among his "chief authorities" is our old friend the "*Edinburgh Review*, No. CVI. Art. VI. 'On the Universities of England—Oxford.'" In describing "the revolution which has taken place at Oxford in the words of the *Edinburgh Reviewer*," (pp. 393, 394,) the writer adds, "This description comes from an unfavourable observer, and I should be glad to separate the statement of facts from the tone of accusation in which it is conveyed, and in which I am by no means disposed to concur. But I think it safer, on the whole, to borrow this account, after guarding it by this preface, than to run the risk of errors, which might be committed, even in interpreting evidence, by one who has not been a resident in the University." (p. 125.) The concluding words we do not quite understand. But thus it is that, by dint of bold assertion, repeated again and again, the theories of the *Edinburgh Reviewer* have come to be regarded as undoubted facts; and "the collapse of the University" is supposed to be the "death-like" thing that he describes (*Malden*, p. 126). Mr. Malden, at the same time that he "makes use of the authority" of the writer of that "learned article," expresses his anxiety that it should be observed that he and the *Reviewer* are actuated by very different motives.

"The writer in the *Review*," says Mr. Malden, "denounces every departure of the University from its statutable form as a corruption and abuse, and stigmatizes the collegiate heads, under whose influence the change which he describes was gradually wrought, with the guilt of perjury, fraud, and wilful betrayal of trust. I, on the other hand, am willing to admit, that much of the change is due to the altered circumstances of society, and was operated by a force to which the Universities might have yielded in a different way, but which they could not altogether resist; and though, in some points, I should be glad to see their ancient constitution restored, with such modifications only as the state of society may manifestly require, yet, in other points, and especially in the examinations for the first degree, it is impossible to deny that most essential and vital improvements have been effected. And least of all do I desire to sit in judgment upon those under whose authority the revolution was effected. My purpose is altogether different."—(pp. 142, 143.)

This difference, however, between the London professor and his *Edinburgh* authority, serves only to make his deference to it more dangerous to the cause of the Universities of England: as he is content to admit that their "ancient constitution" has been departed from;—that there has been a "revolution;"—and wishes

to show, that “in their present state, they are very different from their original form—very different from the form in which they were ultimately established by their statutes—and very different from all other universities in Europe.” The impression left on the minds of his readers will be that of the “illegality” which the *Edinburgh Review* labours, after its own way, to enforce, by charges of “perjury, fraud, and wilful betrayal of trust.”

We will now turn to the passage which Lord Melbourne quoted in the House of Lords. The context in which it occurs is important, as Lord Radnor was very indignant at the supposition that there was any connexion between the inquiry which he recommended into “the statutes by which the two Universities were at present governed,” and his former bills for the admission of Dissenters and the abrogation of tests in the Universities.

“The necessity of entering at some college or hall, and the difficulty interposed in the way of opening new halls like those of old time, are points which deserve the most attentive consideration, in connexion with the question which has been recently revived of the abolition of religious tests and subscriptions, and the admission of Dissenters to the Universities. The late discussions have made it notorious that at Oxford the student is required, at his matriculation, to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. This subscription was originally imposed by the Earl of Leicester. It may be removed by the authority of Parliament, along with all similar subscriptions and oaths required upon taking a degree; and thus the University may be nominally opened to those who dissent from the Established Church: and yet it is evident that, even if this were done, the design of the legislature might be frustrated by the separate colleges. They might go so far as to require subscription from all who entered them. It is not unlikely that they would require it from members on their foundations, if something equivalent be not required already. But without putting the case, it is clear that by strictly insisting upon attendance on the prayers in the college chapel and at the administration of the holy communion, and by lectures and examinations directed to the peculiarities of the theological system of the Church of England, they might deter conscientious Dissenters from joining them, or render their college residence exceedingly irksome: and yet there is no access to the University but through colleges. The colleges might thus debar the Dissenters from the advantages which the legislature is supposed to have conceded to them; and at the same time they might argue plausibly that they themselves are exempt from legislative interference. Though the Universities, beyond all doubt, are public and national establishments, and their public character is emphatically recognized by their sending members to Parliament, the colleges in both Universities (with perhaps one exception) are strictly private foundations... Now, so long as private institutions obey the directions of their founders, and do no positive evil, it may be fairly argued that the legislature has no right to interfere with them. No doubt, if they do harm, the legislature may stop them; but it would be a strong doctrine to

argue that it may rightfully compel them to do more good than they otherwise would do. And thus the colleges might suppose that Parliament would not intermeddle with their internal discipline.

“ If the bill, which was rejected in the last session of Parliament should be passed in any future session, and if any colleges should be inclined to manifest their opposition in the way supposed, it would be prudent in them to reflect, that if private institutions, by their influence in the government of a public institution, so incorporate themselves with it that no one can belong to the public institution without at the same time belonging to some one of the private institutions, the public does not become private by this union, but the private make themselves public, and in this respect may rightfully be dealt with as public bodies. But it would be wise to avoid the occasion for such exertion of authority; and I would suggest to those persons who are exerting themselves to remove the legal impediments to the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, that, to make their measure effectual, it will be necessary to remove the obstacle to the erection of new halls; that is, to repeal the statute by which the absolute nomination of the principal is vested in the chancellor or his deputy, and, as in old time, to allow any master or doctor to open a hall, and to become the principal of it, subject to removal only by the act of the whole University on specific cause shown against him. If the ancient system be thus revived, the dissenting students, who are desirous of entering the University, may have their independent halls. In process of time, any sect that wishes it may have a hall of its own, in which it may assemble its students for its peculiar religious exercises, and instruct them in its peculiar religious tenets. The existing colleges may thus remain seminaries of the Church of England, and be preserved from that intermixture which they deprecate as inconsistent with the discipline and the system of education which they think themselves bound in conscience to uphold. I have addressed this suggestion in the first place to the advocates of the Dissenters; but I would address it with equal earnestness to their opponents in the Universities, as an easy and beneficial compromise, under a pressure which it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretel that they will not long be able to resist.”*—pp. 86—90.

This passage, quoted by Lord Melbourne, as we have seen, to prove the right of making colleges “ subjects of investigation on public grounds,” connects the movements of the present session with those of 1834 and 1835 by a link which it is very difficult to sever. Lord Radnor, however, was exceedingly indignant when the Duke of Wellington recalled these measures to the recollection of noble lords, “ in order that they might see the *animus* with which the present bill had been brought under their consideration,—a bill which”—the noble duke proceeded—“ he must say, was neither more nor less than a bill of pains and penalties against the two Universities.” “ And this was a bill,” the duke went on to observe, “ brought in by a noble earl, whose

* It is added in a note, “ Since this passage was written, the same suggestion has been made in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. CXXI, October, 1834.”

object, on two former occasions, had been to put an end to the two Universities, or at least to put an end to the oaths and tests by which a system of education, founded on the religion of the Church of England, was established therein. Now, when he saw and reflected upon the conduct of that noble earl in the three last sessions of parliament, and when he recollected that he heard the noble viscount, in the session of 1835, declare that his object was to establish in the Universities a system of disputation on religious matters, he could not have the slightest doubt as to what the real object of the present measure was; and under such circumstances he recommended their lordships to concur in the motion of the right reverend prelate, that this bill be read this day six months." Lord Radnor might most honestly disclaim all "covert intentions," and any "design to further the sinister views of others;" he might most "distinctly disclaim that he had ever been actuated by any such views;" he might maintain "that his bill was simply for inquiry, whether there was any ground for altering the statutes by which the two Universities were at present governed." All this may be perfectly true; yet the question for the country is, what are those "sinister views of others," which Lord Radnor, though he knows it not, is employed in furthering? where are the weapons forged, with which he and those who are fighting on his side are carrying on their warfare? Who are the master-spirits that preside over that smithy?

The Duke of Wellington's reference to Lord Melbourne's avowal of his "wish to establish in the Universities a system of disputation on religious matters," will derive illustration from the logical tendencies of the Edinburgh Review, its persevering attachment to the ancient exercises of the schools, and to those "constant disputations to which the greatest importance was not unwisely attributed through all the scholastic ages," and the satisfaction with which it "snuffed the scent" afar, when the appearance of the "*Elements of Logic*" "prompted imitation and *determined controversy*." But, in reference to this point, we must request our readers' attention to an article in the number of the Edinburgh Review for Sept. 1831, the intermediate number between that which contained the article on the English Universities, with which the discussion commenced, and that which contained the review of the Member of Convocation's pamphlet. The article is on "the State of Protestantism in Germany," and may be looked upon as a kind of continuation of that on the "English Universities," showing how, when the supposed "illegal" system was overthrown, matters would stand in England. The former article, in its survey of the chief universities of Europe, had exhibited two systems at work, that of Paris,

Louvain, and Oxford, on the one hand,—that of the German universities on the other. In Paris, to mention the leading specimen of the one class, the colleges “formed, in fact, so many petty universities, or so many fragments of a university:” in Germany, on the other hand, while “in the older universities of the empire, the academical system was not essentially modified by these institutions,” “in the universities founded after the commencement of the sixteenth century, they were rarely called into existence.” Now let us look to the working of this system: the Edinburgh Reviewer himself shall describe it.

“The philosophical controversies which, during the middle ages, divided the universities of Europe into hostile parties, were waged with peculiar activity among a people, like the Germans, actuated, more than any other, by speculative opinion, and the spirit of sect. The famous question touching the nature of universals, which created a schism in the University of Prague, and thus founded the University of Leipsic, which formally separated into two the faculty of arts in Ingoldstadt, Tubingen, &c., and occasioned a ceaseless warfare in the other schools of philosophy throughout the empire,—this question modified the German bursæ (which corresponded to the ancient halls of Oxford and Cambridge) in a far more decisive manner than it affected the colleges in the other countries of Europe. The effect of this was to place their institutions more absolutely under that scholastic influence which swayed the faculties of arts and theology: and however adverse were the different sects, when a common enemy was at a distance, no sooner was the reign of *scholasticism* threatened by the revival of *polite letters*, than their particular dissensions were merged in a general resistance to the novelty equally obnoxious to all—a resistance which, if it did not succeed in attaining the absolute proscription of *classical literature* in the universities, succeeded at least in excluding it from the course prescribed for the degree in arts, and from the studies authorized in the bursæ, of which the faculty had universally the controul. In their relations to the revival of ancient learning, the bursæ of Germany, and the colleges of France and England, were directly opposed; and to this contrast is, in part, to be attributed the difference of their fate. The colleges, indeed, mainly owed their stability in England to their wealth, in France to their coalition with the university. But in harbouring the rising literature, and rendering themselves instrumental to its progress, the colleges seemed anew to vindicate their utility, and remained, during the revolutionary crisis at least, in unison with the spirit of the age. The bursæ, on the contrary, fell at once into contempt with the antiquated learning which they defended; and before they were disposed to transfer their allegiance to the dominant literature, other instruments had been organized, and circumstances had superseded their necessity. . . . No wealthy foundations perpetuated their existence independently of use; and their services being found too small to warrant their maintenance by compulsory regulations, they were in general abandoned.”—pp. 404, 5.

And now we will pass on to the next number of the Edinburgh Review, and see what was the effect of this system on the theology of Germany. Again, the story shall be told in the Reviewer's own words. Speaking of what he is pleased to call the "blind and uninquiring orthodoxy of the English Church," he says,

"Very different from all this, and, it must be owned, bordering on the opposite extreme, is the state of such matters in Germany. The immediate effect of the Reformation upon the clergy of that country was to render them at once poor and *polemical*, to despoil them of their princely abbeys and bishoprics, and to give them the choice of about fifty new creeds instead.

"The fierce divisions of the German Reformers among themselves, and the polemical spirit which was thereby engendered, . . . were, it cannot be doubted, the original source of those abuses and corruptions of theology, which the warfare of neighbouring creeds is always sure to generate; and which, in this instance, by making Christianity subservient to the passions and purposes of party, had the effect of gradually lowering her divine character, and placing her on ground where she was within easy reach of her enemies. . . . The only branches of theology then cultivated, were those that ministered to the factious spirit of the day, till at last the page of Scripture was referred to but as a sort of armoury, from whence the weapons of the respective combatants were to be furnished. Hence arose a vain and verbal school of divinity—or, as one of their own better divines characterised it, 'an armed theology, pointed with mere thorns of logic,'—to the utter neglect, both of Christian practice and of the enlightened knowledge which should be the handmaid of Christian truth. Ignorant of history, of sound biblical criticism, of all those branches, in short, of learning, from which a prepared champion of the faith draws his resources of defence, the divines of Germany were, on the first approaches of scepticism, taken by surprise;—those scriptural proofs, founded chiefly upon *scholastic subtleties*, which they had found so potent against each other, fell powerless before the common foe, and they were at last compelled to submit to a compromise with the infidel even more ruinous than defeat.

"It will be perceived, from what we have here stated, that it was by no means from any want of religious zeal, but from the wrong channels through which that zeal was directed, and the *infinite varieties and whims of opinion into which the right of private judgment wanted*, that the public mind in Germany came, at last, to lose all standard of orthodoxy, and to be at the mercy of every 'wind of doctrine' by which poor human reason was ever yet 'carried about.' So entirely, indeed, had they exchanged the substance of Christianity for the shadow, that the Bible itself, the professed oracle of all, was in reality but rarely consulted by any. The orthodox teachers had substituted their own *scholastic theology* for that of the Scriptures; and 'many very diligent students of theology,' says Spener, 'who readily followed the guidance of their preceptors, and so were well versed in other portions of theology, and held diligently

lectures on Thetica, Antithetica, Polmica, and the like, had never in their life gone through a single book of the Bible. . . . It is not wonderful that, in a country where religion was left thus wild and unfenced, intersected by so many cross-ways of doctrine, and without any fixed frontier of faith, the inroads of sceptics should, on their first appearance, be successful, and at once 'win their easy way.'

We cannot help thinking that the Edinburgh Review might as well have abstained, for a few more months at least, from pointing out so clearly what was to be expected at the end of that system of "constant disputations," which we were called upon to re-establish out of the ruins of "the scholastic ages." However little Lord Radnor might contemplate such a consequence, the reform which the Edinburgh Review desires to see as the result of an examination of the supposed "statutory system," would surely be that which Lord Melbourne desires and the Duke of Wellington deprecates, viz. "to establish in the Universities a system of disputation on religious matters."

We will now follow the noble duke into his remarks on the main charges brought against the University and its several colleges, of "illegality" and "perjury."

"In the course of the discussion on this subject, various assertions had been made in respect, first, to the breach of the statutes; and secondly, to the breach of their oaths, by the persons at the head of the several colleges. . . . What he (the Duke of Wellington) insisted on was this—that the working of all these colleges, and of the system on which they were regulated, was for the benefit of the public, and that in each and every college the object of the governing authorities was to carry into execution the will of the founder, just as he would have done had he been living at the present day. In every case the common object of the governing authorities was the benefit of the youth who resorted to those institutions for education and instruction." This is a reply to what the Edinburgh Review told us at starting, viz. that "the country now demands that endowments for the common weal"—aye, and endowments for particular families, dioceses, counties, or so-called "private institutions," as well as so-called "national establishments"—"should no longer be administered for private advantage." However, if this is what the country demands, the defenders of our Universities reply, that the country has it. "The noble viscount himself," as the Duke of Wellington observed, "could not avoid admitting that these institutions had worked well, and that latterly a great improvement had taken place in the system of education pursued under their auspices." The Edinburgh Reviewer had made the same admission. But then it appears "the noble viscount had

also spoken," said the duke, "of the great improvement in the system of education, pursued in the new university of Durham, and in other new universities elsewhere." How indeed could he do less; for this, too, the Edinburgh Review had taught him sufficiently. "But nevertheless," said the duke, "the noble viscount could not help admitting, that the old universities of Oxford and Cambridge possessed the merit of having established in England an excellent system of education, which was in point of fact the envy and admiration of the world." This was a slip, and a grievous one; for in the very first sentence of its first article on the subject, the Edinburgh Review had pronounced that the schools and universities of England had "hardly avoided the contempt" of surrounding nations. Alas! alas! the lesson must be begun all over again; for Lord Melbourne has forgotten the first sentence, and the Duke of Wellington takes from us the benefit of the last. "The noble viscount," said the duke, "had compared the inquiry proposed to be established by this bill, with the inquiry instituted into the universities of Scotland, by the government of which he (the Duke of Wellington) had the honour of forming a part. It was true that a commission of inquiry into the state of the Scotch universities had been issued by that government, but the noble viscount had forgotten that his majesty, as sovereign, was the visitor of all universities in Scotland. His majesty was not so in the universities of England." And then as to the grand unstatutory illegality of the "collegial" tutorial system:—"The noble viscount had been pleased to complain of those statutes which required that every person resorting to the university, should belong to one of its colleges or halls. He must say, that he considered that rule formed one of the greatest merits of our universities, and that the marked distinction between our universities and those of foreign countries—that distinction which rendered our system of education superior to that of the foreigner—was, that our youths must reside within the walls of their respective colleges, and were not suffered to reside at large in the town. . . . The noble earl had also been pleased to state that these colleges had no relation to the universities, and that the universities had nothing to say to this bill. Now to that statement he begged leave to reply, that in consequence of residence in the different colleges being forced upon the students, the colleges formed themselves into universities, and that the relationship between them commenced in that manner. There was therefore a natural connexion between the universities and their colleges; and he maintained in consequence, that the university of Oxford was right, when it stated that it had an interest, and took an interest, in every thing which related to the affairs of the colleges within it. The statutes of both our universities had, he believed, rela-

tion to every member of every college within their precincts. It was impossible that the regulations imposed by the noble earl—regulations which bore a close relationship to the bills which his lordship had introduced into that House, in the course of the last three sessions—it was impossible,” he said, “that those regulations could be carried into effect without affecting all their statutes, and every part of the system under their superintendence. . . . It was impossible to let the noble earl carry any such thing. The object of his bill was evidently to overturn the system on which the two universities now stood. It had been tried twice by direct means. A third trial was now made, in which it was attempted to accomplish it by indirect means. It could not be denied that these commissioners were to propose this new mode of proceeding, which was to overturn all the old system of the universities, to establish a new one in their stead. Under these circumstances, he recommended their lordships to accede to the amendment proposed by the right reverend prelate, that the bill be read this day six months.” And this amendment was finally agreed to without a division. And since this, the motion for a committee of inquiry has been brought forward; and this, too, has been withdrawn; and the colleges have been left to look into their own statutes. So that we may expect very soon another article in the *Edinburgh Review*, taking up the strain of its former article, declaring how “all experience proves that universities, like other corporations, can only be reformed from without,” and quoting again its old authority, Crevier, for the “*maxime claire en soi, que les compagnies ne se réforment point elles-mêmes, et qu’une entreprise de réforme où n’intervient point une autorité supérieure, est manquée.*” (*Ed. Rev.* June, 1831, p. 427.) We shall then be obliged to borrow again from the Member of Convocation, who, to match the “French authority,” with which, as he observed, the Reviewer closed his “miserable lucubrations,” closed his “reply to his arguments and exposure of his artifices,” by a parallel quotation from a French periodical of very extensive circulation, and an “appeal from the judgment of the *Edinburgh Review* to that of *La Revue Encyclopédique* for Sept. 1823, where we find it most truly stated that *l’université d’Oxford se gouverne par ses propres autorités, sans qu’aucune influence extérieure entretienne dans les affaires de son administration.*” (*Legality, &c. asserted*, p. 133.)

Widely, however, as we are compelled to differ from the *Edinburgh Review* on most points, on one we quite agree with him; viz. that the subject is one which “the limits of a single paper will not allow us to exhaust.” We could indeed sketch out a plan of operations, in the form of a discussion, under *four* heads, (comp. *Edinb. Rev.* sup. cit. p. 385, June, 1831,) to correspond

with the “quadripartite work” which the “Member of Convocation” begged the Edinburgh Reviewer not to “leave broken off in the middle, like the Torso of Anthony Pasquin, all covered over with libellous paragraphs, but without a leg to stand upon.” (*Legality, &c. asserted*, p. 143.) For we, too, propose “from time to time, to continue to review the state of these establishments,” considered both in relation to themselves, and in relation to the “new calumnies” with which from time to time,—every seven years or so, at the least, oftener now probably,—we may expect to find them assailed.

“Stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
Vatibus occurras, perituræ parcere chartæ.”

Following, accordingly, the example which has been set us, we might propose, in the *first* place, to consider the Universities simply as bodies chartered and incorporated by the State, inquiring for what ends they were thus chartered and incorporated, and whether those ends are fulfilled. It would follow, in the *second* place, to examine the charges brought against them, and trace the process of impeachment through its various and constantly changing articles. We might inquire, in the *third*, what these bodies were when they were thus incorporated: what they were originally, how they arose, and at what period; whether they are properly “national,” or not rather “cosmopolite and Christian schools” (*Edinb. Rev.* Jan. 1835, p. 431); whether that original state to which the Edinburgh Review would reduce them, was indeed their natural state, or was itself a corruption; and how they were affected by the introduction of those “constant disputations” to which it appears “the highest importance was not unwisely attributed through all the scholastic ages.” In the *fourth*, we might examine what was actually the *de facto* system at the time when the Universities were incorporated, historically compared with the “statutory system” of the “Laudian code:” under which last head, if we mistake not, it might be made pretty plainly to appear, that the bodies which were incorporated by parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were, in all their essential features, of “collegial” system, tutorial instruction, and heads of houses government, what they are at the present day. “In the present article, we could only compass, and that inadequately,” we confess with the Edinburgh Review, “the first and second heads.” And, doubtless, with the Edinburgh Review, we shall find we have “some not unimportant omissions” to supply, though no reply should afford us the plea of “necessity,” as “our excuse for again returning on a discussion,” which, however it may prove to our readers, will be any thing but “irksome to

ourselves." For it is indeed a most grateful task to trace, through successive ages, the course of bountiful Christian charity, and enlightened Christian wisdom, providing for the preservation of the truth committed to the Church, and the careful training of her children in "true religion and useful learning," from age to age. For the present we shall content ourselves with reasserting "the legality of the present Academical system of the University of Oxford," on the simple ground taken up by the "Member of Convocation," by the defenders of the University in parliament, and by the University itself. That ground is sufficiently obvious and intelligible to the plain sense of every unsophisticated understanding. The University, whatever was its previous character, was made by the national legislature in Queen Elizabeth's reign a body corporate in law; and the ends of its incorporation were declared to be for "the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth." By this standard it is to be tried; and we have seen that it does not shrink from the trial. And if it is laid to its charge that, "as now administered, this University pretends only to accomplish a petty fraction of the ends proposed to it by law, and attempts even these by illegal means," let these charges be substantiated by a reference to the ends proposed by its charter, and the means which that charter can be shown to define. But common sense and common justice protest against its being tried, on the one hand, by the "ideal standard" of some abstract notion of a University, derived from the records of the twelfth century, as interpreted by a Reviewer of the nineteenth; or, on the other hand, "by the standard of its own code of statutes," digested since the period of its incorporation by the exercise of its rights of self-legislation vested in it—nay rather, recognized and guarded by its charter of incorporation. By this, and not by the scholastic definition of an University, nor by the details of "the Laudian code," common sense and common justice, we repeat, demand that the University be tried. The Universities of England may, perhaps, be found to propose to themselves different ends from those of any other Universities in Europe, or in the world; and to attempt their accomplishment by different means. But then, it may possibly be found also, that those ends were specially in the view of those who gave them their privileges, and that these peculiarities were regarded by them as their peculiar and distinguishing excellence.

Meanwhile, during the last few years, there have been several "untoward events" for the advocates of change. In taking up the defence of the colleges, and making common cause with them, the University of Oxford has identified itself with "the collegial interest," and thus virtually given its sanction to that system, which we were told was so palpably illegal, "that the heads of

houses dared not bring it under the immediate eye of convocation." And still worse, in parliament "the bill (for the admission of Dissenters) and its supporters," as the *Edinburgh Review* feelingly deplored, "first recognized the conversion of the national Universities into a complement of colleges, and then, of course, were fairly defeated in their summary attempt to deal with these private and sectarian colleges as with cosmopolite and Christian schools." — (*Edinb. Rev.* Jan. 1835, p. 431.) And worse than all, the University, in a body,—its Hebdomadal Meeting by preparing, and its House of Convocation by adopting, the petitions which have been laid on the tables of the two Houses of Parliament,—has proved most effectually, that whatever may be the turpitude of its conduct, it is, at least, not alive to that consciousness of guilt which it was most confidently supposed to feel. It is true, indeed, that, though the *Edinburgh Review*, in "a principal article, published above three years and a half before," and "a supplementary article, above three years before," had "shown, in the first place, *that a great breach of trust had been committed*;" had "shown, in the second place, *by whom the breach of trust had been committed*;" had, "in the third place, exposed the interested *motives*, and the paltry *means* which determined, and the *circumstances* which rendered possible, the universal frustration of the constitutive statutes, and consequent suspension of the University," and, "in the fourth place, had proved *that the collegial heads themselves were fully conscious, that the change from the statutory to the illegal system was, at once, greatly for their private advantage, and greatly for the advantage of the University and nation*:"—it is perfectly true that, though "such was the burden of the accusation"—though "the accused were the collegial interest and its heads, the reverend governors of the University"—though, "in such circumstances, where silence was tantamount to confession, confession to disgrace," the taunting question was ready, "What does such unwonted, such unnatural torpidity proclaim?" and the answer tauntingly supplied, which "alone," it was supposed, could "explain or excuse their quiescence"—

— 'Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.'

with all this, it is yet perfectly true, that they "held their tongue and spake nothing:" it is perfectly true, that this "School of the Church" (comp. *Edinb. Rev.* Oct. 1834, p. 218,) found grace, as in former trials, so now again in this later "day of trouble and rebuke, and of blasphemy," so far to learn of Him who is our One Master and Heavenly Teacher, that he who was set down on the seat of unrighteous judgment, when she "yet held her peace,

marvelled greatly." But when the time was come that she could fittingly bear witness to the truth, she kept silence no longer. In referring, however, to the appeal to the legislature of the realm, which is contained in "the humble petition of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford, to the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, in Parliament assembled," bearing date "from their house of Convocation, April 29, 1834," we will only remind our readers, that the body of College tutors had already (April 24) come forward as "members of the University of Oxford, immediately connected with the instruction and discipline of the place," "stating it to be their solemn duty to provide for a Christian education," "their bounden duty to Almighty God, and to those committed to their charge, to continue their present system of religious instruction;" and declaring it to be "their determined purpose, to the utmost of their power, to maintain the same inviolate." Our readers will also recollect that, upon the putting out of this declaration, a "Declaration of Approval and Concurrence" was immediately (April 25) set on foot by members of Convocation, and signed by the vast majority of the body; and that the declaration of the tutorial body was soon responded to by thousands of voices united in petitions to parliament, against any interference with the system of education established in the University. We will now sum up our argument in the words of part of the University petition.

"That your petitioners are incorporated by Royal Charters, confirmed by Act of Parliament, for the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth.

"That, by a power necessarily incident to every corporation, they have from time to time framed bye-laws and statutes, for the promotion of the objects of their institution, and the government of their members; nor have they abused this power, but have always exercised it faithfully, and (except during one calamitous period,) without any interference from the legislature.

"But, while your petitioners deprecate the proposed measure as an infringement upon their chartered and acknowledged rights, they also anticipate from its adoption the most disastrous results. It will, by an immediate and necessary consequence, subvert the present mode of academical education, and render impracticable any system of religious instruction,—it will unsettle the minds of the young,—promote disunion and a spirit of controversy, where uniformity of sentiment is peculiarly desirable, and, moreover, it will have a direct tendency to impair, or altogether exclude, the ancient form of Divine worship.

“ With all humility, therefore, but most earnestly, your petitioners implore your lordships not to disturb those salutary provisions, under which, by the blessing of Almighty God, the University has long and successfully laboured in the cause of useful learning and Christian education.”

ART. X.—*The Antiquity of the Church-rate System considered. In reply to “ A Few Historical Remarks upon the supposed Antiquity of Church-rates, and the Three-fold division of Tithes. By a Lay Member of the Church of England; and printed for the Reform Association.”* By William Hale Hale, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul’s, Preacher at the Charter House, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London. London. 1837.

THE Church-rate question, among other evils, has brought upon the land a plague of pamphlets. We select one from the number, which the spoilers of the Church, and the unsettlers of property, will, probably, abominate as a sorer *plague* than all the rest of the swarm together; seeing that it has well-nigh stung to death an importunate insect, whose bite, as they fondly hoped, the Church would find incurable.

To speak prosaically,—we conceive that, by this publication, Mr. Hale has set at rest, for ever, the points which have been stirred by his nameless antagonist, the “ Lay Member of the Church of England.” Who this person may be, we, of course, have no business to know. But we hear it rumoured that he is all over Anglo-Saxon lore. He is mighty in the language of the Heptarchy. And this accomplishment appears to have bred in him a conceit, that he *must* likewise be at home in all the secrets of our ecclesiastical antiquity: a conceit which, henceforth, as we suspect, he is likely to have all to himself. *Habeat secum, servetque!* We care not to break his own dream of complacency. We shall be satisfied if the rest of the world are wide awake.

We have no space for such an exhibition of the arguments of Mr. Hale as may do them any thing like justice. Our principal object, in this brief notice, is to invite the public to become familiar with the whole of his masterly disquisition, which could only be injured by a process of abridgment. We must content ourselves with adverting to one or two matters, which are, more especially, worthy of the public attention.

In the first place, then, Mr. Hale has expressed his regret that so pointed an appeal should have been made to the practice of antiquity. All antiquity, indeed, as Mr. Hale has shown, will be found to be in our favour. But the inquiry is somewhat rugged

and obscure: and, whenever the semblance of a doubt can be raised, in travelling through the twilight of those remote ages, a shout of triumph is raised by the adversary, as if the cause of the Church were lost. Mr. Hale (though confident in the voice of antiquity) is, rather, for appealing to the law of our country, as it has notoriously existed for centuries, and “the authority of “which”—he observes—“any man, who has not sold his conscience to his party or his interest, will readily admit.” Let us then begin at the point where the law speaks with a voice too clear and too potential to be mistaken. “It is right”—says the Law of Canute—“that all people should assist in repairing the “Church.” And this law stared the master of Anglo-Saxon too broadly in the face to be passed over by him without notice. He does notice it, accordingly; and marvellously short work does he make of it! All people—says Canute—shall assist in repairing the Church;—“but, *how* they are to assist, he does not say,”—observes the professor of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence! Why, how does he suppose they were to assist? Does he imagine that they were to assist by their wishes, or by their prayers, or by sitting cross-legged, for good luck, while the work of repair was going on? How all people were to *assist*, in obedience to the *trinoda necessitas*, is perfectly well known; that is, how they were to assist in repairing bridges, and upholding castles, and performing military service. And, it so happens, that the Law of Canute, which enforces this threefold duty, is immediately followed by the law for enforcing Church repair (or *cyrlic-bote*). The mode of assistance, therefore, might easily enough be collected from the very position of the law. The secular duties—(with the exception of that which involved *personal* service)—could be enforced only by a County-rate; the religious duty, only by a Church-rate. The only difference between the two cases amounts to this,—that the County-rate was to be levied by the secular arm; the Church-rate by the spiritual arm.

But, to proceed to later times.—The *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of the man of Anglo-Saxon,—which pervades the whole of his work,—is the progeny of his own ignorance. He confounds monastic Churches, and cathedral Churches, with parochial Churches. He collects a host of authorities to show that the repair of certain *conventual* Churches was a burden to which none but the Clergy were liable: and, all the while, he seems to fancy that he has fixed upon the Clergy, too firmly to be ever shaken off, the duty of repairing all the *parish* Churches throughout the realm. The manner in which Mr. Hale has exposed this egregious blunder, is really quite exterminating. He tells his adversary that he might produce, almost by the thousand, authorities like those which have, so unaccountably, filled him with triumphant confidence. Such authorities can

establish nothing but what was already notorious and unquestionable;—namely, that conventual and cathedral Churches, being the sole property of the Clergy, have always been upheld out of the clerical revenues; whereas,—(with the exception of the chancel, which is the property of the rector,)—the parochial Churches have, immemorially, been upheld by the people; who have a *right*, by the common law, to seats in those Churches, and a further *right* to sepulture in the Church-yard.

Mr. Hale has further shown, that this great antiquarian and philologist, irrefragable as he may be in Anglo-Saxon, is but very poorly furnished forth with knowledge of the old documental Latin phraseology. His mistakes, as to the meaning of the phrases, *onera ecclesiæ*, and *pensiones competentes*, are absolutely ludicrous. But the most diverting specimen of his self-complacent ignorance, is the solemnity with which he demands that an act of the legislature may be pointed out, which lays upon the people the duty of Church repair! And here, says Mr. Hale, “what more agreeable or suitable introduction can we offer him, than one to a highly distinguished lawyer,—no less a person than his Majesty’s Attorney-General, who will, doubtless, direct him to the fourth page of his pamphlet; in which he will find it recorded that, by an *Act of the whole Legislature*, from the year 1285, the Bishops were authorized, by ecclesiastical censures, to compel the parishioners to repair and to find ornaments for the Church.” The act in question is no other than the statute of *Circumspectè agatis*; which, in effect, recognizes and establishes the right of the Spiritual Courts to enforce the payment of Church-rates, since it prohibits the Temporal Courts from interfering with their known jurisdiction.

But here we must conclude, with an urgent recommendation to every Clergyman, that he will make himself master of this admirable pamphlet; by which Mr. Hale has added to the signal obligations conferred upon the Church by his previous treatises on the tripartite and quadripartite division. With regard to his antagonist, we certainly have no intention to call his integrity in question. He may, for aught we know, be “indifferent honest:” but we are quite sure that he is insufferably flippant and conceited. And we know not how to express our opinion of him, better than in the words of a most intelligent friend of ours—(a gentleman very far indeed from the infamy of *illiberal opinions*)—who, after perusing the pamphlet now before us, exclaimed,—“Mr. Hale has done a good work. He has demolished a coxcomb; whose deliberate adjustment of his own cap and bells, when he solemnly calls for an Act of the whole Legislature, is most supremely amusing.”

- ART. XI.—1. *A Scriptural Vindication of Church Establishments, with a Review of the principal Objections of Non-Conformists.* By the Rev. George Holden, M.A. London: J. G. & F. Rivington. 1836.
2. *Five Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.* By the Rev. Walter Farquhar Hook, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln, Vicar of the Parish of the Holy Trinity, Coventry, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Oxford: D. A. Talboys. 1837.
3. *The Church and the Establishment; Two Sermons.* By the same Author. Third Edition. Leeds. 1837.
4. *Primitive Tradition recognized in Holy Scripture; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the Visitation of the Worshipful William Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor of the Diocese, Sept. 27th, 1836.* By the Rev. John Keble, M.A., Vicar of Hursley, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. London: J. G. & F. Rivington.
5. *The Church of England a Witness and Keeper of the Catholic Tradition; a Sermon preached at the Visitation of the Venerable Charles Thorp, D.D., Archdeacon of Durham, July 18, 1836.* By Edward Churton, M.A., Rector of Crayke, in the County and Diocese of Durham. Durham: Printed by F. Humble. 1836.
6. *Vincentius of Lirin's Commonitory.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. Rivingtons, London.

THE above are among the numerous publications which the various and ever-changing exigencies of the times, and the increasing difficulties of the Church, have called forth within these few months.

The arguments contained in the first are daily and hourly diminishing in importance. Indeed, it may fairly be doubted if the worthy author, sound and right as he is in many points, and throughout evidently well intentioned, would have thought it worth while to spend so much time and trouble on the line of argument he has pursued, could he have clearly anticipated the present position of the Church in this country. He would then have seen that our real difficulties are not so truly from without, perhaps, as from within. Every day's experience proves, that the real dangers of the Church are not so properly caused by those who are opposed to its establishment, as from the very fact of the establishment itself on its present terms. Undoubtedly it has not been the plain duty of any to say any thing to overthrow the

principle of Church Establishments, when rightly understood ; nor perhaps have many been able or willing to see their way so clearly, as to point out, in all its intricate and distant bearings, the application of that principle to our own case. We cannot take up a book with the title of Mr. Holden's, without deeply and earnestly wishing we could agree with him ; but a vindication of Church Establishments is a work which keener and more apprehensive minds, however painful the consideration, may have considered as more or less questionable ever since the year 1829 ; not indeed for state reasons, with which the clergy have little or nothing to do, but on which Mr. Holden has dwelt rather too fully ; but for reasons which concern them, and all serious and thoughtful persons, most nearly and vitally, of the most dear and sacred nature ; not for political, but for Christian reasons. Had Mr. Holden seen more clearly the real and full bearings of the question, he would have been led to consider, not so much what the civil magistrate may do in establishing a religion ; *i. e.*, what the waywardness of sectarianism, or the factiousness of infidelity, may at any time allow a weak and wavering government to adopt ; but what the Church herself will bear ; he would have thought less of the will of the people, and more of the mind of the Church ; and thus would have inverted his argument, and transposed what we shall see presently is the order of the two divisions of his book ; he would have defined, first, the constitution of the Church, and would have thus saved himself infinite trouble and confusion in defining the principles of the alliance between Church and State.

In proportion, however, as arguments of this nature are diminishing in importance, those which are put forward in the four last publications alluded to, will increase : as the broken reeds of establishments on which the Church of England has so long and so unhappily rested, and which have pierced and crippled her hands, are withdrawn, if we be yet worthy of it, her strength may be seen and felt ; in proportion as human enactments either desert her or intrude, her independence may be seen, and her spiritual nature acknowledged—she will be thrown back from acts of parliament, on that, which these works serve to explain and illustrate, on her sacred fundamental charter.

The times in which we live are assuming daily more and more the character of sifting times : great principles are being developed, and truths which have lain hid for ages are being brought to light ; but these great effects will not, so far as human eyes can see, be brought about without severe trial and perplexity. It cannot be without deep pain and distress that the most earnest and serious minds are led to contemplate any thing like a

possible incompatibility, between the Church and the State in this country ; it cannot be without great thoughts of heart, that Christians must begin to feel themselves inclined to transfer their affection from the country to the Church, and find a difficulty in loving each as hitherto for the sake of the other. Yet it cannot be doubtful to any reflecting mind, but that we may very shortly be called upon, (if, indeed, those who so see things are not called upon now,) to sacrifice much worldly comfort and convenience, and forego very near and dear ties and interests, as we hope to maintain our Christianity. In proportion as any incompatibility between the Church and the State is seen, and various real and great inconsistencies in their alliance, two ways may be placed distinctly before us. There remains, at present, a strange but undoubted coherence between the two, in *the temporalities* as they are called ; if this should need to be foregone, then it may remain for our choice whether we will cling to the one or the other. It is indeed the peculiar blessing of our state, that we cannot see our way ; but should all the miseries of schism thus seem to threaten us, it may one day be for thoughtful persons to consider which will be the safer and sounder course, to desert the Church for the world, or the world for the Church. Time was when questions like these, as it is stated in one of the sermons above quoted, were " mere historical curiosities ;" now they are vital and practical questions, which meet us at every turn. They must be felt to be vital and practical questions by those we are most bound to revere, and warn them how far they should suffer themselves to become implicated in political legislation for the Church of Christ ; and they are at this moment vital and practical questions for the consideration of the parochial clergy from one end of the country to the other. Not, of course, that in the perplexities which surround them, they are to be in any way over-hasty, and to anticipate Providence, but to wait God's time, and prepare themselves, not perhaps to act, but certainly to protest and to suffer ; to take cheerfully the spoiling of their goods ; and, as great and good men have done before, if need be, to " resign all which they cannot keep with a good conscience."

Facts now constantly before us in the course of public events, arguments commonly occurring in conversation, and a sort of universal apprehensiveness of such a state of things as we have described, all combine to force upon us these things, in spite of ourselves, as great and fearful realities ; but they contain comfort for all those who are content to see it, apart from every earthly consideration. If, as the Church and the State are more glaringly divided, men will be divided also ; if some will still cling to the

Establishment, as it is called, and others to the Church, the comparative value of the two will be seen.

A very few remarks on the books before us may enable us, in some particulars, to find our way.

When Mr. Holden gives his book the title of "A Scriptural Vindication of Church Establishments," if we rightly understand his meaning, he assumes, we conceive, the existence, the scriptural existence of a Church, before that Church can be scripturally established; and if such be the case, we cannot but wish he had inverted the order of the two divisions of his book. The Church being assumed to exist as a perfect and independent body before it comes under the, so called, protection of the State, the *first thing* to be considered is the *form and constitution of the Church*. As it is, Mr. Holden has argued about the *alliance* before he has defined the *Church*, and in so doing has tended, in no small degree, to raise an impression which, in various parts, he directly or indirectly cancels, but which he had done well not to have raised at all, that the Church is in some way almost the creature of the State; at all events, more dependent on it than it ever can be. It is true we have been brought up with all these notions and prejudices about us, of which Mr. Holden, in common with very many other excellent persons, finds it difficult to divest himself; but he bears incidental evidence to the truth of what we are saying, by beginning his preliminary observations with the obvious question, "Why am I a Churchman?" This is his first question, and naturally requires his first answer.

It is, as he rightly apprehends, "a serious question to all who are not content to remain in a communion merely because they have been brought up in it, and especially," he adds, "at present, when the *Establishment* is assailed with an hostility which avowedly aims at its destruction."

Now, we have said, no one can have any doubt of the sincere intention of the author to defend and maintain the truth; but we cannot help feeling more than doubtful whether it can well be maintained and defended on the ground assumed in the very outset. The confessedly serious question "Why am I a *Churchman*?" can have nothing whatever to do with the dangers and difficulties of the *Establishment*, unless the word *establishment* is used in an equivocal sense. As the word is often thus used, and more frequently used on the whole than it should be, we will dwell a few moments on this. We should do well to get rid of the word perhaps altogether. However, that Mr. Holden has used the word in more than one sense, will be very obvious to any one on reading the first few pages of his work.

“Wherever,” he says, “Christianity is nationally professed, religious societies will arise, and in process of time they naturally and necessarily *establish themselves*; nor is it in the power of the *civil magistrate* to *prevent* it, even where he disapproves of their formation, without a total destruction of that liberty of conscience which all have an indefeasible right to enjoy. It is trifling to dispute about a name; by whatever designation they may be called, they are *to a certain extent* religious *establishments*. Governments must *allow* them, and therefore it is an idle dispute whether they be or be not established by the country. A variety of sects have sprung up and *established themselves*; have formed rules for their internal regulation; have raised funds for the support of their institutions; all which they will continue to do. Whether they can be legally said to be establishments or not, they are so to all intents and purposes.”

Now, in *this sense*, the Church itself has ever been an *establishment*, and the very fact of its being an *establishment* with inherent powers of government proves its independence. It was an *establishment* in this sense *from its first foundation to the reign of Constantine*. But this certainly is not what we mean in any way when we speak of the “*Establishment*.” The Church did not become an *establishment* in the sense in which we use the term *till the reign of Constantine*. And this sense of the word establishment our author arrives at immediately after, and most strangely connects it with the other. In so doing, he unquestionably prepares us for supposing the “civil establishment” of religion to be of more authority and importance than it is.

“Such societies or religious institutions arise by an inevitable process in Christian nations; but to some one the magistrate may give the preference, and annex to it certain temporal privileges. It is this which constitutes the *civil establishment* of religion.”

Without entering further into the confusion which the evidently equivocal use of the word has produced, we may elicit one truth of some value, that as the Church has become *established* in this latter sense, it has more or less lost its existence as an *establishment* in the former. Its inherent power of government and self-regulation which it possessed as an independent “*establishment*,” in Mr. Holden’s *first sense*, it has merged by becoming more dependent in his *second*. And according to his first and best sense of *establishments*, all the multifarious sects in England are more truly establishments than the Church with its, so called, privilege of *civil establishment*. They have all their powers of internal regulation and government, which it is the “*privilege*” of the Church to *have lost*. They are all more protected than the Church, they are themselves independent, and, as things now are, have further a voice in the regulations and government of the so-called “*established*” Church, which is forbidden to the Church

herself. It matters little, then, how the "Establishment be assailed." Those from within, who from cowardice or for sake of expediency would defend and maintain it, are more to be dreaded than all the attempts of avowed and open enemies from without, to overthrow it. However awful the matter be, so far as the Christian responsibility of the *country* is concerned, and the welfare of an hitherto Christian nation, its loss might be a gain to the *Church*, though it be brought about, as seems probable, by avowed and open sacrilege, and at the expense of her sacred endowments.

When Mr. Holden speaks of the Establishment being assailed, &c. he *seems* to mean by it, not what we apprehend it usually means,—the principle upon which, or the act by which, the Church is established, &c. *i. e.* secured, protected, and upheld by the state,—the establishment of the Church by the state; but what we know he does not mean, the "Church, so established," itself. And, therefore, we cannot but regret that he should have made his question "Why am I a Churchman?" obscure, by merging the Church altogether in the word establishment. We have become indeed so used to the word, and parliamentary language and newspapers have made it so familiar, that to many what we are saying may savour of unnecessary refinement; but we are likely to see every day more and more forcibly the importance of what we are here urging, and the necessity of discontinuing the use of various words which can only tend to great practical confusion. The use of the term "establishment," in this sense, has led many well meaning people to look upon the Church as only the religion of the state, and as owing its existence almost, at least its stability, to the mere *accident* of its being established; and, therefore, we confess we should have been glad to have seen the word *Church* in the place of the word establishment—at all events it should not have been entirely merged in it; at least, the way should have been in some degree cleared by the less equivocal but not entirely unobjectionable term "the Church established."

That this is what Mr. Holden means is evident, by his heading affixed to the whole first part, "The Alliance between Church and State," and by the sound manner in which, in p. 26, he states the distinct nature of the two. The word "*alliance*," and the word "*union*," which are both frequently used as applied to the case, both assume on the very face of them the independent existence of the two bodies; but the word *establishment* has, so to say, absorbed the idea of the Church, and *that* both in theory and practice.

We cannot indeed expect that mere politicians should see more than a mere establishment; but it is probable that, had the term

been less used, the language and views both of the legislature and of the people at large would have been far different from what they now are. We repeat, then, our firm conviction, that it has been productive of more mischief than we may think, that the name of *establishment* should have been so long used as a *synonyme* for *Church*. That a mere accident should have been taken at length for the essence.

Mr. Holden well and piously observes that,

“To the sincere believer, nothing can be unimportant which the Scriptures reveal, nothing a matter of indifference which they prescribe. If our Lord has instituted a particular Church-state, it cannot be lawful to depart from it ; nor is it reasonable to suppose that vital religion can be maintained and diffused in any other way, or that internal and spiritual grace will be conveyed through any other medium.”

These remarks well follow up the original question “Why am I a Churchman?” and form no slight portion of the answer, for surely the question must be determined by facts involved in this hypothesis, which are widely different from any thing like an establishment.

Nothing can be more sound than the passages following, which occur in the second part :

“The Church is *independent* of all human power, being totally distinct and deriving none of its authority from the kingdoms of this world. It is an institution complete in all its internal regulations, subsisting and exercising its jurisdiction without the aid of secular power. This follows from its being a spiritual society, which as such cannot be dependent on worldly governments ; and from its being founded by Christ, who is its only supreme governor and legislator. As a religious corporation it is not altered in its nature by the magistrate’s admission into it or his patronage of it. His station gives him no additional powers in it, but he is equally with other members subject to the same conditions, and is under the same rules and orders of the society. The Christian Church owes its establishment to a divine origin, derives its laws from the same source, and aims alone at spiritual and heavenly objects ; in every point of view in short it is a distinct society, separate from the state, and must in consequence be independent of it in regard of its holy offices, ministry, and spiritual jurisdiction.”

There are passages equally good on the Apostolical commission and succession. When we read passages like this and others equally explicit, we cannot but wish they were to be found in the first instead of in the second part ; they would have gone far towards removing the first impression which we cannot get over, of an over-anxiety to uphold the theory of an alliance, and to maintain the right of the civil magistrate to establish a religion ; and they would, if so placed, have brought out no doubt a more

distinct principle, and have given a more uniform direction to the whole work.

According to the latter part of his title-page, Mr. Holden contrasts the opinions of the former and later non-conformists. "Many of the former," he says, "were favourable to a national establishment, and some of them to a moderate kind of episcopacy. The great body of Dissenters now mainly coincide with the tenets of our public formularies, and justify their separation from the Church on account of her episcopal government and her alliance with the State." This last sentence, again, would suggest the right order in which the argument should have been conducted. *First* prove the constitution of the Church to be scriptural, and then the establishment of that Church, or its alliance with the State to be *not unscriptural*; and in laying down the principle, consider *what the Church will bear* in consenting to be thus established or allied. We say advisedly, *not unscriptural*; for whatever may have been Mr. Holden's precise view in adopting his title, it has been well remarked by Mr. Keble, in his paragraph on the danger of Erastianism, i. e. the Church betraying to the civil power more or less of the good deposit which our Lord had exclusively put into her hands;" that it is "a form of compromise with the world for which no occasion was given by the circumstances of the Apostles, a trial peculiar to times like ours, when the governors of the world profess to have become the servants of the Lord and his Christ. We cannot, therefore, look into the New Testament for literal instruction how to behave with regard to this delicate and dangerous part of our duty," &c.

The question, however, at issue, is limited to the "lawfulness of an establishment, and the form and constitution of the Christian Church." This order is remarkable, because the book is designed as a "manual for churchmen," according to the question stated in the very outset. If, instead of that question, the question of the non-conformist had been asked, Why am I *not* a churchman? it might perchance have been more properly or less improperly answered in this order, because the *alliance* is a very frequent reason alleged for non-conformity: but when a positive question, as here, is asked, not a negative one, a positive answer seems required at once, and that answer should have stated that deep principle which the subject happily contains. This Mr. Holden would undoubtedly have done, had he not been led aside so often to consider the ten thousand objections which ever have been, and so far as we can see, ever will be urged against it, and which lie, alas, out of the reach of Mr. Holden,

and are too deeply seated for any power of argument or versatility of genius to remove.

The source, however, of the inverted order, is tolerably evident; it has arisen from the notion naturally enough inculcated upon us from our infancy, that we are being brought up in the religion of our country: nurtured in the bosom of the "Established Church," but the error may soon be corrected by the very first line of the Catechism which that Church herself puts into our mouths, which tells us that we "are made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." Whatever then becomes of the alliance or union, or the "religion of the country," here we are, at once on sacred ground exclusively. In arguing with Dissenters, were it ever profitable to do so, we should surely take this method; we should put the mere establishment at once out of sight, as merely accidental, and not dependent on our will, and therefore beside the question. I am neither more nor less "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," whether the Church be united to the State or not. Why am I a churchman? is the main question, if the state or establishment has no hand in making me so, I do not depend upon it for preserving me so, and if I thus enjoy privileges of which no state can deprive me, practically I am not touched by the state.

This is so obvious that it may appear trifling, yet this self-evident truth, in some of its remoter bearings, is strangely lost sight of.

Now it is to be confessed, that the question of an established religion is a very vital one, as far as the principles of Christian governments are concerned, and the welfare of every Christian country. This point it would become Dissenters to consider well; if, instead of unreasonably making opposition to they know not what, they would look to the realities of things. If *none* be established, the government is in principle infidel; it matters not who they are who may be at any time entrusted with its administration; if the sincerest Christians, and the soundest officers to be found be employed in its administration, it is itself still, in principle, infidel. If *any* be established, it must be upon the ground of its being the true one, not of its being the religion of the majority, but of its being the true one. It is the duty of the civil magistrate to command for truth; yet, if any form of religion be so established as to give up any of its independent power and distinct functions, then, however true it may be, it becomes at once in the power of the civil magistrate to destroy the truth. If primitive and Catholic religion be established, it

must be so in all its fulness. Indeed, one cannot see how the notion of "establishment" be otherwise than a mere contradiction, if it be not so.

The whole question of establishment, of alliance, and of union, is one on which, so far as any supposed *benefit* accruing from such source to the Church is concerned, the churchman may be content to be indifferent; if he be serious and in earnest he cannot but wish and pray, for the sake of the country, that it should confess and maintain the faith, and protect and uphold the Church as the guardian and divinely-authorized dispenser of the blessings of the Gospel; but no less will he see, that it is of far more consequence to the Church that its sacred functions should not be interfered with, than that it should receive any countenance, much more any civil privilege, at the expense of its independence.

There are one or two remarks, further bearing on this subject, concerning more immediately the civil establishment of religion in the reign of Constantine, which seem to deserve some little attention, with which we shall close our observations on Mr. Holden.

In adverting to the argument so frequently urged, that the establishment of Christianity, and its external splendour, detracted from its internal purity, and that much of its loss of spirituality may be dated from the reign of Constantine, he says,—

"Though it is unnecessary to dwell longer on a matter not coming within the design of this work, it may not be improper to observe, that the civil establishment of Christianity in the earlier ages, was superseded by the miraculous powers vouchsafed to the primitive Church. In the first planting and propagation of the Gospel, there was a supernatural agency, which, if at all compatible with the agency of the secular power, disdained its use," &c.—p. 48.

Surely it is rather more than questionable, that the civil establishment of the Church has supplied the place of miracles, and supernatural agency. It would seem rather, that so far as the Church has been preserved in its integrity, it has been preserved, in a degree by the same supernatural agency, not by means strictly speaking of this world's friendship, one had almost said in spite of it. However, what use may have been made of human governments is another part of the question, which is plainly this, whether they, properly speaking, have superseded the divine agency: for the statement of the argument by Mr. Holden is, to say the least, unguarded. Whenever miraculous powers, strictly so called, were withdrawn, and we are disposed to favour that evidence which assigns to them the latest date, and to admit that

they extended so far towards the reign of Constantine as to give all the colour that may be to Mr. Holden's remark; still we object, in the first place, to the expression, "the civil establishment of Christianity in the earlier ages *was superseded* by the miraculous powers;" and, in the next place, whatever use may have been made of the secular power in the scheme of God's providence, we feel more than unwilling to entertain the notion that the arm of flesh, against which we are so expressly warned, stood in the place of the signs and wonders and outstretched arm of Almighty God.

"They were continued," says Mr. Holden, "at least sufficiently, till Christianity had gained a firm footing in the world." True; but that footing was not in the civil establishment of the Church, but in the consistency of the Church itself; its growth in the midst of the Roman empire in its perfect and consistent form, not in its dependent, but *independent* existence, with its government and discipline, its standing ministry, its creeds and liturgies, and full canon of Scripture, "making increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." It would seem more true to say it was not *until* it had attained this *independent consistency* that it was allowed to be in any way connected with the powers of the world. Whether it was *first* corrupted by Constantine, and how far, is another matter; it is enough for us to observe, that no sooner was it established than Christians were intelligibly warned of the necessity of maintaining its Catholic principles, and asserting its independent existence; for that it might stand in greater danger from its Christian protectors than from the malice of the heathen, from the very fact of their professing themselves Christians, and claiming on that score some influence or authority over the Church, at the same time that they themselves kept in their own breasts the form of Christianity. The Church was in greater danger under Constantius and Valens, and other Arian and heretical emperors, than under the persecutors, from the very fact of its establishment; and maintained its Catholic principles, and the faith once delivered to the saints, by firm and frequent protest against the intrusions resulting from it.

The sacred duty of the Church is to preserve and dispense the truth, to keep the sacred deposit inviolate from age to age. The State establishes the Church to tell the country the truth, and it really fails alike in its duty to its Founder, and to the country, unless it maintains its independence. Its connection with the world is as much to be feared as its persecution by human governments, and its defence and protection amidst the temptations of man's friendship, as wonderful as its preservation amidst the trials inflicted by his hatred.

The same line of argument will correct another statement, with which we will take our leave of Mr. Holden. We do not wish to overlook, but as Christians we must not overrate, the benefits of a civil Establishment. Mr. Holden observes, "The *traditionary evidence* would for a while be so strong and irresistible as would suffice for the spread of religion, till it pleased Providence to call in the aid of those external means which the piety of rulers can so beneficially employ in its support."

Now, as the civil establishment of religion does not stand in the place of miracles, so neither does it supersede or stand in the place of traditionary evidence. It is true, indeed, that this traditionary evidence, and its force and value, has been obscured and overlaid by the circumstance of the Church becoming established; but, after all, on what does the Church mainly rest up to this moment, but upon this very *traditionary evidence*, which is not "*for a while*" only strong, but embodies that deep and broad principle which we call Catholic in its full and true sense, and is realized to us in that infallible rule, quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus, which connects us at this moment with the Apostles, which carries us back at once to the divine charter of foundation on which the Church rests, furnishes us with those very creeds (which are not only witnesses of the truth as opposed to error, but are in some sort witnesses also against the intrusions of the Arian emperors on the Church,) by means of a standing ministry, which in various ages and countries has itself been a practical protest against the interference of the state with functions of the Church.

Of the depth and extent of this *traditionary principle*, as we may call it, the four last publications mentioned furnish ample proof. In proportion, as it is seen, the Church, as a stupendous whole, will be thrown forward in its breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and seen in such a way, perhaps, that the value of all relative arguments will diminish; it will be seen how far it may or may not be necessary or desirable to make contrasts, to view it with reference to the opinions of non-conformists, or to be over anxious in these days, and under present circumstances, about the right of the civil magistrate to establish a religion; but to go straightforward, without turning our eyes to the right hand or to the left, to give neither to the Dissenter nor to the state too prominent a place, to say the least of it, in the "Churchman's Manual." "Let him take heed to himself and to the doctrine."

And such is the noble and straightforward view taken in the works before us. The volume of Mr. Hook exhibits, as we should expect, a thorough consistency of principle, and contains

a fund of wholesome doctrine most necessary for these days. It lays down those principles which, without any laboured contrast, of themselves throw aside Romanism and Dissent; and it assumes in those principles that inherent and intrinsic strength which must ever make the protection of the civil magistrate, however natural and desirable in every professedly Christian country for that country's sake, still in the eyes of the Churchman a secondary matter.

We cannot but consider it to be one of the most satisfactory and encouraging signs of these evil times, that Mr. Hook, so long known and regarded by all true sons of the Church of England, as one of the most earnest and uncompromising of her Clergy, should have been called to so extensive a field of usefulness as the Vicarage of Leeds. We may be sure that in our large manufacturing towns, overgrown as they are in most cases with Sec-tarianism, no one can be so really influential, and so well appreciated, as one who without any attempts at compromise, shows at the same time all possible forbearance to those who differ from him; whose principles are so firmly grounded, and whose line of action is so clearly defined, that his whole character is fully understood, and his judgment on all practical matters readily anticipated. It is only by useless attempts at compromise, and hopeless endeavours to find a middle course, where there is none, that debateable ground is admitted, and the door opened to endless and fruitless dispute, and all sorts of uncharitable imputation. Those only are truly and intelligibly charitable, who see how deeply the foundation of charity is laid, that it is based on the love of God, and subordinately to this descends to man, and consequently that it is based in a love of truth, and cannot, therefore, consist in a mere tenderness to error, or in consulting for peace at the expense of truth.

There can be no real peace in any sense either for the Church at large, or for its individual members, but in the truth; and they best estimate the views of the Church of England on this subject who observe, that instead of entering into any idle calculations on individual sincerity, as if it were a substitute for truth, she denounces expressly those who say that each man "shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law;" who remember that instead of making perilous allowances for conscientious error, she teaches us to pray that it will please God to "bring into the way of truth all those who have erred and are deceived;" "that Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, may not merely find mercy, but be brought home to the flock;" and lastly, who remark, that she does not speak of peace where there is no peace, nor recom-

mend unity without a principle, but prays that all "who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of *truth*, and *thus, hold the faith* in unity of spirit, and in the bond of peace; that all who do confess God's holy name may *agree*," indeed, but how? on no slighter terms, and in no easier way, in nothing short of "*the truth of His holy word*," and so may "live in unity and godly love." Truth is not ours to give away, or to barter, nor are Christians to be content to take a lower ground in maintaining God's truth than that which he has himself pointed out. If the end and object of His mysterious dealings with us, and the object He would have us one and all aim at be the promotion of His own glory, every thing else must be strictly and entirely subordinate to this. If in promoting this end, truth may be spoken consistently with what this world calls "*peace*," it is well; if not, it must not be withheld or tampered with in order to procure it, or maintain it. We know that when some of those whom we are most bound to reverence, rose up in defence of a sacred cause not long since, they were rebuked for doing so, as a thing, forsooth, little to be expected from them as "the ministers of peace," whereas we were then ready to hail them, and rally round them, as most truly ministers of peace, when they rose up as witnesses for the Truth.

Closely, again, connected with the duty of maintaining and "contending for the truth," or, indeed, more properly speaking, almost identical with it, is the duty of maintaining and contending for the "authority of the Church" as the divinely appointed guardian and dispenser of it; and naturally again connected with this is the wisdom, and indeed the necessity, of looking to "primitive and Catholic tradition," as at once realizing to us, and explaining and illustrating that authority.

Such, in few words, will be the method of thoughtful and earnest persons who, without regard to consequences, are anxious to follow the ways marked out for them with sufficient clearness by the Almighty to attain his own ends, instead of taking self-chosen methods of compassing self-chosen ends of their own. And if in so doing, whether as regards the end to be promoted, or the appointed means of promoting it, the way of life be not quite so broad as many would wish to make it, and more would wish to think it, then we must be prepared to take it as it is; we must be prepared to find the old paths and the good way, not such as modern latitudinarians would wish, but in many senses from which we might be inclined to shrink, strait and narrow as our Lord has described them.

We do not mean, indeed, to charge Mr. Hook with the whole of this theory, nor literally to connect his system in the way in

which we have seemed to do. But though we do not venture to do quite so much, we believe we have made no very incorrect inference of his meaning, nor have put any construction on his Sermons, which the very order of his subjects, and the details of his argument, do not convey.

When we look at the very titles of the Sermons preached before the University, and find them thus arranged.—1. On Promoting the Glory of God; 2. On the Duty of Contending for the Truth; 3. On the Authority of the Church; 4. On Tradition; 5. The Strait Gate; we see such a series as we have described. In one or two instances connection of subject is professed as designed, and though it is not in all, there is what is far better than professed coherence, natural consistency throughout, and that uniformity which is produced by deep principle alone.

Again, when we look at the titles of the two Sermons, "The Church and the Establishment," we are warned by the order, nay, by the very type, of the distinctness of the subjects, and their comparative importance.

These latter having run through several editions, are probably now in the hands of most of our readers; but we will briefly advert to them here, because from their order and distinctness they entirely clear the question we have been discussing, as touched by Mr. Holden. The one defining the essence and constitution of the Church—the other the circumstance of its civil establishment.

Thus, all is made clear. The Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, "the pillar and ground of the Truth," being first traced from its very foundation in the commission given to the Apostles, by the Lord Jesus, through the apostolical succession, with its threefold order of ministers, thus extending into its several branches throughout the world; the subject is then contracted to the consideration of our own Church, as one of those apostolical branches, that Catholic Church existing in this country from the remotest antiquity, and tracing its descent by an unbroken line of ordinations to St. Peter and St. Paul, "the Apostles of the Circumcision and of the Gentiles." After a few sentences of sound and sensible remark on the interest and influence of the Bishop of Rome over the Church in England in the 7th century, which Mr. Hook well parallels with the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury with respect to India at the present time, and a few more on the effects of the Reformation, he claims for our Church, according to the satisfactory and interesting statement of Mr. Palmer, the name of the "Old Catholic Church of England;" and whatever be the views and opinions of those who seem strangely anxious to explode this doctrine of the apostolical

succession, we cannot envy that spirit which does not see in these investigations the probable source of those signal blessings which have been showered upon this Church, or which can fail to recognize a sacredness attaching to the whole subject.

However, having thus defined the Church, and shown how the Church of England is a true and apostolical branch of it, the author feels he may thus safely and surely proceed to state the office of—"Kings as its nursing fathers, and Queens as its nursing mothers." He observes, that that branch of the Church which exists in this country has always been connected with and closely allied to the State; it was the case, we know, with the Anglo-Saxon; it was probably so before the conversion of the Saxons with the ancient British Church. He next touches on the formation of our English dioceses and parishes, and the endowment of the cathedral and parochial Churches, which he clearly vindicates to their present possessors "as having descended in an unbroken line from the Clergy to whom the Church property was originally granted."

"And thus," says Mr. Hook, "was the Church established, and the state consecrated, and for many years there appears to have been a good understanding between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the powers of which were in most respects, as in these days, blended." The interruption of this harmony he traces to the ambition of Hildebrand, and his successors, who soon perceived that, in order to secure their dominion, it was necessary to sever the alliance which had hitherto subsisted between Church and State. "No sectarian of the present day can be more hostile to an alliance between Church and State than were those divines who, in the middle ages, were devoted to the Popedom."

However true this may be, however truly we may trace up to Popery, and to the time of Hildebrand, when perhaps it assumed its most distinct form as a system, no slight portion of the confusion amidst which we live, it is matter for consideration whether there might not be more truth and soundness, apart, of course, from their *mere* Romanism, in the arguments of some of those divines, than may be generally admitted; not, indeed, in so far as they protested against the alliance, but in so far as they defined the independence of the Church. One of our own writers,—who was evidently no friend either to the character or policy of Hildebrand, and who has remarked the "mutual concurrence of the spiritual and secular powers, according to their several stations and their useful and just offices," during the eight hundred years which intervened between the time of Constantine and Hildebrand, and has pointed of course, as Mr. Hook has done, to Hildebrand's

assumption of the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy, as the time when that understanding and concurrence was broken off;—this writer (Dr. Brett) has, nevertheless, found thus much to be said for Hildebrand and his successors, that “though they usurped the rest of the Bishops’ spiritual rights, and subjected them solely and singly to the Bishop of Rome, and also invaded the imperial rights with a witness, making their own decretals laws, and assuming the whole coercive powers; yet, they kept the execution of the merely spiritual power within its own channel, and not once pretended to it by virtue of their worldly sword, though they barred the other Bishops of their just rights in several instances in the execution of it.”

“It seems to be reserved for our late Erastians,” he continues, “that they subject the spiritual vestitures and deprivations, to say nothing of the power in and over synods in the secular magistrate.”

We know, indeed, how endless and intricate this question has ever been; but we are sure that if any saw its end, and could disentangle it, they were those who were providentially thrown into that position by the clashing of the ecclesiastical and civil power, which rendered them, in almost every light in which they could be contemplated, witnesses of Primitive and Catholic Truth—of a class almost peculiar to the Church of England. We shall see, doubtless, more and more clearly, the value of the witness of the Non-Jurors, and the principles which they, more than any others, contributed to explain,—that of the independence of the Church,—which they rightly proved to be, not Romish, but Primitive and Catholic.

For what is our position at this moment? we have, as Mr. Hook reminds us, inherited from the very earliest times, as it were, the alliance. “The Church in this country has come down to us established and endowed, and the first question we have to ask is, whether in this alliance between Church and State there be any thing unscriptural and unholy.” Of course, we know there is not, when rightly understood, so far as the right and the duty of the State is concerned; but the interests of the Church may render her consent to it on certain terms “very unscriptural and unholy.”

Of the blessings of such alliance, so long as the interests of the two bodies coincide, and of the probable increased efficiency of the Church by means of it, we cannot be unaware, and enter into all that Mr. Hook has said of its influence on the country; perhaps we can see enough of this to make us silent on so delicate and dangerous a subject;—but we cannot help quoting his few words in which so many will feel sympathy with him, as

hardly knowing how to adjust his love for the Church and the country. Speaking of the influence of Christianity on society, and of this alliance as instrumental in promoting it—

“It is true,” he says, “that, to a certain extent, this might be accomplished though the Church were not established. Religion would have its influence. I will go even further, and add that, so far as regards those who are Churchmen *in deed and in truth*, the Church itself would be benefited by a separation from the State; for she would regain those undoubted rights from which, for the sake of harmony, she now recedes—the right, for instance, of legislating for herself on all occasions, and of electing Bishops without the interference of the civil power. The question with the legislator is, *not* whether the Church would do much good, though unconnected with the State, but whether, by an alliance with it, she cannot do more good; and the question with the Churchman is, whether, for placing in abeyance some of its spiritual rights, the Church does not receive compensation by the indirect influence it is enabled to exert. The Church may be less free, but is it not more efficient? The Church may be unduly controlled in the exercise of its authority over its own members, but does it not possess greater means of purifying society?—and to purify society, to act as the salt of the earth, is one of the purposes for which the Church was instituted. It is not, indeed, as Churchmen, but as patriots, that we deprecate the desecration of the State; that is to say, we deprecate it for the sake, not of those that are within the pale, but of those that are without; we deprecate it, not because the Church would be a less efficient minister of grace to the faithful, if driven from her glorious Cathedrals, she summoned her children around her in the upper room of an hired house, or the caves of the desert, but because she would be a less effectual preacher of morality to the unenlightened and the unbeliever.”

These are questions which will vary with the varying aspect of human affairs, and perhaps the very interval which has elapsed since the Sermons were written, has not diminished the difficulty of the dilemma. For ourselves we should say, that the change thus produced by changed circumstances and a new aspect of things, so far as our thoughts and feelings are concerned, seems to be well expressed in a few sentences of the Visitation Sermon of Mr. Keble, which leans rather to that view which calls upon the Church, at all hazards, to “keep that good thing, that good deposit committed to her, that ‘charge’ or ‘trust’ left jointly in the hands of St. Paul and Timothy, and in the hands of all commissioned as they were,” which warns her rather to be careful how she may best maintain this in days of difficulty and danger, than over anxious about those human means, which, however providentially, have been made instrumental in dispensing it to others.—Alluding to the text: “That good thing committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us,” and the state of Timothy’s mind when the words were addressed to him, “We

are so far," says Mr. Keble, "in Timothy's case, that we are full of sorrow and perplexity at the condition in which we find the Church and body of Christ Jesus: we would fain lay hold of Timothy's and St. Paul's consolation: let us first see to it that we neglect not the warning given. To the companion of Apostles, that warning was plain and simple. The duty imposed upon him paramount to all others, was simply to keep safe and entire a certain trust committed to his charge; to that one vital object, all considerations of present expediency, temporal comfort, visible, apparent edification were to give way."—We are to look before all things to the integrity of the good deposit, the orthodox faith, the creed of the apostolical Church, guaranteed to us by Holy Scripture and the consent of pure antiquity, "present opportunities of doing good, external quietness, peace, and order; a good understanding with the temporal and civil power; the love and co-operation of those committed to our charge;—these, and all other pastoral consolations must be given up, though it be with a heavy heart, rather than we should yield one jot or one tittle of the faith once delivered to the saints."

How far this may really be at all in jeopardy in the present theory and practice of Church government and legislation, this is not the place to inquire; it is enough if we again state it to be such as has caused, we believe, in very many, that transition of feeling which we have described, and to make us more anxious to look to the foundation of the Church, and to mark well her bulwarks, than to calculate on her influence through her civil establishment on the country.

Of one thing we may be sure, that the only way of preserving our allegiance as good subjects, is by insisting on the independence of the two powers, as sound churchmen. This was the theory of the Non-jurors, that they may be, and properly speaking are, co-ordinate. And by Non-jurors, we do not of course mean on the one hand, the mere political Jacobites, nor on the other, the turbulent followers again of Sacheverell, but those who at the same time that they held the sacredness of both ecclesiastical and civil government, did not confound the two. Papists we know may be rebels; sectarians of all sorts may be rebels; the Erastian must be a rebel, if he care for the truth, for if he hold the dependence of the Church on a state which becomes apostate or infidel, and still legislates for the Church, he must give up either his allegiance, or the truth. The sound primitive and catholic churchman alone can, at all times, under all circumstances, render "unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." So that when we come to the truth of things, the best security of government will be found to lie in preserving to the Church, not-

withstanding her alliance or establishment, what the Church is most vitally concerned in preserving, her independence as far as possible.

This subject is no where perhaps more beautifully or affectingly handled than in Leslie's "*Case of the Regale and Pontificate*," and in that passage, especially, where the verse in Isaiah is discussed from which the text of the Sermon called "*The Establishment*" is taken, and which Mr. Hook, who is no Erastian happily, will forgive us for quoting. After mention made of the Church of Sweden as an instance of a Christian Church where neither of the regales do obtain, neither that of the Pope nor of the king, but where the Reformation was made, as others should have been, upon the foot of the primitive episcopate, not of the regale; and a few words to prove how the Church would thus be the greatest support to the crown, and the king a true nursing father to the Church, the conversation is made to turn upon this word.

"'But,' said one, 'can the king be a nursing father to the Church, and yet have no authority over her. If he be a father, where is his honour? I have heard this,' said he, 'much insisted upon to prove the king's authority over the Church; and it should seem to infer some spiritual authority or other over her as a Church; for as they are subjects, they are in the same class with laymen, all equally liable to the temporal government; but if the king have no authority over her constitution, as a Church, how is he a father to the Church? or, is he a father, and yet has no authority?'

"This turned the company to the consideration of that text, Isaiah xlix. 23, whence the authority of kings over the Church had been so often inferred. But that objection soon vanished when the whole verse was read out, '*Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet.*'

"'These,' said one, 'are strange marks of fatherly authority!' Therefore it was concluded that the office here ascribed to kings and queens, must be an office of service and most profound reverence; and withal of the greatest love and affection, such as nurses have for the children committed to their care; as likewise of protection and provision for them: and the children here said to be committed to the care of kings and queens, are the sons and daughters of God; therefore their protection of them, and provision for them, their love, reverence, and service to them, must be proportionable."

The very office of nursing father, which means the same as the English "*foster-father*," implies an office of reverential service, and affectionate protection, that office rendered by those who were called foster-fathers, to the children of the great and noble. It is remarked that our margin reads it "*nourishers*," and the Latin "*nutritii*," and that in no one translation is the word "*fathers*"

found, only that this old English word, nursing father, stands in our translation, which yet it explains in the margin.

It is the object, indeed, of Mr. Hook chiefly to point out the benefits of the establishment, and not so much to insist on the point here argued; but we have inserted this to draw attention to the writings of Leslie, and to that in particular which we have been quoting, as amongst the most truly instructive and even affecting of them, which is becoming daily more and more so. No one, doubtless, knows and feels more entirely the force of this argument of Leslie's than Mr. Hook, or understands more fully how at the same time that it establishes the power and authority of the Church, it gives a singular sacredness to the office of Christian kings, and, it may be, of Christian governments, and guards on both sides the theory of the alliance or establishment.

We have to regret that our remarks on this subject, which is so full of interest to all, and so clearly stated in the two Sermons before us, and touched upon in various parts of the University Sermons, directly or indirectly, will leave us but small space to follow out our previous remarks on the latter. They were designed chiefly for the benefit of the undergraduate members of the congregation, and we cannot doubt but that the earnestness of the preacher, and the entire disinterestedness of his principle, must have had their weight. If popularity were, in any way, or on any ground desirable, truly we might rejoice to find one popular, whose principles run counter to the whole popular system of religion, of ethics and politics; but no one condemns more uncompromisingly the whole popular system; and that too, on the very score sometimes of its being popular; no one therefore would be less careful of popularity, or more suspicious of being popular, than Mr. Hook. One great source of his popularity no doubt is that flow of natural eloquence which is peculiarly his own: indeed so peculiarly his own, that were we to venture to express so much, we might say that it would be less desirable that those whom he addressed as one day about to tread the same steps, should attempt to imitate his style, than that they should most closely follow his principles. We say so, because the young above all are tempted to be imitators, and above all things to be imitators of style, which, in this case, would almost as certainly be unnatural to others, as it is natural to him, would as truly help to destroy their identity as it forms a part of his: it may be his excellence, it might be their defect. And this caution is the more necessary, because this very characteristic is that which most admire, and with which many have, we believe, owned themselves carried away—it is, however, strictly characteristic.

Yet we do not envy those who would not feel the enthusiastic

force of it, when employed against the popular and prevailing errors of the time, in condemning for instance, the selfish and utilitarian systems, and various forms of latitudinarianism.

“ If (as is the case in most modern systems of ethics, not based on Scripture) a perpetual reference in all our actions be made to self; if we are bribed to benefit society by having it pointed out to us how particular interests are involved in the general welfare, if we accustom ourselves, whenever we reason on our conduct, to say, ‘ I will abstain from this, or do that, because though it occasion a temporary inconvenience, I see how it will tend to my eventual good;’ if self be thus the centre round which our thoughts are taught to revolve; if self be thus enshrined as the God of our idolatry, is it not clear that we are acting upon a principle which must sooner or later terminate in the most cold and narrow-minded selfishness, which will effectually prevent our grovelling souls from ever rising to the performance of a generous act, or the formation of a disinterested wish? And therefore it is that we are directed by Him, who, having made man’s heart, must know what is best adapted to the exigencies of our nature, best calculated to give boldness, consistence, and dignity to human nature to keep self as much as possible out of view. He who takes for his guide the worldly philosopher will ever be found to become more and more sordid as he advances in years. His generous impulses habitually checked, he will think that knowledge of the world consists in hardness of heart, and he will pass from this life with feelings which never can be elevated to the love of God whom he hath not seen, because never exercised in the love of his brother whom he hath seen. Whereas in the renovated heart of him who walks according to the Scriptures of truth, the principle of disinterested, benevolence such as angels feel for the work of their Creator’s hands, will grow with his growth and ripen for eternity. For the glory of his Saviour and his God, he will be prepared to renounce the dearest enjoyments; his character will gradually assume an elevation which breathes of heaven, and after a life of self-denial, he will be prepared to glorify God even in his death, if by attesting his faith through a martyr’s death, he can strengthen those convictions without which there can be no obedience.”—pp. 6, 7.

Again, in speaking of the character of David, as devoted to the promotion of the glory of God.

“ Under the holy influence of this principle he descended from his throne to dance before the ark; he arranged all the services of the sanctuary according to the beauty of holiness; and he designed the erection of a temple which might declare to all the nations of the earth the devotion of himself and his people; and when prohibited from executing his design, he rejoiced to anticipate its completion by his son, and consoled himself by laying up in store for the holy work his hundred thousand talents of gold, and his thousand thousand talents of silver, his brass and iron without weight, timber also and stone.—Doubtless in the age of Doeg and Shimei there were not wanting cold calculating utilitarians, who, though dwelling in their houses of cedar, would be ready, never-

theless, to put the Judas question, to what purpose was this expenditure? and to suggest the distribution of the collected treasures of the pious sovereign among the poor."

We cannot but regret that our space will not allow us to carry on the obvious application to our own country, and Mr. Hook's animated transition to the spirit in which our Cathedrals were raised, and the Church established and endowed, and the Universities and several Colleges founded, all for the honour and glory of their God, to whom our pious ancestors consecrated their money or their labour, or their science, or their art.

The sermon on the duty of contending for the truth well follows up the subject of the preceding one, on the duty of promoting the glory of God. "We are to promote glory to God in the highest, by propagating his truth without regard to consequences; and it is part of our faith to believe that peace on earth and good-will among men will follow *ultimately*, even *though* the immediate consequence be not peace but a sword."

In remarking on the declaration of our Lord, "Think not, I come to send peace on earth," as a subject for cavil to the infidel, and a source of not unfrequent perplexity to the advocate of revelation, "a source of perplexity," says Mr. Hook "it must continue to be so long as the Christian concedes what the infidel quietly assumes, that the immediate end of all religion is the promotion of peace upon earth. If this be the immediate end of all religion, it is vain to contend that of all religions Christianity is the best."—"Our answer then to the adversary is not by denying that Christianity has been productive of dissension, discord, and dispute, but by referring to the text to show that the Divine Author of our faith did not introduce into the world a new principle of action, did not for the first time establish a dogmatic theology without clearly foreseeing the consequence of what he was doing; without being able to foretel the incidental and occasional evil it could not fail to produce in a wicked world; without warning his followers, that although peace upon earth and good-will among men was to be the final end, it would not alway or of necessity be the immediate result of the preaching of the Gospel." In connection with this argument the latitudinarian theory of Paley is condemned, that if there is an established religion, that religion ought to be the religion of the majority,—that we ought in other words to inquire not what is the true religion, but what is the most popular,—and its falseness exemplified with reference to the common current opinions about the true Catholic cause in Ireland, so earnestly pleaded elsewhere by our author.—On this question of peace, however, we have had occasion to speak before,

We may thank the author for his Appendix to this second Sermon, in which he recommends the perusal of Bingham as an introduction to ecclesiastical history. To bring a young man to Bingham is, indeed, to teach him how much he has to learn, and how important often the minutest knowledge is in order to a proper understanding of the truth. For surely the caution of the last sermon is far from unnecessary, and contemplates no unreal state of things.

"That men do not think their sloth sinful when truth is the object of their pursuit, is evident from the multitude of little tracts and pamphlets, in which it is to be feared the pastor, as well as his flock, finds his instruction. However indefatigable as a student he may have been at the University, how often do we find him, when preparing for holy orders, resorting to those easy helps, which in the study of the classics, because leading only to superficial acquirement, he would have despised. Instead of drinking deeply at the original cisterns; instead of preparing, by the study of the history, the doctrines, the discipline of the primitive Church, and the early fathers, to become a governor (as to a certain extent every presbyter is) of the modern Church, how many are there who content themselves with drinking at the muddy fountain of some tract society, to which they have been recommended by chance, and where perhaps the latitudinarian dissenter lays the first foundation of the divinity of him who is henceforth to become a churchman, it may be, but a churchman of most unstable principles. The greater caution is necessary on this point, since it has always been one of the objects of the heretic to win proselytes by a professed simplification of the truth,—and the whole progress of error is the result of that false principle with which so many men start,—the desire of saving themselves trouble of making their way broad."

That the way to sound knowledge on these points is neither very broad nor very easy, will be evident to those who read attentively the two sermons on the "Authority of the Church," and "Tradition," the most valuable, perhaps, and laboured of them all. And here again Mr. Hook, in common with other independent witnesses of the same good cause in other parts of the country, concentrates his energies, in maintaining in its fulness, that sacred system from which we derive all our spiritual blessings as Christians. That these subjects, of all others, are in various ways necessary for these times, is evident from the fact of their having struck so many independent witnesses.

We hail with pleasure the new edition and translation of the invaluable *Commonitorium* of Vincentius, with its preface from Bishop Beveridge, and a catena of English Fathers, from Archbishop Cranmer to Bishop Jebb. Mr. Churton has appended to his sermon a short catena of Reformers, and it is remarkable, that the full catena on the subject just published amongst the

Tracts for the Times,' takes it up to their express exclusion, in order to show that the succession of our standard divines, ever since their time, understood the Reformers to have held primitive and Catholic tradition; thus making them, as it were, interpreters of the doctrine of the Reformers; as the Reformers, as links only in a chain, were, on the whole, the means of rendering the Church of England, notwithstanding the Reformation, "a witness and a keeper," as Mr. Churton has ably shown, "of the Catholic tradition," as distinguished from the tradition of the Church of Rome.

"The tradition of the Church of Rome is such as evidently stands above and in the place of Scripture. It allows no appeal from the present Church to the Church of past ages; it requires the assent of her children to doctrines not pretended to be contained in the written word. The preachers of the Church of Rome, therefore, are justly characterized as 'Ambassadors, whose credential letters are the Scriptures, but traditions are their private instructions.' Tradition is declared to be of equal authority with Scripture; but if they seem to clash, the living judge is to be preferred to the dead letter.

"The tradition which the Church of England sanctions is an appeal to the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church; from that she has received her canon of Scripture, her creed, her liturgy, her ecclesiastical form of government. She looks to the Fathers of the first ages, and to the ecclesiastical memorials of every age, as witnesses and expounders of true doctrine; knowing that this evidence cannot be shaken, for her Redeemer's promise cannot fail, who has engaged to guide his Church by his Spirit into all truth, and is with her always, even unto the end of the world."

Of the visitation sermon of Mr. Keble, little need be said, because it ought to be read by all who wish to see, in one comprehensive view, the actual and possible bearings of the whole traditionary principle, so to call it, of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; the preservation of its ministry, its government, and discipline, its creeds and liturgies, its doctrine and practice, through a grand traditionary system, recognized in Scripture itself as subsidiary to Scripture, and ascertainable still, in many most important practical points, by the infallible rule of Vincentius. The more this sermon is examined, the more its entire bearing on the present state of the Catholic Church in England will be seen. And, therefore, without quoting any part, we will be rather content to point it out as exhibiting, that rare thing in these days, a perfect identity, and as shewing the entire coherence and connexion of various points in the Church system, at first sight apparently unconnected, and independent on each other. That its depth and various bearings are not at first sight obvious, is not to be wondered at; nor again, should we be sur-

prised that the whole question is one for which many are little prepared. But we shall do enough, if we express our conviction that the importance of the whole principle contained in it, and numberless hints thrown out, will be seen more and more clearly every day, that it contains the rudiments of a system which the increasing difficulties of the Church will perhaps serve more and more clearly to develope, and in which the strength of the Church of England will be found to lie. The sermon is, for various reasons, scarcely a proper subject for discussion in a Review; but rather, according to the design of the author, in publishing it at the request of the clergy who heard it, "for examination at leisure." It requires, what they felt it required, careful and patient examination. It evidently was not written in haste, nor will it admit a very hasty perusal; and above all, it demands a serious apprehension, in some degree of keeping with the earnest conviction of the writer, of the depth and comprehensiveness, as well as of the sacredness, of the subject.

Certain it is, that the only examination which we have seen of it, and which it is not our design here to enter upon, evinces a very slight sense of its depth and comprehensiveness; and, we are sorry to add, almost an entire rejection of its possible sacredness. Had Dr. Wilson seen its depth and comprehensiveness, he would not have argued against Mr. Keble's view of tradition, as he would argue against that of the Romanists, because he would have seen that the "yet ascertainable parts of the primitive unwritten system being ascertainable by the application of the well-known rule, antiquity, universality, catholicity," this view of tradition itself, even of unwritten tradition, makes it that very test which Romanism cannot bear. Dr. Wilson would further have done well to have taken notice of a remark of Mr. Keble, which, because obvious, and allowed on all hands, is not dwelt upon; but which, if observed, would have saved Dr. Wilson much of his apprehensiveness, and many of his remarks. "The fact," says Mr. Keble, "is clearly demonstrable from Scripture, that, as long as the canon of the New Testament was incomplete, the unwritten system served as a test even for the Apostles' own writings. Nothing was to be read as canonical, except it agreed with the faith once for all delivered to the first generation of the saints:" and p. 28, "*On the other hand*, it is no less evident, that Scripture being once ascertained, became in its turn a test for every thing claiming to be of apostolical tradition." This latter statement would seem to have been overlooked, if we may judge from the general drift of the reviewer's arguments. However, it is evident that Mr. Keble has been, on the whole, either not understood sufficiently, or greatly misunderstood; and this

probably partly from his own entire familiarity with the subject, which always leads him unconsciously to assume a greater preparedness in his hearer, and, in a great degree also no doubt from the prepossessions and bias of the hearer, and the habit of attaching a far narrower meaning to the word tradition, and consequently an inferior importance to the thing. Dr. Wilson himself confesses that "his position in controverting many statements contained in the sermon is rendered the more difficult by the absence of a full development of the author's system." We repeat our belief, that the exigencies of the times, and the circumstances of the Church, will contribute to throw increasing light upon it; but we shall rejoice, if any hint thus thrown out should induce the author to contribute still further to the development of that system which he is thus anxious to illustrate and hand on, not as any system of his own, nor any mere theory, but as the catholic and apostolic system of the Church, as realized to us of these latter days.

It is not, we may add, without considerable pain that we observe, in the latter part of Dr. Wilson's pamphlet, so little apprehension of the possible sacredness of the subject, which he appears throughout to have much mistaken. We speak of his remarks on Mr. Keble's connection of the catholic tradition with the doctrine of the apostolical succession. Surely there is something singularly distressing in such a series of questions as those in p. 46, commencing with the words, "But what is apostolical or episcopal grace?" Now, it is stated or implied as a truth, that the catholic tradition has been ever *thus* preserved, in the passage quoted from Mr. Churton's sermon, who closes his words on tradition with a reference to our Lord's promise to his apostles, of his spirit to guide them into all truth, and of his own special presence with them to the end of the world. Mr. Keble further points to it as a *means* of preserving the good deposit, and transmitting it on as a trust to others. Whatever Dr. Wilson may think of the ordination and consecration services, however the entirely political aspect (which these things unhappily have with us, who have to look up, through the medium of a parliamentary commission, to our spiritual Fathers,) may have lessened in the eyes of him and others the sacredness of this subject, still we should have thought any serious minister of Christ would rejoice at any hint which should remind the stewards of the mysteries of God, that they have yet more sacred trusts than the endowments of the Church, and higher and better securities for the truth than the countenance of the civil government. We should not have expected to see an ordained minister of God's word and sacraments in the Church of England, excluding the idea of the apos-

tological succession, by reference to the indefiniteness of the 23rd Article, and claiming for it, we know not what expansiveness, in the comment of the latitudinarian, Bishop Burnet, instead of interpreting that article, as in duty bound, by the known doctrine and practice of the Church to which he belongs.

Certain it is, from an illustrious chain of testimonies of "faithful men," who seem in fact to illustrate the point in question, that the Church of England preserves the apostolical succession in the most unequivocal way, and is, as consistently with this, a witness and keeper of the catholic tradition. In this traditionary system we seem to find her identity. It is thus she enables us to look through all the religious innovations of Romanism on the one hand, and Puritanism on the other; and again, through all the political difficulties, whether between our own days and those of Hildebrand, or still upward, between the days of Hildebrand and those of Constantine; and thus, in the words of her own Ken, to live "and die in the holy catholic and apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of the East and West, and more particularly in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross."

And thus we are furnished with the soundest view of Christian faith and duty, whether the Church be allied or unallied with the State, with principles which will protect us alike against its enmity and its, so called, friendship, and help us perhaps to regain and maintain the truth, while we acquiesce in what seems to be now, even in this our own country, a state of judicial captivity.

ART. XII.—1. *Churches in London; with an Appendix containing Answers to Objections raised by the "Record" and others, to the Plan of the Metropolis Churches' Fund.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D. London: Rivingtons. 1837.

2. *Prospectus of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates in Populous Places.*

WE had prepared a series of remarks,—founded upon a variety of books which are now lying before us, and which it is, indeed, a matter of regret to leave unnoticed,—on the ecclesiastical condition of the kingdom, on the education of the people, and on the means at once of connecting the Church with social improvement, and identifying the cause of social improvement with the cause of the Church. It was our wish to follow up into some detail an

article in our last number, which was written, we confess, with considerable misgiving as to the *popularity* of the argument, but which has met, we are, therefore, the more glad to find, with a far larger share of encouragement and approbation, than we had ventured to expect. The two-fold principle, on which we would have based our observations, is—first, the *primary* necessity of spiritual things, and, then, the *secondary* necessity of *adding* other things to spiritual, for the sake both of vital holiness and of secular advantage, both of true religion and of useful learning. But, amidst the absorbing thoughts which must be awakened by the death of one sovereign and the accession of another, and the feverish distractions inseparable from a dissolution of parliament, we cannot but feel that the time would be most unpropitious for any wide and calm inquiry into the general laws of ecclesiastical polity, or into projects of comprehensive philanthropy, resting upon the pillar and ground of Christian faith.

These few words we have been anxious to say; because we would not be supposed to have neglected or forgotten subjects which we have, on the contrary, most deeply and earnestly at heart; and to which we should deem it a happiness to be enabled to dedicate our thoughts and lives.—For the present, nevertheless, we shall only turn to two or three topics, which cannot with either propriety or convenience be reserved, but press upon us for an immediate, though brief, consideration.

Almost all, however, may be comprehended in the Bishop of London's declaration, that "*we want more churches and more clergymen.*"—The want of *more churches* induces us to direct attention to the excellent pamphlet just put forth by Dr. Pusey, to the "Report of the Committee of the Metropolis Churches' Fund;" and to the fact, that, with the means of more exact calculation, it has been ascertained that the expenses of building will amount to 25 or 30 per cent. beyond the original estimate. Dr. Pusey has given three tables, "as some indication of what the Committee are preparing to do;" but he shows also, how much more requires to be done.

The want of *more clergymen* has led to the formation of a new *Society for promoting the Employment of additional Curates in populous places*. Now, as to the multiplication of *societies in general*, some very striking remarks are to be found in pages 18 and 19 of Dr. Pusey's recent publication. And we have, ourselves, more than once pointed out the danger, that, without great prudence and circumspection, the influence of associations may interfere and clash with the regular functions of the Church and its office-bearers. To take a very recent instance, we see it announced, not merely in the newspapers but in an official

circular, that *under the auspices of* some new association, called the *Christian Influence Society*, Dr. Chalmers is to give lectures at Freemason's Hall, in this immediate July, on the general question of Church Establishments; and that Mr. Benson is to follow them up in an early part of next season by lectures on the excellence of the English Church Establishment; and, likewise, on the best modes of supplying or remedying its defects. Our respect—we may venture, perhaps, to say, our respectful regard and admiration—for Mr. Benson, as for Dr. Chalmers, it might sound like flattery to express. But principles must be dearer to us than persons. We would seriously ask, then, is it expedient, is it safe, is it of good example, that the Master of the Temple should deliver public lectures in Freemason's Hall on subjects so peculiarly delicate, under the direction of this Christian Influence Society, or at all in connexion with it? Is it not far better, either that such matters should be dealt with by the Legislature and the heads of the Church, or that the suggestions of individuals should be thrown out in the usual form, and on their own private and personal responsibility?

Far, indeed, however, are we from denying that associations in their proper sphere, and under proper regulations, constitute an excellent feature of what we may call the combinative system. They belong to it generally, and they make a kind of combinative system in themselves. And among the societies, which fit into a general system of useful combinations, is the one lately established "*for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates in Populous Parishes*," or, more shortly, "*The Additional Curates' Fund*," or, "*The Clergy-Aid Society*," which has already attracted to itself a large amount of donations and subscriptions.

"The object of this Society is, to increase the means of pastoral instruction and superintendence at present possessed by the Church; and, in order thereto, to provide a Fund for contributing to the maintenance of *additional* clergymen in those parishes, within the several dioceses of England and Wales, where their services are most required.

"The rapid growth of the population in many of the great towns and manufacturing districts of the kingdom, without any commensurate increase in the number of churches and clergymen, has been of late so frequently brought under the notice of the public, that it is needless to enlarge upon it. There are also many places, even in the agricultural districts, where, owing to the great extent of the parishes and the poverty of the benefices, considerable numbers of persons are, of necessity, but imperfectly supplied with the advantages of pastoral visitation and teaching.

"If it be said, that it is the duty of the State, rather than of an Association, to make provision for these wants, this is readily admitted; and it is confidently hoped that the day is approaching, when that duty will

be acknowledged and fulfilled. But, in the mean time, the evil of such a state of spiritual destitution is so fearful, that an immediate effort must be made to lessen it: and such an evidence of the public feeling, as would be afforded by a liberal Subscription in aid of that effort, would be likely to awaken the attention of the Government, and to hasten their taking the work into their own hands. The readiness, with which, in different parts of the country, a call for contributions towards additional *churches* has been answered, encourages a hope, that a Society for promoting the employment of additional *clergymen*, will not appeal in vain to any member of the Church who possesses the means of extending its usefulness. Upon all, therefore, according to the ability which God has given them, is the call made: but the Laity, more especially, are invited to come forward, and imitate the piety and wisdom of their forefathers, to whom the country owes the foundation and endowment of so many of its churches. The object which this Society has in view is as important to *them* as it is to the clergy; and it is by contributing to the attainment of such objects, that they will most effectually fulfil the sacred duty of ministering to others the gifts received by themselves."

Again, the rules and regulations are as follows:—

" I. That the Archbishops of Canterbury and York be joint-presidents of this Society.

" II. That the bishops of the two provinces, together with an equal number of noblemen and gentlemen, be vice-presidents.

" III. That the business of the Society be conducted by a committee, consisting of the presidents, the bishops, the treasurer, and twenty-four other members, to be named by the presidents, one half being clergymen.

" IV. That the Committee be empowered to make annual grants of money, towards the maintenance of additional clergymen in those parishes and districts which are most in need of such assistance; strict regard being in all cases had to the spiritual wants of the parish or districts, the rights of the incumbent, and the authority of the bishop of the diocese.

" V. That no such grant be made, except upon application from the incumbent of the parish or district, for aid towards the payment of a curate, to be nominated by him to the bishop for his approval and licence."

Thus far we cordially agree with the propositions so clearly and forcibly enunciated in the prospectus. We cordially assent to the principle of *providing a fund*; it being, as we have already argued, the province of a religious Association to supply *means* rather than *agents*, and *money* rather than *men*. We assent to the principle, that this *fund* should be provided by a Society, so long as it cannot, or shall not, be provided by the State. We assent to the principle, though, perhaps, after some little hesitation, of one central Society for the whole kingdom; although we would not thereby disparage the establishment of separate Societies for the several Dioceses. For it is evident that one *general* Clergy-aid

Society, like one National Society for the Education of the Poor, may be necessary, in order to equalize the distribution of good throughout the empire; since, otherwise, the assistance might be in an inverse ratio to the need; and the proper appliances would be least furnished where they were most required; and destitute places would be deprived of the means of extrication by the same circumstances which rendered them destitute.

In short, we see more than one guarantee, that this projected Association will be really a Clergy-aid Society, and not a Clergy-annoyance Society. Of the importance—the magnitude—and the value of its object, there cannot be two opinions; and we admire the simplification and definiteness of its plan, unclogged by a cumbrous, complicated, and incongruous machinery, which could not be worked without embarrassment and difficulty, and which must introduce the elements of early confusion and eventual dissolution. With the more pleasure, too, do we hail the appearance of this new Society, because it is not calculated to create around itself an atmosphere of religious ambition, or religious Quixotism.

There may be practical reasons, founded on immediate expediency, with which we are unacquainted, but which may imperatively recommend the adoption of the sixth rule of this Society. To us, however, who can only argue the matter on general considerations, it appears, we confess, that it could have well been spared. It runs as follows:—

“That the Society undertake to receive any sums of money subscribed for the specific purpose of supplying the spiritual wants of a *particular* Parish or District, as well as contributions for its *general* purposes.”

We shall not insist on the inconveniences which may arise from the attempt, on the part of the same Association, to be at once general and particular;—we shall not pretend to plunge into the philosophy of the question of centralization and localization, and the difference of their respective spheres; but we would simply state our impression, that the best, as we believe the most usual, method, is, that sums intended for a local purpose should be locally given or locally collected; as, for instance, *to* or *by* the incumbent of a parish, who, stating what he has received in his own district, might then come upon the general fund to supply any deficiency. The practice of giving sums to a general Society for a specific application, may become at least invidious,—may fetter, in some degree, the operations of its directors,—and may virtually oppose the spirit of the preceding regulation. Such sums, we apprehend, especially if they are to be received without the knowledge of the minister of a district, may be contributed, now and then, to a great and influential Society, with the Sovereign for its patron, and the Archbishops for its presidents, by way of a gentle

intimation that such or such a place is peculiarly destitute or peculiarly neglected. Clergymen must be more than angels, if, by their doctrines or their parochial ministrations, they afford entire satisfaction to *all* about them; but, if they should be so unfortunate as to create any offence, we can conceive small donations or subscriptions being sent up to London, with the express view of application to their parishes, almost entirely in order to exhibit, or at least hint, their inefficiency. We neither say nor think, that such a thing would often happen; but we see no reason why opportunity should be furnished for it at all; and we are quite sure that, whenever it *should* happen, a great soreness would be felt; and a wound would be inflicted under the pretence of imparting a benefit. We would respectfully suggest, that if this scheme is to work smoothly and comfortably, as we hope and trust it will, there ought to be, above all things, a simple and intelligible plainness of instrumentality and end; the statements of spiritual need ought to be communicated by the clergy—the demands for spiritual supply ought to be made by the clergy—the general and the local ought not to be kept apart—the proceedings of the central managers ought not to be hampered by specific instructions; but contributions for a local object ought to be carried either to some local establishment, or to some diocesan or parochial Sub-committee of the present Association. The plan, every one must see, is intended for the advantage of clergymen and laymen alike; but if, through any mistake or inadvertence, a large and mixed Society, settled in the metropolis, should encourage, whether directly or indirectly, complaints or exaggerated statements from individuals among the laity, and seem to step forward as the *arbiter* of spiritual wants, it might interfere with the regular jurisdiction of the several Bishops, and be converted, in time, from a vast good to an almost intolerable nuisance.

Whether the seventh regulation may not militate against that transparent *unity of design*, which, we are more and more convinced, is the first essential towards the practical usefulness of an extensive society; and whether a separate association would not, in any case, be more adviseable for the noble object which it contemplates, are also questions which may admit of debate. But, strong as is our sense of the inexpediency and mischief of *complicating* the business of societies, and so entangling them, perhaps, in serious and almost inextricable perplexities, we should now, instead of saying more, be fearful of having already said too much, if we had not an assurance, that our motives will not be misapprehended, and that our remarks will not be deemed wanting in that deference which is eminently due to the founders of this great and beneficent undertaking. We sincerely trust, that it will

help to spread throughout the country an adequate and equable supply of clerical ministrations, and obviate the lamentable mischief, that, in places once destitute, there should exist a self-perpetuating and self-augmenting element of destitution.

Once more, then, we adopt for a watch-word the dictum of the Bishop of London—" *More Churches and more Clergymen.*" For our creed is this—*The land will be politically saved by being religiously cultivated, as it will be religiously improved by being intellectually advanced and enlightened.*

This leading maxim we would take for our guide at this momentous juncture. A new æra is opening upon us. The sky is already reddening with the dawn of unwonted fires, whether auspicious or portentous. The fate of the empire will soon, humanly speaking, be in the hands of the different constituencies. Vast, indeed, will be their responsibility. May every elector do his duty wisely and well; and remember, as he exercises his franchise, that he is bound by his solemn obligation as a Christian, to "*Fear God and honour the King.*" May we all be enabled, by God's grace, to perform our parts firmly, resolutely, and undauntedly, as recollecting how mighty are the interests at issue, and how all-important are holiness and truth; yet, at the same time, temperately, kindly, and charitably, as recollecting, that, whatever be the amount of individual corruption, the masses of mankind are never moved, *as masses*, by principles altogether vicious; that there are good men of all parties, and a right side to almost every opinion.

Thus shall we best promote the cause of Conservatism;—the real Conservatism, we mean, which must not be dissociated, even in thought, from real amelioration and real reform. That cause is, we believe, destined to triumph;—provided, on the one side, that treacherous friends shall not desert it, that unstable friends shall not misrepresent it, and that cold-hearted friends shall not remit all pains in its behalf;—provided, on the other side, that the Reformation Society, and certain similar associations, shall not embarrass and embroil it; and that zealous and ardent, but misjudging men, shall not put it into jeopardy, while they waste their strength and irritate their spirits, by looking back, in vain repining, to the irreversible past, and by directing their future efforts, with a futile and self-tormenting vehemence, to the prosecution of objects which are unattainable; but shall learn to adapt their views to the circumstances which surround them, and to combine a staunch maintenance of ecclesiastical institutions and spiritual privileges with a full recognition of the broad principle of civil and religious liberty.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AND is another, then, of our Sovereigns added to the list of the departed? Is the grave about to close over all that is mortal of the kind, the true-hearted, the warm-hearted William the Fourth? Are his unconscious remains awaiting, as we now write, ere they be surrendered to fouler things, the empty magnificence of regal obsequies? And have we to say, even in the mean time, "*the King is dead, long live the Queen!*" Well: it is needless for us to moralize on the shortness of life and the nothingness of empire; or to urge, with this solemn spectacle before us, how all human majesty must bow and crumble before the breath of the Omnipotent. But we throw down our pen, as the thoughts come upon our minds;—for all, that we could offer in the way of history, has become as a broken and interrupted thread: and all that we could offer in the way of speculation, has been rendered idle and nugatory. We have no inclination, we confess, to enter into controversy upon legislative projects, of which some may be arrested in their progress, and others may be almost immediately repealed. At the commencement of a fresh reign, and on the eve of a general election, matters will, as it were, begin again under new auspices. We can hardly conceive that important and much-contested measures will now be pushed. Instead, therefore, of discussing the Irish Municipal and Poor Law Bills, the Irish Church Bill, and the Commission of Inquiry into Ecclesiastical Leases, we pause to see what the next three months may bring forth. The position of the Established Church may be materially changed. The clouds may have passed away; or the sky may be overcast by a gloom ten times more menacing. The energetic, but not fierce or turbulent exertions of every Christian patriot, will be imperatively needed. Every vote will be of value. Every opinion will be something in the scale. It is a time for action, and, even more, it is a time for prayer, rather than for disquisitions. May God grant that our new rulers shall adopt such principles and measures as may conduce to the best interests of the country, to the combined stability and improvement of its institutions, and to the temporal and eternal welfare of its inhabitants! May God grant that the Church and the Government shall move on harmoniously together in their respective spheres of sacred utility!

We had hoped that those clauses of the Lord's Day Bill which would put an effectual stop to Sunday Trading, might immediately become law. We would still hope, and the speech of the Bishop of London gives us reason to expect, that the new Cemetery Bills, in claiming to promote the public convenience, will not be allowed to perpetrate gross and almost intolerable injustice upon individual Clergymen.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

THE quarter just past is the great season for the annual meetings of the principal Societies in London. But we are not aware that any thing remarkable has occurred with the exception of two or three points, which have been already noticed in our preceding pages. The Pastoral Aid Society, by refusing overtures, proffered from the most influential quarters, under conditions which would have been most beneficial, has been partly the means of giving rise to another Society, which is daily receiving fresh accessions of strength. We might almost say, that the Pastoral Aid Society has committed suicide. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as also, we believe, the Church Missionary Society, has been directing especial attention to the vast and interesting colony of Australia; and the ultimate amount of good, which may be the result of its efforts, is far beyond all present calculation. We shall not now touch farther upon the matter, without having space to enter into details: but we may mention here that some curious information is to be found in a short account sent over from Sidney, where it was printed, intituled, *A Statement of the Objects of the Committee of the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Established in the Diocese of Australia, June 20th, 1836. With a Copy of the Rules and Orders, a Catalogue of Books, and a List of Contributions.*

With regard to the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* at home, we are unwilling to utter one syllable which has a polemical sound. Our cry is still for peace. But the Rev. Mr. Robinson and others, who have addressed the Standing Committee more than once, have now published both their own Memorials and some letters received from the Secretaries of the Society; and threaten, in no equivocal terms, ulterior proceedings at the Board, which must inevitably lead to vexatious controversy. We shall wait as long as we can: but, if silence is misunderstood, and forbearance is thrown away, we shall be compelled in our next number to discuss the subject in a fearless examination, founded upon these very extraordinary documents.

NOTICE OF BOOKS.

OUR object, although we must acknowledge that we have not hitherto been able to attain it, is to give a panoramic view of the theological literature of the day, both English and Foreign. The two great obstacles are, the necessary limits of our space, and the late or irregular arrival of publications. We hope, however, by degrees, if we cannot afford a separate criticism of each particular book, to give an arranged exhibition of them according to *subjects or classes*. At present, we reserve for future review,—“*The Book of the Patriarch Job, by Professor Lee.*” “*The Trinities of the Ancients, by R. Mushet, Esq.*” “*Dr. Vogan's Bampton Lectures;*” and, if we can find room, “*Mr. Melvill's Sermons preached at Cambridge in February, 1837,*” the Strictures of the *Christian Advocate* upon the *Oxford Tracts*, Mr. Woodgate's Late Sermon before the University of

Oxford, "*Robinson's Ecclesiastical Condition of the Kingdom.*" *The New Volumes of the collected Works of Dr. Chalmers; Lingard's, Lord Mahon's, and other Histories of England: and Mr. Tyler's admirable Consecration Sermon "on the Union of Truth and Love."*

The season, we think, has not hitherto been prolific of standard or elaborate works in Divinity. We are bound, however, to mention as exceptions, the continuation of Mr. Girdlestone's *Commentary on the Old Testament*; the *Harmonia Paulina* of Mr. Latham; and Mr. Bennett's excellent volume on the *Eucharist*.

SERMONS.

Parochial Sermons. By the Rev. Wm. Harness, Minister of Regent Square Parochial Chapel, St. Pancras. London: Rivingtons, and F. Crew.

WE much regret that these Sermons did not reach us in time for a more elaborate and adequate review than we can now afford them. They are worthy to be put, side by side, with the parochial discourses of Bishop Heber and Mr. Hare, being plain, practical, affectionate, and earnest, at once fervent and temperate, spiritual and well-reasoned, sound in theology and eloquent in language. When works are printed for a charitable purpose, we have frequently to praise rather the object of the publication than the publication itself: but Mr. Harness's volume contains its own eulogium; although it is an additional praise, and one which ought to increase its circulation, that it is published for *the benefit of the Infant and National Schools of the District* to which Mr. Harness is attached.

Sermons by the late Rev. T. Scott, Rector of Wappenham. Edited by the Rev. S. King. Seeley, Fleet Street.

THE name of *Scott*, whatever may be our opinions on some peculiar shades of doctrine, is a distinguished name among English divines. The author of these Sermons was the second son of the venerable commentator on the Bible; and far from disgracing his parentage, they do honour to one who must have richly benefited by the instructions of so learned and pious a father. They are faithful appeals to the mind and conscience, spiritual, searching, and awakening. Mr. King appears to have well-performed the duty of editorship; and has prefixed to the present volume an interesting memoir, reprinted, with a few necessary alterations, from the *Christian Observer*.

Parochial Lectures on the Holy Catholic Church. By William J. Irons, Curate of Newington.

THESE Lectures are like a London imitation of the Oxford Tracts; and some of the congregation at Newington must, we fancy, have admired rather than understood them, according to the old adage of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. They are, however, quite worth reading in themselves; and they are particularly curious as coming from the son of a Dissenting Minister. Yet we cannot help

thinking that Mr. Irons has, now and then, screwed up the principles of Church authority to a higher pitch than the evidence warrants, or than the state and tendencies of modern society are likely to bear.

AMONG other discourses eloquent and valuable, although containing some particular opinions, with which we cannot coincide, are *Sermons preached at Trinity Church, Chelsea, by the Rev. H. Blunt. Pastoral Sermons, preached at St. Mathews, Denmark Hill, by the Rev. T. Dale. The Apostolical Benediction, in four Discourses, by the Rev. E. Bickersteth. Lectures by the Rev. Dr. Laurie. Pinder's Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer. A View of the Life and Ministry of St. Peter, by the Rev. S. P. Dodd: and Practical Sermons, by the Rev. Denis Kelly, Curate of St. Bride's, Fleet Street.* Nor ought we to omit, without at least a passing commendation, the *Manual on Confirmation*, by Mr. Griffiths; or the *Mystery of Godliness*, by Mr. Ayre, or the *Trial of Practical Faith*, by Mr. Phillips.

CONTROVERSIAL PAMPHLETS.

THE number of Pamphlets to which these troubled times give birth, is something quite astonishing. Fourteen, for instance, are now lying together before us on the subject of Church-rates. We have already selected Mr. Hale's from the rest: because it is something more than a fugitive *brochure* on a transient occasion: because it is solidly learned, and will have an enduring interest and value when the present excitement on the matter shall have passed away. Many of the others also have been most serviceable to the Established Church. We might specify those of Dr. Nicholl, Mr. Deacon, and the Rev. William Goode; but it is perhaps invidious to proceed, because we must still omit some which ought to be inserted in the catalogue. The Attorney General and Mr. Manning are also no mean champions on their side. With regard to the conscientious scruples which some Dissenters entertain we extract some sentences from pp. 179, 180, of a recent publication called *The opinions of Lord Brougham*, and which, *mutatis mutandis*, are not inapplicable to *Church-rates*. The passage is headed curiously enough. "*When a Conscience can be dispensed with.*" If a witness were allowed to plead the tenderness of his conscience as an excuse for not giving his evidence, there would be an end of all inquiry. What would be said if one of the Society of Friends were to come into a court of justice, and say that his conscience not only precluded him from taking an oath; but, because he had strong feelings on the subject of capital punishments, also prevented him from giving evidence which might affect the life of an individual. The answer which would be given to such a person would be this:—"Sir, you have no right to have a conscience on such a subject at all; the legislature is the only judge of the necessity of taking away a man's life, and your notions of jurisprudence must not stand in the way of justice."

Several Pamphlets have also reached us, in answer to the Article on *Evangelical*

cal *Precaching* in the *Edinburgh Review*. But from this delicate topic we purposely abstain at the present moment.

RELIGIOUS POETRY.

Sabbatical Verses. By Joseph John Gurney. Arch, Cornhill.

IF we had not read the "*Advertisement*" prefixed we should have wondered much and long why this thin book of fifty-eight pages was published. But that curious document, dated *London, 5th Month, 24th, 1837*, explains the matter. It runs as follows:—"The following essays in verse have been composed during a period of much affliction, and have helped to soothe some of my solitary hours of sorrow. In the prospect of leaving my native land, in order to pay a visit, in the capacity of a minister of the Gospel, to some parts of America, I venture to present them to the Christian public of this country, as a farewell token of affectionate respect and regard." Our readers may be anxious to know what kind of legacy Mr. Gurney has bequeathed to poor Old England: and we therefore subjoin two stanzas from the last poem, called "*Christ the Bridegroom*." Psalm xlv.

"My thoughts a glorious theme indite,
And ready is my pen to write,
Thou fairest of the fair;
And swifter still my tongue to raise,
To thee an orison of praise,
For grace beyond compare.

O Lady, bow the listening ear,
My counsel condescend to hear—
The people once thy own,
Thy father's house, forget to love,
So shall the king thy charms approve,
Ah! worship him alone!

Such strains as these may almost console the country for the absence of Joseph John Gurney;—the loss sustained by whose departure, as we have really no acquaintance with him, we can only calculate from his *Sabbatical Verses*.

There are some pretty poems in the little unpretending volume, called the *Christian Companion*.

EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

AMONG educational works, or documents furnishing information, more or less valuable, on the subject, we have before us "*The Durham University Calendar*;" "*The first book of the Central Society of Education*;" "*The Third Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary*;" "*The first Annual Report of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society*;" "*Practical Remarks on Infant Education, by Dr. and Miss Mayo*;" and Dunn's "*Popu-*

lar Education, or the Normal School Manual." We feel that the whole matter demands from us again, although we have not been hitherto inattentive to it, a careful and elaborate investigation at the earliest possible opportunity; and certainly, when that time can be found, these are not publications to be neglected.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Early Recollections of Coleridge. By Joseph Cottle. 2 vols. Longman & Co. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

WE cannot pretend that these volumes, on the whole, are very valuable or very well written. But they contain some curious information respecting an extraordinary man and many of his associates; and a picture is presented to us, which, if in some parts melancholy, is not, on that account, the less interesting and instructive. Attention may be usefully directed to the circumstances and trains of thought, through which Coleridge, from being a candidate for a ministry among the Socinians, became so earnest and uncompromising an advocate of the doctrine of the Trinity. A most impressive warning, too, may be derived from the unfortunate poet's habit of taking opium and the other habits to which it led. Some of the details are absolutely terrific; and the following letter, which Mr. Cottle seems quite justified in publishing, is monitory indeed.

"Bristol, June 26th, 1814.

Dear Sir,

For I am unworthy to call any good man friend—much less you, whose hospitality and love I have abused; accept, however, my intreaties for your forgiveness, and for your prayers.

Conceive a poor miserable wretch, who for many years has been attempting to beat off pain, by a constant recurrence to the vice which reproduces it. Conceive a spirit in hell, employed in tracing out for others the road to that heaven, from which his crimes exclude him! In short, conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, and hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my state, as it is possible for a good man to have.

I used to think the text in St. James that 'he who offended in one point, offends in all,' very harsh; but I now feel the awful, the tremendous truth of it. In the one crime of OPIUM, what crime have I not made myself guilty of!—Ingratitude to my Maker! and to my benefactors—injustice! and *unnatural cruelty to my poor children!*—self-contempt for my repeated promise—breach, nay, too often, actual falsehood!

After my death, I earnestly entreat, that a full and unqualified narration of my wretchedness, and of its guilty cause, may be made public, that, at least, some little good may be effected by the direful example.

May God Almighty bless you, and have mercy on your still affectionate, and, in his heart, grateful—

S. T. Coleridge."

The English Martyrology. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Vol. I. Seeley, Fleet Street.

THIS volume did not reach us until we had made mention in another place of the name of Charlotte Elizabeth. It is an abridgment of Fox, forming part of the *Christian's Family Library*, dedicated to Queen Adelaide; and certainly not done without talent. Of Fox himself and his labours we may speak on another occasion. To the present work Mr. Bickersteth has prefixed some "introductory remarks," conspicuous for great fervour and sincerity; but we should hardly say for much discretion. It is indeed written in the Book of Revelations, "thus, *with violence, shall that great city, Babylon, be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all:*" it is indeed written by St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, "The Lord shall consume the wicked with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming:"—but we do not, therefore, see why Mr. Bickersteth should have printed the words, "WITH VIOLENCE," in small capitals; or why he should dogmatically say, "Popery, and *all adhering to it*, will be *visibly and suddenly* overthrown by Almighty Power." Is there no danger in language thus solemnly exciting? Is there no danger, if it spreads from men like Mr. Bickersteth to other persons far less able and less truly pious, that it will work like fire in some men's hearts, till it persuades them that, in departing from Christian charity, they are doing the special will of God, and even agitates them with the fearful conviction, that *they* are the destined instruments of "Almighty Power," commissioned to destroy WITH VIOLENCE, and achieve this "visible and sudden overthrow." Let us beware of that spirit, by which the gloomy but conscientious Covenanters made some text of the Bible, not merely a justification, but a command, for their own deeds of fanaticism and ferocity. It is, perhaps, a spirit not very dissimilar, through which the Papists themselves set light to the faggots of Smithfield, and bound their victims to the stake. For man can deem it a species of *impiety* to deal tenderly with his fellow men, if he has once imbibed the notion, as an element of his religious creed, that they are already under a judicial sentence of heaven,—a sentence which human means may be required to execute.

Politics of another World. By Mordecai. Effingham Wilson.

By sending to us these precious *Politics of another World*, the author, we suppose, intended to force them upon our serious notice. We can only say, that *Mordecai* must be disappointed; for his work is too contemptible to provoke it.

The Carthusian. Nos. I. II. S. Walker, Barbican.

THIS is an enterprise to which, on many accounts, we must wish well. And indeed it is impossible to contemplate, without a deep and lively interest, the development of youthful ability; whether it displays itself in prose, now sparkling with gaiety of spirit, as yet unsubdued by times and human vicissitudes, now breathing loftier aspirations, and giving promise of a maturity of excellence; or in poetry replete with graceful feeling and classical expression. The

contributions are of course unequal; and, if the subjects came legitimately within our sphere, we might hazard a few criticisms on one or two, which hardly rise above the level of boyish mediocrity. But the young adventurers, we doubt not, are already beginning to feel that there are some pains, and even some disappointments, connected with the *éclat* and the pleasure of authorship; and the editors, we are sure, recollecting that they have taken the literary honour of a distinguished school, in some measure under their guardianship, will be taught by experience to be more and more careful in their selections. Here our confidence is the stronger, because the second number is certainly an improvement on the first. For the rest, of every thing *Carthusian*, we would say in one word "*floreat!*" We only trust, that these youthful aspirants will not be diverted by any golden ball which may roll before them from the regular prosecution of severe and masculine studies. These are times, they may be assured, when such is the competition, that they who would win the race, must not swerve from the course.

The Rector of Auburn, in two volumes, is a well-intentioned story; but we cannot conscientiously award any high praise to the execution.

The Widow's Offering, a collection of miscellaneous pieces, also in two volumes, contains much interesting and amusing matter; and clearly shows that the late William Pitt Scargill must have been a man of most varied and considerable talent. On every account, we must wish to the work an extensive circulation.

We see advertised a memoir of the Rev. Edward Smedley, and also a collection of poems, called "*The Tribute*," to be written by various authors, and published for the benefit of his family. Lord Northampton has kindly undertaken the task of editorship: and from the celebrity of the writers who furnish contributions, we should look for a rich harvest merely from the intrinsic merits of the work. But there are other grounds why we trust that it will find a large number of purchasers. Mr. Smedley was one, who more than realized the heathen idea of "a good man struggling with the ills of fate:" he was a Christian, who, under a very severe visitation of God's providence, still patiently, cheerfully, uncomplainingly, exerted his real abilities in the only way which remained open to him, for the good of mankind, and the maintenance of those who depended on him for support. Under the painful circumstances with which he was visited he did more, perhaps, than almost any other man could, or would, have done: and we entertain a confident expectation, that the friends who admired him, and the public who were benefited by his labours, will do the rest.

There are many works which we could wish to notice, such as *Mr. Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies*; *Mr. Twiss's* excellent abridgment of *Niebuhr*; *Bulwer's Athens and the Athenians*; *Dr. Lardner's Letter to Lord Melbourne, on Steam Communication with India by the Red Sea*; and a vast number of single sermons and pamphlets. There are others, such as *Spartacus, a Tragedy*, and *Bertrand, a Tragedy*, which are quite out of our sphere; there are others, again, and some among them of real value, of which only parts

have been sent, and which we reserve for examination until the whole is completed.

The various illustrative works of the day seem almost, with each successive number, to increase in beauty and attractiveness. Mr. R. Mimpriss, the author of the Pictorial and Geographical Chart of the Gospels, "has published, together with an explanatory key, a companion chart of the Acts of the Apostles." It is an elaborate, useful, and magnificent work; and will, we sincerely hope, amply repay the toil and expenditure of the undertaking. Of these some notion may be formed, when we say, that the chart is beautifully coloured, and ornamented with a variety of figures; that its "size is five feet by four feet six inches," and that "the geography is compiled from the latest authorities, having both ancient and modern names of places.

The first number of the *Fathers*, to be published under the superintendence of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Newman, has not yet made its appearance; and, when we consider the magnitude and difficulty of the undertaking, far from wondering at the delay, we must be glad that such a work, instead of being precipitated in any respect, has every part of its details most carefully considered. Our own intention is first to give an article, written generally, as introductory to the study of the early Fathers, and removing some of the popular misapprehensions on the subject; and, afterwards, as the several treatises come out, to afford separate articles to some of the more eminent Fathers of the third and fourth century, as "Cyprian," Origen," Chrysostom," "Augustin."

We have been anxiously expecting, but hitherto in vain, the first number of the New Episcopal American Review. To such a publication, undertaken as we know it to be under the best auspices, and securing to itself conductors and contributors in whose principles and abilities full confidence can be reposed, we cannot but wish and anticipate a wide and influential success.

We have again to regret that many publications have reached us at a period in the quarter quite too late for any thing more than a bare enumeration of their titles. Among them, are the "*Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq., Vols. III. & IV.*;" "*The Christian Church, as distinguished from Popery and Puritanism. By the Rev. T. Griffith*;" "*The Progress of Creation. By Mary Roberts*;" "*The Rev. H. B. Draper on the Miracles*;" and "*Investigation, or Travels in the Boudoir. By Caroline Halsted*."

The same cause, namely, extreme lateness of arrival, precludes us, we are sorry to add, from inserting a very interesting statement, which has been kindly forwarded respecting the last examinations and general progress of the *Durham University*. May that noble institution flourish as it deserves!

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ART. I.—*Affaires de Rome.* Par M. F. de la Mennais.
Bruxelles. 1836.

THIS is a very curious and instructive work; and, though coming from the pen of an acknowledged partisan, and therefore not implicitly to be trusted, it deals too largely in facts, and has too much the air of truth, not to demand the attention of all Churchmen. That great and ancient power, the Church Catholic, which dates her origin from the first preaching of the Gospel, was founded by its inspired teachers, and claims to be indissolubly connected with its fortunes, has been taken captive by her enemies, blinded, and set to servile employments—to make men good citizens, and to promote the enlightenment and comfort of the world; except when she is brought out of the prison-house on some great pageant, “to make sport,” to invest the institutions of earth with something of a religious character, and to pay homage to its mighty men, as her creators and governors. Such at least is M. de la Mennais’s opinion; and this is the curious circumstance, that the Roman Church, so high and apostolic, as her champions in these parts would represent her, so voluntary, so law-less, so unshackled, is after all, according to this foreign witness, but an established thing, up and down the countries in which it ought only to sojourn, as much or more of a Law Church in practice, than our own. Indeed, the main difference between it and ourselves seems to be this; that we have hitherto been well-treated, and Romanists ill-treated by the civil power;—that we have received bread, and have obeyed through gratitude; and they have been robbed and beaten, till they fawned upon their oppressors out of sheer exhaustion. Certainly, of the two, ours has been the better bargain. The consequences are natural; two parties at present

wish our downfall; our ill-starred foreign brethren, to level us to themselves, and our own masters, to rival foreign spoliations. Whigs and Papists combine, the one from ambition, the other from envy; the one cry out, "I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit upon the mount of the congregation:" and the others begin to say, "Art thou also become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us?"

M. de la Mennais's book then is curious and instructive, as setting before us the actual state of the Roman Communion, both ecclesiastically and morally; and, in consequence, as holding out to us some warning of what may come on ourselves. It is curious moreover, as indicating the existence of a party within it, at variance with the present policy of its rulers, living upon historical recollections and ancient principles, and ripe for insurrection. Moreover, it is curious as exhibiting the *principles* of this insurgent party, which is faithful to the same mixture of truth and error, right and bad feeling, which has been the inheritance of its church for many centuries. It will be our endeavour to put the Abbé's volume before the reader in some of these various lights.

When good churchmen in England have, of late years, in our presence exclaimed against the various successful encroachments of the State upon that liberty which was their birth-right, it has been our wont to counsel them patience, by referring to the state of the Greek Church, in which the Great Turk, a mere heathen, or rather an antichrist, appoints the patriarch; under the feeling that we had no right to complain yet, when our rulers were appointed, not by pagans, only by schismatics, latitudinarians, profligates, socinians, and infidels. But the work before us suggests comfort nearer home; the poor Gallican Church is in a captivity, not only *doctrinal*, which we all know, but *ecclesiastical*, far greater than ours. M. de la Mennais mentions the following instances of it.

In 1801, Buonaparte, as consul, negotiated a concordat with the Pope, by which the government had secured to it the right of presenting to the French sees, on the condition of its "professing the Catholic religion."* It was stipulated, at the same time, that if the consuls or their successors ever ceased such profession, a new concordat should settle the mode of nomination. This arrangement was acknowledged and acted on under the Restoration, the kings being, by profession, "most Christian," and guardians of Catholicism. But after the events of the Three Days, the state could no longer fulfil its own part of the compact. Louis Philippe was king "by the grace of the people;" and was obliged, according to one of the fundamental principles of the

* P. 3.

Revolution, whatever he might be in his own person, to become an infidel by profession. It follows, in our author's words,—that “the government had no longer the right to present to the sees; and the danger was obvious of allowing ministers, who might be Deists, Protestants, Jews or Infidels, to choose the successors of the apostles of Jesus Christ.”* However, *the government continues to appoint the bishops as before*; and has availed itself of its privilege, to introduce into the hierarchy, persons who have justified the fears with which such a prerogative naturally inspired all pious men.†

An attempt has been made to encroach upon the rights of the Church in her inferior, as well as her highest appointments. The government has interfered in the appointment of parish priests. On a vacancy in a living the bishop of the diocese nominates the new incumbent; he has been expected by the new government to take his choice out of persons named to the minister of religion by the local magistracy. In the diocese of Nimes, instances have occurred of the government's taking the absolute nomination into their hands. One parish went without a clergyman for many months, because the bishop's nominee was opposed by a nominee of a colonel. In another, the appointment was given to a nominee of a Protestant mayor. M. de la Mennais adds: “Since the nomination of canons and vicars-general also was in the hands of the government, it followed, that the whole hierarchy fell directly or indirectly into the hands of enemies of the Church, *who, after having all their life had the vision of her ruin before their eyes, found themselves all at once in a situation to give her unsound ministers as many as they chose.*”‡ It is an edifying comment on this fact that M. Montalivet, when, as minister of religion, he had the disposal of all the government church patronage, avowed it his wish so to manage the education of the people as to destroy *superstition*.

The following acts are instances of interference, with still less regard to law or usage; political necessity being of course in part their excuse. A circular from the minister of religion to the bishops, enjoined them to add the name of Louis Philippe in the sentences in the service where “the king” is prayed for, “contrary,” says our author, “to the immemorial usage of the Church of France, respected even under Napoleon.”§ By another circular they were ordered to interdict the observance of certain festivals, declared not obligatory by the concordat; with a view

* P. 64.

† The Abbé mentions M. l'Abbé G., bishop of B.; M. l'Abbé R., of D.; and M. l'Abbé d'H., of M.

‡ P. 66.

§ P. 67.

of hindering the attendance at church on those days. Another circular ordered the clergy to warm the water used in baptism during the winter. In the dioceses of Lyons and Grenoble, the names of children are demanded for registration before baptism.

On the Abbé Gregoire's death, though he died in separation from the Catholic Church, the government took possession of a parish church, in Paris, and caused a solemn service to be performed over the body by some separatist priests. A like outrage occurred on the death of the Abbé Berthier, who died in schism; and the government intimated its intention, as a matter of right and duty, always so to act in parallel circumstances. Aristotle, if we mistake not, has been represented as inclining to the notion that pity is the long-scented presage of one's own participation in another's misfortunes. We sincerely pity the French Church.

The clergy are paid by the State, by a yearly budget. This salary was originally an indemnity in part of the immense spoliation of the church at the first Revolution, and was settled by the concordat of 1801. It has ceased to be considered a debt, as might easily be anticipated; and is increased or diminished at pleasure by the government, who claim the right of suppressing it altogether.

Instances have occurred of clergy being refused the bills due to them on the treasury, for their salaries, because the underlings of government have been dissatisfied with their mode of going on.* What sets off this proceeding is the circumstance, that according to French law, government cannot withhold a public functionary's pay, without proceeding to displace him: and if he cannot be displaced, without action in a court of law.

Lastly, the parish priests are under the immediate *surveillance* of the mayors, and for every day's non-residence are fined a portion of their stipend.†

Such is the state of the Church under a government which *professes* no religion; it is paid by the state, enslaved and insulted. No wonder; one is only surprised that it has fared no worse, from those who would get religion out of the world altogether, if they could. But what is surprising is, the hard treatment which religion has received from those who are commonly considered its best friends—the Bourbons of the Restoration, and the great conservative party who attached themselves to them. They retained Buonaparte's concordat of 1801, though formed on those principles of tyranny which he exercised towards all over whom he extended his patronage. The bishops were not permitted a freedom of intercourse with each other, or with Rome; and punishments, up to banishment, were assigned to any priest for correspond-

* P. 75.

† P. 68.

ing with what is to them the centre of Christendom. In spite of provincial and diocesan synods, and ecclesiastical courts, the Council of State was the sole judge of all disputes relative to religion and conscience.* Education was entrusted to a lay body, to the exclusion of the clergy; the religious management, and even teaching in schools, subjected to civil authority; religious fraternities legally permitted, only under a license revocable at pleasure. Much of this might be excused, on the plea that the Bourbons did but take what they found established; nay, even justified, on the plea of their Christian profession. But what shall we say to the two celebrated ordinances of June 16, 1828, which, though forced upon the reigning prince, attest thereby so much the more strikingly the slavery of the Church, under the system over which he nominally presided? By these all colleges were suppressed which remained in the hands of the clergy, and all ecclesiastical schools were put under the civil authority; the number of candidates for orders was limited, they were obliged to wear a particular dress, and their masters, having been previously approved by government, took an oath not to belong to any religious society not recognized by the state. Such was the legislative patronage extended by the Bourbons to the Church, in spite of their attachment to it. They did what they could,—favours, that is, which for the most part were personal only, and came to an end with themselves; or political favours which would come to an end with the civil power. They increased the number of the bishops, gave them seats in the chamber, increased their stipends, encouraged the ceremonies of religion, favoured its missions (as they were called); they did all but restore to the Church its own proper power—power over itself, over its members, or what, in the case of individuals, is liberty of person.

There is not much to choose, then, for the French Church, between friends and foes; except that friends are better behaved:—but how to account for this unanimity between them? At first sight, it seems obvious to attribute it to the present miserably irreligious state of France, which makes it impossible for its rulers, however well inclined, to do any real service to the Church. But M. de la Mennais has no difficulty in showing that the phenomenon is independent of the age and the place in which it has occurred. In France, it is as old at least as the reign of Louis XIV. and is, as he maintains, the working, not of infidelity, but of Gallicanism; which is, as it would really appear, but the surrender to the king of that illegal power over the Church, which had heretofore been possessed by the Pope. The Gallican principle is the vindication of the Church, not into independence, but into state patronage. The

* Pp. 46, 47.

liberties of the Gallican Church are its *establishment*, as, in Scripture language, "the servant of man." These liberties were solemnly recognized in the articles of the famous council held in Paris in 1682, in which was confirmed the king's claim to exercise in all churches within his kingdom, a right which he possessed but in portions of it, viz. that on a vacancy in a see, he should enjoy its revenues and its patronage till it was filled up. On the Pope's resisting the innovation, and refusing to confirm the bishops nominated by Louis, the latter, zealous for his church's liberty, caused them to be consecrated and inducted into their sees on his own authority. Next, he summoned the council in question, in which it was decreed,—1. that the Pope could not interfere with the temporal concerns of princes, directly or indirectly; 2. That in spiritual matters, he was subject to a general council; 3. That the rules and usages of the Gallican Church were inviolable; and 4. That the Pope's decision, in points of faith, was not infallible, unless attended by the consent of the Church. It matters little what is the wording of such resolutions, or what their precise doctrinal signification: they were aimed at the assistance afforded to religion by an external power against the pressure of the temporal power within, and they succeeded in making the king the head of the French Church, in much the same sense in which he is its supreme governor among ourselves. On the restoration of the Bourbons, Gallicanism returned with them, and its four articles were made the rule of the government schools. At first the clergy were little disposed to co-operate with the court, but a judicial decree in 1826 having declared the articles to be part of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they were gradually persuaded that resistance was hopeless, and looked about how they might admit them, without committing the Church to the practical consequences.

Such was the cautious course adopted by the Episcopal Bench, tending, however, according to M. de la Mennais, to commit the church to a position essentially schismatical, and so, ruinous to its highest interests. Under these circumstances, he made what seems to have been his first appearance as an ecclesiastical writer; he took up the defence of the Papal claims against the Gallicanism of the higher clergy; and fell forthwith under the animadversion of the police, (indulgent as it then was towards political publications,) for advocating, not any political measure, but certain theological doctrines which had formerly displeased Louis the XIV. Not infidelity, then, but Gallicanism, is the real enslaver of the French Church.

Yet even this fails of being the full and sufficient explanation of its captivity; as is plain from the circumstance, that the same cala-

mity has fallen upon Italy and Austria, countries apparently far removed from the contagion of Transalpine opinions. In Tuscany the police exercises a censorship on the pastoral letters and other writings of the bishops; and till lately, if not at present, in Piedmont also. In Venice and Lombardy the Austrian government has the sole control of the promulgation of the Pope's circulars and other acts. At Milan, publications against Roman rights and doctrines are freely permitted; while political works are strictly forbidden. Even in Spain, the crown had the power and the will, during the rebellion of its colonies, to hinder the Holy See for seven years from filling up the South American bishoprics as they fell.

Some deeper cause then exists, according to M. de la Mennais, for the slavery of religion throughout the Roman Communion; and he ascribes it to the fact of the temporal establishment of the Papacy. If the Church is to be free in each of the countries through which it is spread, it must, he considers, have some *point d'appui* to depend on. Rome, he considers, is this resting-point and centre of Catholicism. The church is one everywhere, while it concurs and determines in Rome; it becomes schismatical wherever it sets up a separate interest from it. Rome is, in this point of view, the guardian and security of the religious liberties of the whole world, being a court of final appeal between the Church and the local civil government. Hence it is the interest of the civil government, if it would subject its own Church to itself, to break it off from its centre of power, or to make it schismatical, in other words, to *establish* it. Formal schism is the ultimate state of civil protection. It was realized in England, he says, at the time of the Reformation; it has since been gradually, and is still, realizing, in the various countries which remain nominally attached to Rome. Such is the philosophy of M. de la Mennais; a few remarks upon it shall be made presently, but first let us complete our sketch of it.

This dislocation of the Church Catholic has been effected, he considers, by the evil influence exerted upon it by its temporalities. Her local rulers have been bribed or terrified into siding with the crown. In England she bartered her birthright for pottage. The case was, in some measure, the same in France, under the Restoration. The court party attempted to prove that religion could not exist healthily except under the protection of the state; and liberally offered that protection in return for its submission. "The cry then was," says M. de la Mennais, "'All goes well; there is nothing to fear for God's cause, the king protects it.' The king, in fact, condescended to allow it to choose a certain fixed number of young persons

for the service of its altars, always on condition of his superintending their education. The object was to relieve the Episcopate of this charge, *fatigued, as it was already, by its civil functions*; for this was a mode of making sure of it. The bishops laid down their mitres at the door of the chamber of peers; their crosiers at that of the council of state. Gold was lavished in exchange for an unconditional obedience.* And a satisfactory exchange it was, compared with what it has been the fate of Romanism to undergo, where rulers were not so conservatively or religiously minded. Bribery is out of date now; and the violences in France, since the revolution of 1830, and in Spain and Portugal during the last year or two, show us that fear rather than hope is now the approved instrument of the civil power in its warfare with religion.

Violence eventually defeats its own purpose; when men have nothing to lose, they have nothing to fear; and recollections and desires of the forgotten spiritual dominion of the church arise out of the destruction of its temporal. Such might already be the case with Romanism, but for the present state of "the centre of unity" itself, which, having been bribed long ago in common with its dependencies, has not yet been called upon to part with its portion of the "consideration." *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Hence, M. de la Mennais has no hopes for Christendom while the Pope is a temporal prince. To the great disgust, as it would seem, of the court of Rome, he maintains this to be the root of all the existing evil in the Church. He considers the See of St. Peter as the $\pi\tilde{\epsilon}\ \sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$, the fulcrum by which he is to move the world; and he finds it removed from the rock on which it was originally built, and based upon the low and marshy ground which lies beside it. Here, then, two points lie before us for examination, to which we shall apply ourselves, the supposed true position, according to our author's theory, of the Papacy in the Church Catholic, and its actual condition at the present day.

It is impossible to determine, and it is useless to speculate, what designs Providence proposed to fulfil by means of the Church, which have not been answered. In the Mosaic law we find an anticipation of a time when the government of Israel should be kingly, yet the actual adoption of that form of polity was, under the circumstances, a sin in the people. In like manner the Papacy, too, may be a human and a rebellious work, and yet, in the divine counsels, a centre of unity may have been intended for the Church in process of time. Such speculations are only admissible as tending to account for the mingled and apparently inconsistent

* P. 301.

strain in which one is forced in this day to speak of the Papal power, as an evil, yet not a pure evil, as in itself human, yet, relatively to the world, divine. Providence carries on His mysterious work by instruments which are not simply His own; as he is now effecting great good in the world by the British power, in spite of its great religious errors, so surely He may, in a dark age also, be represented by a light short of the brightest and purest. This subject has lately come before us in an article on the rise of the Papal power. And, in like manner, at this day also, in an infidel state like France, the Romanizing Church there existing may, *relatively*, be God's minister, as if it were as pure as the primitive. Moreover, we of this generation, may be quite unequal to the task of separating accurately between what is human and what divine in the system under review, and, except in greater matters, of saying this is Apostolic, this is Popish. This remark must be borne in mind in the following account of M. de la Mennais's system. We do not simply assent to what he advances, yet there is much in it which demands attention. We admit often his facts and principles, not his conclusions and applications.

It is matter of history, then, that the Latin Church rose to power, not by the favour of princes but of people. Of course, when the barbarian leaders poured down upon the Roman empire, she made alliance with them, and so far made use of them. In like manner she afterwards availed herself of the Normans. But if we look at the elementary foundation of her power, and the great steps by which she built it up, we seem to discern the acts, not of a parasite but of a rival of imperial greatness, appealing to the people, maintaining the freedom and equality of all men in the Gospel. The Church, indeed, would have been a specimen of a singular sort of constitution, such as the world has never seen, had it been developed upon its original idea:—an indefinite number of sovereigns, elected at a mature age, from and by this respective people, yet not without the necessary approbation and assistance of each other, bound together in districts, absolute within their respective limits, regulated without by fixed laws, and converging to more and more distant points of union, till they terminated in a few, or even a single centre. The waters of this world were not still enough, to allow such a system duly to crystallize; but what we do see from the first, and what actually was fulfilled with whatever divergence from the original direction, is religion's throwing itself upon the people, its resorting to passive obedience as its legitimate defence, its collision with the temporal powers, and again, its conquest over them. The martyrdom of St. Laurence is a singular illustration of what, perhaps, in the Apostolic plan, was intended to be the Church's course

always in like circumstances: As Archdeacon of Rome, he was in possession of the Church's treasure; the civil power demanded it. Here was the problem of which we are in this day reminded daily. How is the Church to have property, yet not be dependent on the State? If the State guarantees its security, it has a right to interfere. This is instanced at the present time, even as to the miscellaneous and liberty-loving sects of the American Union. There, an Independent or Baptist communion, we believe, *cannot* expel one of its members without showing cause to the state that the deed is equitable. Why? Because the religious body being chartered for the legal possession of property, excommunication is a *civil* injury to the ejected party, unless he has violated the fundamental rules of the corporation. Profession of certain doctrines may, of course, be made one of the conditions of membership, and when the case turns upon points of doctrine the state does not interfere; but the previous question, whether or not it is a point of doctrine that is in dispute, falls, as we understand, under the cognizance of the civil courts. Such is the consequence of *accepting* the protection of the state; what is the consequence of *refusing* it? Does it imply the necessity of surrendering or being robbed of the Church's property, when demanded by the civil power? St. Laurence answers in the negative. He refuses to give it up, and is burned for refusing. Doubtless, in the long run, the gridiron of St. Laurence would be found a more effectual guarantee of Church property than a coronation oath or an act of parliament. A burning here and there, once or twice a century, would have, on the whole, ensured to the Church the unmolested enjoyment of her property throughout her dominions down to this day. Public opinion would have ultimately protected the persecuted without law.

The opposition made by St. Ambrose to the Empress Justina, affords a second illustration of the successful employment, on the part of the Church, of non-resistance, and passive maintenance of the truth, in her dealings with the princes of this world. Such conduct brought the multitude on his side, as by a *natural* law; and that illustrious bishop, by merely doing nothing, was able to overcome the court, just as the Apostles may be supposed in some cases to have incited the enthusiasm of spectators by their miracles, and to have effected cures involuntarily, over and above their supernatural powers, by the sympathetic influence of the imagination.

Such is the basis on which the Papacy, with whatever corruptions, has been reared. The second and third Gregories, appealed to the people against the emperor, for a most unjustifiable

object, and in, apparently, a most unjustifiable way. They became rebels to establish image-worship. However, even in this transaction, we trace the original principle of Church power, though miserably defaced and perverted, whose form—

“ Had yet not lost
All her original brightness, nor appeared
Less than Archangel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured.”

Upon the same basis, as is notorious, was built the ecclesiastical monarchy. It was not the breath of princes or the smiles of a court which fostered the stern and lofty spirit of Hildebrand and Innocent. It was the neglect of self, the renunciation of worldly pomp and ease, the appeal to the people. “The scandals of the tenth century,” says Gibbon, “were obliterated by the *austere and more dangerous virtues* of Gregory the Seventh and his successors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the Church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom, must engage the favour and sympathy of every catholic breast. And sometimes thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world; nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest, whose feet were kissed, or whose stirrup was held by the successors of Charlemagne.”—chap. 69. With this great spectacle of the middle ages before his eyes, M. de la Mennais asks, how has this power come to an end? What is the proximate cause of its loss? what was it the power *consisted* in? History answers him in the spirit of the foregoing passage:—it was in asceticism; it fell when the Popes condescended to take part in the intrigues of the Italian states as mere temporal princes, instead of ruling by a pure spiritual sway, as might have been, the “*luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras*” of the European world. The temporal splendour of the Popedom has been the ruin of its spiritual empire; M. de la Mennais’s scheme accordingly is this, that the present Pontiff should utterly neglect his temporalities, take a high line, exert his spiritual powers, throw off the absolute courts who are his present supporters, and place himself at the head of the democratic movement throughout Europe. He writes most eloquently on this subject.

“What strikes one at first sight in Rome, as it is, is the almost entire absence of action, and her humiliating dependence on temporal sovereignties. Immense questions have been agitated in the world; they have

possession of all minds, kindle all hearts, they are fermenting through society, and disquiet it as a raging fever, what has Rome said? Not a word. A deep revolution is in process in the bosom of Christendom, the insurgent people shatter in pieces their old laws, their ancient institutions, call loudly for a new order of things, and, being resolved to establish it, violently overturn the obstacles which are put in their way; what has Rome done? not a thing. Her power is attacked and defended, her doctrine is questioned, from all quarters voices are raised, suppliant voices, Catholic voices. 'Speak,' they say, 'speak that your children may learn from your mouth what to believe; may know what to hold by concerning the faith, their duties, nay, your rights; what has been Rome's answer, what her decision? nothing at all. Her authority is forgotten, her jurisdiction encroached on by the powers of the world, who shackle and break the intercourse of pastors with people, and by force or fraud commit whole populations to schism; what battles has she fought in behalf of her independence, by way of saving from spiritual death these unfortunate portions of Christ's flock? not one. . . . The Vicar of Jesus Christ, in the exercise of his divine functions, is dependent on the engagements and interests of the temporal prince; obliged in consequence of his weakness in the line of pure politics to temporize with the most dangerous enemies of the Church, in spite of himself he is drawn into a system of concessions which is ever enlarging and must end in the ruin of Catholicism: concessions in the choice of bishops, concessions on points of discipline;—what shall I say? 'He stretches out his hands, and another binds him, and leadeth him whither he would not.' His children are in fear about every one of his acts, and above all about his speaking. How anxiously do they watch his lips, divinely destined to teach the nations, lips from which could proceed at every instant truth in all its power! He whose voice ought to resound through the whole world with a heavenly energy, is not free for aught but the silent prayer at the foot of the cross. Is this then the Supreme Pastor, the head of the universal society instituted by Jesus Christ—what a state then are we in! O Father, whom God has given to guide us in our exile, to show us the way home, if the expression of our grief has in appearance aught of bitterness or rudeness, it is that our affection for you has no limits, and that our whole soul is in suffering on seeing the extreme humiliation to which you have been reduced! . . . To justify these concessions, this deplorable subjection of the Eternal See to the thrones which rise in the morning and fall at evening, the interests of religion itself is alleged. But what interest can it have apart from the liberty of the ministry, the liberty of preaching, of discipline, and of sacraments? forsooth, it will be persecuted, it will be oppressed. What! has it not been persecuted from the first? was it not in the bosom of persecution, at the stake and on the scaffold, amid the furious cries of the populace and the crafty chains of edict-makers, that it made its first greatest and swiftest advance? Has it not promises which will not pass away, a force which nothing can overcome?"—p. 243—6.

This extract is enough as a specimen of the line of argument taken by M. de la Mennais, and his mode of defending it; and

whatever be thought of the duty of the Pope under his circumstances, which is another matter, no one can doubt that his temporal power is in fact the immediate cause of his pusillanimous conduct. We do not mean that he would forthwith start up a Gregory or Innocent if he gave it up, or that his people to the extremities of the Roman Church would at once recognize in him their rightful sovereign and master. That he is at this day a temporal prince, and that he is on the other hand enslaved in spirituals, are rather joint effects of some deeper and more real causes; still it is true that the Papal monarchy so depends upon the renunciation of mere temporal dominion, that while the Pope has the latter, he cannot aspire to the former. And if, as our author considers, an universal empire is an object to be desired, the fashions of the world, the pomp of a temporal court, worldly alliances and engagements, wealth, rank, and ease, certainly must be laid aside.

Full of these ideas, M. de la Mennais wished on the Revolution of the Three Days to have established in France what he would consider a purer ecclesiastical system than the existing one. Believing that the Church Catholic was equal to any emergence or variety of human society, he desired her to throw herself upon the onward course of democracy, and to lead a revolutionary movement, which in her first ages she had created. She had risen originally as the champion of suffering humanity; let her now return to her first position. Times indeed far different had intervened; in the last three centuries especially she had ruled by means of secular influences, and her instruments were of a secular character. The order of Jesuits especially, which had fought her battle, was well suited to the circumstances in which through that period she found herself. They were as well-fitted for a smooth, polished, learned, and luxurious era, as the begging friars for the centuries before them. But now that their season is over, they are out of place. "*Tempus abire tibi est;*" and nothing is more to be deprecated for the Church than their not understanding this. A time of revolution is at hand; rougher deeds, more sifting and subtle inquiries, more recondite principles, a stronger mode of action, have to be encountered than suit the Jesuits. The Jesuits have been too much men of the world, have had too little meditation, too little originality of mind, and independence of conduct, and romance and grandeur of character, to serve the present exigencies of the Church. They have succeeded, not by immediately acting on the people, but by acting upon rulers and great men. "Under a popular government," asks our author, "what would they be? deprived of their peculiar advantage of secular force, reduced to the influ-

ence which mind exerts on mind, they will soon disappear in the crowd." The Church must have instruments according to her need. Liberty is the cry of the day; Christian liberty is the idea which the Church must develope, and on which the society which lies before us is to be built. The cry for liberty, he considers, to be no irreligious or inordinate feeling; it is the voice of truth, of our best nature; it is a religious sentiment, which acts irregularly and extravagantly only because in the existing system it is not allowed legitimate vent. The popular disorders and violences are but perversions of what is in itself holy and divine.

Now here we seem to see the elementary error of M. de la Mennais, an error fruitful in many others, and which betokens him the true disciple of the Gregories or Innocents of past times. He does not seem to recognize, nay, to contemplate the idea, that rebellion is a sin. He seems to believe in the existence of certain indefeasible rights of man, which certain forms of government incroach upon, and against which a rising is at any time justifiable. Accordingly what we, in our English theology, should call the lawless and proud lusts of corrupt nature, he almost sanctifies as the instinctive aspirations of the heart after its unknown good. Such were the cravings of Eve after the forbidden fruit; some such vision of a *summum bonum*, unpossessed but attainable, did the tempter suggest to her. But the promise, "Ye shall be as gods," seems in M. de la Mennais's system to be a sufficient justification of rebellion. Hence he is able to draw close to the democratical party of the day in that very point in which they most resemble antichrist; and by a strange combination takes for the motto of his *L'Avenir*, "*Dieu et la Liberté*."

Starting from this beginning it is not surprising he should practically quite discard the doctrine, that the "many are always bad;" he seems to consider them only mistaken. The excesses, tumults, and waywardnesses of popular feeling, all that is evidently sinful and irreligious in what are called "the masses," he lays at the door of their rulers; who, by damming or obstructing the current of their instinctive and most laudable desires after something they have not, have caused it to overflow, or to be furious. We almost could fancy he held that the multitude of men were at bottom actually good Christians: certainly he speaks of them with compassion and tenderness, as mistaken children, who mean only to pursue their own good, but know not how. Here again is a clear connexion between his theology and the popular philosophy of the day. He is a believer in the gradual and constant advance of the species, on the whole, in knowledge and virtue,

and here he does but faithfully represent the feeling, nay, doctrine of his Church. They who look at antiquity as supplying the rule of faith, do not believe in the possibility of any substantial increase of religious knowledge; but the Romanist sees in his Church a standing revelation, like the series of Jewish prophets, unfolding from time to time fresh and fresh truths from the abyss of the divine counsels.

“Whether one looks without, or retires into one’s own soul,” our author eloquently says, “to inquire about this mysterious instinct of the future inherent in every creature, everything warns us that a great transformation is in preparation. Life, withdrawing itself into its recesses, palpitates there with vigour; the outward dress which it has worn is withered by the breath of time. A twofold throe of destruction and regeneration, but the latter scarcely apparent to those who do not penetrate beneath the surface, is in operation throughout society. Society rejects her old institutions, henceforth dead; she rejects the ideas which animated them *before reason was raised to a more enlarged notion of right, more exact and pure. New sentiments, new principles, announce a new era.* The voices which issue from the ruins of the past, convey to the ears of the young generation strange sounds which astonish them, vague words which they understand not. Full of ardour and confidence, they make for that point in the heavens where they see the light, leaving behind them the ghosts of what is no more, to creep away and utter their wailings in the night. Retreat or stop they cannot, if they would. An irresistible power forces them onwards. What matter the perils, the fatigues of their march! They say, like the Crusaders, ‘It is the will of God.’ Genius too is a prophet. From the mountain height she has descried the land far away where the people shall repose on leaving the wilderness; and our posterity, one day possessed of that happy land, shall repeat from age to age the name of him whose voice cheered their fathers during their journey.”—pp. 209, 210.

In consequence he has very little sympathy with those who, *on principle*, resist innovations, whether as thinking the changes proposed intrinsically wrong, or, though right in themselves or desirable, yet forbidden to them, and, therefore, if made, to be made by Providence himself, not by man’s taking the first step. He has a keen perception of the truth that Almighty power has promised empire to the Church; but, like Jeroboam, he cannot bear to wait God’s time. He is not content with cherishing the promise and making much of it, but he goes about to fulfil it by his own devices. The Pope may, for him, be acting the part of David under Saul, but gets no credit from M. de la Mennais: or, again, he considers the voice of nations and the visible course of things to be God’s voice, and a sufficient warrant for our moving according to them; the fact that things change and revolutions take place to be a command to take part in change and

revolution. It is not wonderful that with these principles he cordially approves of what the Roman Church and Mr. O'Connell are doing in Ireland, sympathizes in their struggle, and holds them up for the edification of the Pope and Papal world.

With such sentiments M. de la Mennais ought to profess expedience as the great rule of politics; and he certainly seems to do so, as much so as if he professed himself an infidel. He almost seems to consider that politics do not admit of being made the subject matter of duty. The French clergy returned with the Bourbons;—one might suppose there were some old recollections of loyalty, or even vows of allegiance, to attach them and to excuse their attachment to the sons of St. Louis. Far from it; he measures the unfortunate family only according to their power of advancing the interests of the Church; and considers they may be cast off without pity, if he does but succeed in proving that it is inexpedient to hold by them. The Church is always free and unshackled with pledge or promise; able to take up or put down any power of the earth at pleasure, as if the duty of self-protection dispensed, not merely with the obligation of forming engagements, but of keeping them when formed. “In a country,” he says, “where the sovereignty is in dispute, or civil war is threatening, neutrality is the first interest of the Church, unless it be its first duty.”* This he applies as a guiding principle to the French Church at the present moment. Doubtless it is sage advice; and it *may* be also honourable; but whether it be honourable or not seems, in his view, an irrelevant question. In like manner he is not very scrupulous by *what* means the Church is supported, provided it thrives and has its way. He will allow the clergy to receive their bread from aliens. “It is an error,” he says, “to suppose that Catholics only would support the Catholic clergy. In a country where a religion is universally spread, it draws into its service those even who are strangers to it.”†

In a word, he is thoroughly *political* in his views and feelings. Quiet, repose, an invariable course of obedience, without object beyond itself, is, to all appearance, in his eyes a slavery. He sympathizes with the feeling of the day in thinking that energy, activity, bustle, extraordinary developments of intellect, are parts of the high and perfect state of the human mind; and that to be a freeman, is to have the power and will to inroad upon others. He divides modes of life into the ambitious and the selfish, as if thereby exhausting the subject.

“Deprived of political rights, of which the very name is unknown, they have no part, direct or indirect, either in government or adminis-

* P. 59.

† P. 78.

tration. Self is the sole object of every one ; and, consequently, putting religion out of question, gain is all in all with some, present enjoyment with others. Repose, laziness, slumber, interrupted from time to time by spectacles which excite the senses, this is the happiness of men who, notwithstanding, possess still a germ of elevated and energetic sentiments. No public life, nothing in consequence to rouse a noble activity, nothing social :—the established *regime* everywhere keeps it under by unworthy private interest.”—p. 108.

Such is M. de la Mennais’s view of the interests and duties of Romanism, and we candidly confess we take him to understand it better than the Pope. He lays down, with great truth, the maxim, that of every institution a certain *idea* is the vital principle, on losing which it dies ; and then he proceeds to declare, that popular influence is the life of the papacy. That wonderful power has, indeed, been like some Grecian demagogue, some Dionysius of Syracuse ; it has been a tyranny based on democratical institutions. Its aristocratical influences have arisen not from the framework of its polity so much as from the spirit of its worship, which retains, in great measure, the reverence, sanctity, and highmindedness, of the real Gospel. Religious awe has refined and ennobled what else would have been rude and popular. But, while its carriage is aristocratic, the true basis of its power is the multitude ; and de la Mennais, like a keen-sighted man, has discovered and zealously inculcates this truth. And of this truth he has been the confessor, and, as far as a man can be in these times, the martyr. He has fallen, as might be expected, under the displeasure of the Pope, is in consequence thrown out of all his means of usefulness, and is shunned by his former associates. Such are the consequences of being wiser than one’s generation.

The history of this transaction, from first to last, is the direct object of his writing the work, which is the subject of this article ; and gives life to the speculations of which it is made up ; and there is so much curious matter introduced into it that we must not leave our readers altogether in ignorance of it. It seems then, that in 1830, on the Revolution of the Three Days, M. de la Mennais, and his friends, who had already taken the Pope’s side against the Gallicanism of the Bourbons, yet without any intention whatever of exalting thereby the Pope, as they *found* him, but of imposing on him *duties*, availed themselves of the unsettled state of the relations between the Church and the new government, to advocate the independence of the former in a periodical which they called *L’Avenir*. They perceived that its dependence on the state, or its establishment, was the one thing on which the French government was set ; and they thence argued, independent of

their own particular theory and the recollections of history, that its independence was the one thing which it needed:—

“Though the Catholics,” he observes, “had not seen by themselves the evil which had accrued to them, and was accruing from the union of Church and State, they might have divined it from the language of their adversaries. There was, indeed, but one thing they all desired and sought, the maintenance of that union. Read the government journals, follow the debates in the Chambers, listen to the orators in their hostile remarks upon religion and the Clergy; you will find at the bottom of what they urge but this one view,—the State must name the bishops, and superintend the choice of parish Clergy, it must have a hold over the parties intervening between the bishops and the Pope, it must examine the bulls issued by the holy see before allowing them to be executed; it must hinder the spread of bad, that is, Roman doctrines; in short, it must preserve the supreme direction of spiritual matters, and, in consequence, it must pay the Clergy, since every Clergy which is not paid in one form or other, becomes sooner or later independent, and places the government under the necessity of respecting such independence, or of destroying itself while persecuting religion by fire and sword.”—p. 71.

Here we may observe, by way of corollary upon the doctrine of this passage, that in England the party now in power will ever act towards the Church in the spirit of the policy here explained. We have nothing to fear for the *Establishment* from them. If any party will fight sincerely and stoutly for it, it is that party. They fear the Church too much to let her go; at present they are but weakening her, as they hope, while they retain her. It is the kind and considerate office you perform to birds when you clip their wings, that they may hop about on a lawn, and pick up worms and grubs. Liberals do but want a *tame* Church.

But to proceed:—The *L'Avenir* commenced in October, 1830, and was continued daily. A month had hardly elapsed when it attracted the attention of government, on occasion of its protesting against the appointment of a liberal bishop. An action was commenced against the editors; and interest was excited in their behalf. A subscription was opened to defray the expenses of the prosecution. When the trial came on, a bold avowal was made of anti-Gallican Romanism on the part of the defendants, and an acquittal followed. This was a promising beginning; the *L'Avenir's* fame spread; its circulation extended; it converted liberals and Protestants; the Roman bishops of Ireland, assembled in council, pronounced it to be “un journal véritablement Chrétien;” “its words found an echo” in England, Belgium, and the New World, from New Orleans to Boston. A society called “*L'Agence Générale*” seconded its efforts. Similar journals and similar societies began to rise in other cities of France; when, alas, the

conductors of these proceedings found that that power was against them, whose true interests they were desirous most to subserve. The names of heretics and schismatics began to be applied to them. The reading of their journal was forbidden in many dioceses; on the suspicion of being concerned in it, professors were deprived of their chairs, and parish priests of their livings. What M. de la Mennais, somewhat rhetorically perhaps, calls "*une inexorable et vaste persécution*" was projected against these champions of Romanism in its purest and most primitive form. They were attacked in religious publications, injurious motives assigned to their proceedings; their views misrepresented; even their words misquoted. They were accused, most unjustly surely, of being innovators like Luther.* But the remarkable thing was, that amid this disturbance the bishops kept still as the grave; no statements were fixed upon for condemnation; all was vague suspicion, surprise, and uneasiness at what seemed so novel and so chimerical. Next the notion spread, not unreasonable certainly, that not clergy, or bishops, or government, or royalists, alone were displeased at their proceedings; but that the new Pope himself had to be convinced of the expediency and propriety of them. Gregory XVI., the present Pontiff, had just ascended the papal throne; and in the winter of 1831-1832 they found it necessary to suspend the publication of their journal, after a run of thirteen months, and to repair to him for the purpose of vindicating their proceedings.

When they set out, they professed they were but going to ask and accept the doctrine of truth from the Pope's mouth. "O, father!" they exclaim in the *L'Avenir*, "deign to cast your eyes on some of the lowest of your children, who are accused of being rebels to your infallible and gentle authority. Behold them before you, read their soul; there is nothing there they would conceal. *If one of their views, one only differs from yours, they disavow it, they abjure it.* You are the *Rule of their doctrines*; never have they held others, never."

Meanwhile the successor of St. Leo and St. Gregory was engaged in certain diplomatic transactions with the schismatical court of St. Petersburg, which indisposed, if not incapacitated him from exercising impartially the high spiritual functions to which his children made appeal. He was providing for the safety of his temporalities imperilled by the seizure of Ancona by the French, and had no heart for authoritatively deciding any new

* M. de la Mennais's account of Protestantism is as follows, being almost terse and descriptive enough for a Dictionary: "*Système bâtard, inconséquent, étroit, qui, sous une apparence trompeuse de liberté, se résout pour les nations dans le despotisme brutal de la force, et pour les individus dans l'égoïsme.*"—p. 342.

and delicate question in doctrine. M. de la Mennais came to him as an oracle of *doctrine*, and found him only disposed to give *political* directions. Nothing can be more discordant, less capable of a common measure, than a question of abstract religious truth, and a question of practice and matter of fact as to the measures to be pursued by one secular power towards another; as discordant was the position of the Pope with that of the conductors of the *L'Avenir*.

The French Revolution in July, 1830, had been followed in no long time by insurrection within the papal territories; Austria intervened to reduce the revolting cities; and France took possession of Ancona to keep Austria in check. These events placed the sovereign Pontiff between two opposite dangers; his fears from France are intelligible enough; Austria, on the other hand, had always been supposed to covet the portion of the pontifical states on the north of the Apennine; and the suspicion had been so strong in Rome, in 1821, that the government had not allowed the Austrian forces to pass through the city on their way to Naples. Whilst then the Pope was in this unpleasant dilemma, Russia stepped in and offered her aid. She alleged that *she* could not possibly have any interested views as regards the Italian peninsular, either revolutionary or ambitious, and she offered to place a force at the Pope's disposal to defend him against all emergencies. In return she did but ask, that the Pope would take the part of the Autocrat against Poland, and instruct the Polish Roman bishops accordingly. The offer was accepted on the specified condition.

Such were the matters which occupied the mind of the Supreme Pontiff, during the visit of de la Mennais and his friends. They continued there from January to July; and with difficulty obtained an interview with him—the condition being exacted of them, that they would not in the course of it say a word about the matters which brought them to Rome. They then addressed a memorial to him, explaining their views and principles; after some weeks an answer came in a short note from the cardinal who had presented it (Pacca), that the Pope's disapprobation of their proceedings continued, but that the inquiry they had asked was in progress. Finding nothing more could be done, at length they determined to depart; and in their way back they received from Cardinal Pacca, together with a copy of the Pope's Encyclical Letter on his accession which had just been published, his formal decision concerning themselves. The Cardinal was instructed to express the Pope's satisfaction at their dutiful conduct in submitting their doctrines to his judgment; that he undertook the more readily the examination of them, as having been addressed

by bishops from all quarters, who desired the solemn decision of the infallible see on the doctrines of the *L'Avenir*; doctrines which had excited so much attention, and occasioned so much division among the clergy; that accordingly he had made mention of them in his Encyclical Letter; that it pained him to see they brought before the public delicate matters, which belonged to himself to determine; that he condemned their doctrines relative to civil liberty, toleration, and the liberty of the press; that as to religious toleration, "though, *under certain circumstances, prudence requires it as the less evil, it should never be represented by a catholic as a good or a thing desirable*;" lastly, that he was relieved by recollecting the solemn and commendable promise they had made and published, that they would accord "an unqualified submission to the Vicar of Jesus Christ."*

Now, at first sight, one might think the whole matter settled; here are Catholics asking the Pope's commands and they receive them; they represent themselves as his dear and devoted and most afflicted sons, and intreat him to rescue them from the painful state of suspense and indecision which his silence occasions. The Pope at length opens "his oracular mouth;" what remains but to obey? nothing less: a new and large question arises, viz. to decide in what cases and about what things obedience is due to the Pope; and M. de la Mennais, in spite of his contempt for Protestantism, likes his private judgment, and, in spite of his fear of national religion, almost relapses into Gallicanism, when he finds he must give way, if the Pope does not.

A Roman Catholic is bound to *believe* the Pope's decision as true in matters of doctrine, and to submit to it as imperative in matters of discipline; but the critical question is, what are matters of doctrine? The Church is supposed to declare "the word of God"—but she cannot declare more than she has received; what are the limits of the revelation, and of her message? Are the questions of civil liberty, the liberty of the press, and the like, included in it? can they in consequence be turned into points of faith? is the Pope's decision concerning them to be *believed* or *obeyed*? The Pope says, believed; M. de la Mennais, obeyed. He offers, that is, to *yield in his conduct*, he puts an end to the *L'Avenir*, and breaks up his Association. Is not this enough? No; he must receive the Pope's decision with an "interior assent;" he must profess his *belief* that it is true. He asks, What is the *medium* by which its truth is recommended to me? if it *be* doctrine, then indeed I do believe it sincerely; for I know fully well, that, in spite of all errors in other matters, in spite of corruption of system, of temporalities, political engagements, and whatever else

* Page 156.

is wrong in the state of Rome, the Pope is assuredly infallible in points of doctrine. He has the whole message of Divine Truth latent in him ; this I believe as piously as the Protestant believes it is all written in Scripture. I assent to it on the same ground on which he assents to what is Scriptural ; but after all, is there not a real distinction, such as no one can mistake, between politics and religion, and am I bound to believe the Pope in the former ? am I obliged to denounce, for instance, the Polish revolt, as if in obedience to an article of faith ? “ Such an engagement,” he actually says, “ is supremely repugnant to *my conscience*. If the profession of Catholicism involved the principle of it, I never had been a Catholic, for never had I admitted it, never should I have been able. In every case, to subscribe to it without an inward conviction, without belief, had been a cowardly and odious lie ; not the whole world would have persuaded me to it.”* M. de la Mennais then, as is very evident, is brought into a worse dilemma than he describes the Pope to lie in between the French and Austrians. Matters, which he maintains are purely political, and which he considers to be so declared by previous ecclesiastical decisions, are forced upon him from Rome as if matters of faith. Which way is he to turn ? he refuses to accept them, and defends his refusal, as far as we are able to follow him, in the following simple but very observable manner ; viz. he thinks that he has the right of *interpreting* the Pope’s words in *accordance* with *his own* interpretations of the previous decisions of the Church. This is worthy of attention, because it shows that objections brought by Protestants in controversy against the Roman theory of infallibility, are not so unreal and subtle as Romanists would represent them ; who are apt to reply, that the doctrine *works well*, is easy and intelligible in practice, in spite of abstract difficulties. Now, here we have M. de la Mennais on our side, as an instance in fact, as well as an authority. He seems almost to maintain, *i. e.* as far as he allows himself to think on the subject, that the true sense of previous decisions of the Church may be so clear to the apprehension of men in general, that when a new Encyclical issues from Rome, opposing their interpretation of them in its letter, they are bound to explain it away rather than to renounce the view of doctrine they have already gained from them. If this be the case, the Romanist is abandoned to his private judgment as well as the Protestant. But let us hear his own words ; he thus describes the various feelings of Roman Catholics on the present political position of the Pope.

“ One portion of Catholics, as it seems the most considerable, have hushed their thoughts, repressed the beating of their hearts, shut their

* Page 167.

eyes, and journey on in silence as moving statues, along the path pointed out to them by their supreme guide. Others comment on his words, and by way of reconciling them with their own views, put on them forced interpretations, inconsistent with each other and with the simple and clear sense which they carry with them. They have denied that this sense can be that which the Pope had intended to express; and why? because it appeared to them contrary to doctrines expressly authorized, and shocked their most profound convictions. *They said not the Pope is mistaken in so teaching, but the Pope cannot so teach, for else he would be mistaken.* Now does not in truth the subject matter of our reasonings, *ipso facto*, cease to have existence, directly we claim in whatever degree the right of reasoning about it? In matter of Catholic faith, from the interpretation to the decision is but one step and an immediate one. Many have thought to escape from the embarrassment in a more simple manner. We are subject, they have said, to the authority of Rome, but only in things spiritual; else we do not recognize it. Good; but who shall determine what is spiritual and what not? If Rome herself, evidently you obey altogether and always; if yourselves, you only obey as far as you please. In the former case, what becomes of your distinction, founded, as it is, on one of the most solemn maxims of Catholic doctrine? in the latter, what becomes of the authority of Rome?

When such questions are proposed, it is clear there exists a secret struggle in the conscience itself, leading a man on the one hand to bow before an authority which he reveres, but on the other, unequal to conquer a view which is sovereign within and sentiments which master him."—p. 319.

M. de la Mennais says in this extract that Rome has taken up a position, which goes far towards involving a *reductio ad absurdum* of her claim to infallibility. We agree with him, and should congratulate him on a discovery which is no news to Protestants, did we not fear that he has too unsubdued a mind to take the discovery religiously. He is a powerful, original, and instructive writer: but there is just that ill flavour in his doctrine, which, in spite of all that is excellent in it, reminds one that it is drugged and unwholesome: and the conviction of this makes one tremble lest the same spirit which would lead him to throw off civil authority, may urge him under disappointment to deny the authority of religion itself.

ART. II.—*History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, illustrated by Original Documents.* By Frederick Von Raumer, 2 vols. Murray: London. 1835.

2. *The Life of Henry the Eighth, founded on Authentic and Original Documents (some of them not before published), including an Historical View of his Reign; with Biographical Sketches of Wolsey, More, Erasmus, Cromwell, Cranmer, and other Eminent Contemporaries.* By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq. F.S.A. Oliver and Boyd: Edinburgh. 1837.

THE Reformation in England has always been regarded by us as a study of the most interesting nature, not only because it is a great object considered simply in itself, but more especially because it appears on the historical page as the result of causes which had long been in operation. Viewed in this light it affords matter to engage at once the benevolence of the philanthropist and the research of the philosopher. The rich crop which here meets the eye associated with all the ideas of wealth and enjoyment, suggests likewise, to the intelligent mind, the properties of the soil whereon it grew, and the various processes by means of which it had been brought to perfection. It is the fruit of a tree planted by the careful hand of our forefathers, exposed to the ravages of many a storm, and which produced not its full return until after the lapse of several generations.

No work which touches on a subject so extremely important can fail to arrest the attention of the ecclesiastical student. The collections of Von Raumer, now presented to the English reader through the medium of a translation, do great honour to his industry, and serve in some degree to supply a deficiency, much felt and lamented by literary men; namely, the want of such original papers as might illustrate the private character and personal history of the leading actors on the great stage of public life. The main facts which must enter into the composition of every regular narrative lie open to all, and may be easily ascertained: but the secret motives and individual purposes whence mighty events often take their rise, are for the most part concealed by that thick veil with which ambition, avarice, hatred, and revenge, so commonly strive to cover their movements. The illustrations recovered for the use of history by this distinguished foreigner have, generally speaking, been received with the gratitude so well merited by his exertions; though it is no longer a secret that he has put forth, as if for the first time, a variety of notices which, during more than a hundred years, have been familiar even to the least inquisitive readers of our national annals. This remark applies chiefly to his book entitled “Contributions to Modern

History, from the British Museum and the State-Paper Office, embracing Illustrations of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and of the Character and Conduct of Elizabeth." The letters, or, rather, extracts from letters, which he has given as illustrating the first part of the reign of Mary, from 1561 to 1565, had, with a few slight exceptions, been published from the originals by Bishop Keith in his elaborate work, the "*History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland.*" This valuable compilation, we are informed by Mr. Tytler, was the great mine from which Robertson drew his stores, and it formed the chief basis of Hume for the Scottish portion of his history. Its letters have been repeatedly quoted by succeeding writers, and it is still of the greatest utility to every reader who is anxious to derive his knowledge from authentic sources. To repeat these letters was superfluous; to mutilate and misunderstand them was unfortunate; but the climax of error was to give them as new matter.*

Of Mr. Tytler's own production we can speak in the highest terms, both as containing a great deal of interesting matter never before committed to the press, and as exhibiting a lively impression of Henry VIII., viewed in the various lights of a scholar, a divine, a statesman, and a monarch. No man more remarkable in all these respects ever sat on the throne of England; and when we consider that his domestic and social qualities contributed not less directly than his talents as a supreme ruler, to bring to pass the events which distinguished his reign, we shall know how to appreciate the labours of a biographer who makes us acquainted with the recondite parts of his character. The second Tudor is a historical portrait which stands forth in much prominence of line and figure; the colours are vivid and striking; and the attitudes are in perfect harmony with the actions they are meant to indicate or represent. Nothing was wanting but the hand of a master to add a few decorations, to harmonize the tints, and to adjust the drapery; and all this has been fully accomplished by the ingenious artist whose labours we are now examining.

The Reformation did not at first enjoy the countenance of the greater sovereigns of Europe, who became alarmed at its pretensions, more perhaps on account of its tendency to derange the machinery of politics than for the freedom with which it canvassed the grounds of established opinions in religion. The wild fanatics who, in various parts of the continent, laboured to overturn nearly all the essential and most venerated institutions of human society, created a very natural prejudice against every class of men who had thought proper to advocate freedom of discussion on points of faith. Of this we are supplied with a

* Preface to *History of Scotland*, vol. vi.; an able and authentic work.

striking example, in the case of the Anabaptists, taken from a letter in the 99th volume of Duprey's manuscripts, deposited in the Royal Collection at Paris.

"A few days before Munster was invested by the allied princes of Germany, the prophet of that absurd party, John of Leyden by name, and a tailor by profession, declared that he had a commission from heaven to be the king of Israel and of righteousness, and to reign after the fashion of king David. At the same time, another Anabaptist, John of Warendorf, came forward and declared that God had commanded him to be prophet in the room of the other; and in virtue of his office, he predicted that the said John of Leyden should go forth with an army, destroy and root out all other kings, princes, and authorities without mercy, but reign himself over the whole world. Accordingly, the new king began to exercise his sovereignty, appointed his chancellor, marshal, chamberlain, and all the usual appendages to a court; kept a table on a very large scale, and out of his eight wives he chose one for his queen, who immediately provided herself with an extraordinary attendance of courtiers. Both of them, and their principal servants, who were encouraged to follow their example, dressed themselves in silks and other costly stuffs, most taken from the churches and the clergy. When the king rode out he wore a suit of silver tissue, slashed and lined with crimson, which was held together with buckles of gold. At his right hand a page bore the bible; at his left, another carried the sword. His head was adorned with a triple crown of gold, richly ornamented; round his neck hung a golden chain, to which a remarkable piece of magnificence was attached, representing the terrestrial globe, over which a small cross of gold was suspended. Near this were to be seen two swords, one of gold, the other of silver, with the following inscription, 'King of righteousness over the whole world.'"

We are farther told that, at the reception of the holy sacrament, about four thousand persons seated themselves at table in the great square of the cathedral, and were served with three kinds of food. The king and queen partook of certain hard baked pastry of flour, which they broke and distributed with these words: "Take and eat and proclaim the death of the Lord." In like manner they dealt with the wine, and the company passed on what they received, saying, "Brother (or sister) take and eat, and so as Christ has given himself for me, will I give myself for you; and so as this bread is baked of many different grains, and this wine is pressed from many different berries, so are we all assembled and bound together."

The king, admonished by a younger prophet, sent forth deputies or apostles to all the great towns, and to every one of them he gave a golden florin of his own coinage. They all started the same evening on their journey, and cried out everywhere with a loud voice, "Mend yourselves and do penance, the time is short

and the Father merciful ; the axe is laid to the root, and ye shall perish like Sodom and Gomorrah, unless ye believe." But at the same moment they preached a community of goods, as well as of domestic intercourse, and wherever the inhabitants refused to admit the practice founded on this doctrine, the missionaries bitterly reviled them as unworthy of the divine illumination. When these authors of the new gospel, who denounced with equal abhorrence the Pope and Luther, were asked in what manner they would show their righteousness, after having driven forth from Munster so many innocent persons, and laid hands on their goods, their wives, and their children ; they answered, " Ye understand indeed to judge the face of heaven, but not the time. The time is come when the meek and pious shall possess the earth, even as the goods of the Egyptians were once made over to the people of Israel."

" Every one has in Munster from six to eight wives with whom he lives till they become pregnant. Girls above the age of twelve are compelled to marry. Men who fail to live according to their duty with their wives, are beheaded : even the old women seek out husbands, who are compelled to look after and provide for them. They destroy churches and cloisters, for such, according to their creed, are only the market-places of Baal. They hold that, without prophets, it is impossible to understand the Scriptures ; they reject the emperor and all superior authorities except God ; they wish to put to death all sovereigns on account of their unrighteousness ; they apply many texts of Scripture, relating to our Saviour, to their king, who occasionally when he considers people to have offended, strikes off their heads."

The extravagance of the Anabaptists, it is true, ought not to be assumed as the medium through which to view the characters of that great body of reformers who followed Luther in his opposition to the Roman hierarchy, and professed to seek for divine truth in the pages of the inspired volume. It is manifest, nevertheless, that a desire for political innovation and a more enlarged freedom mixed with the loftier aspirations which pointed to spiritual objects ; and that, in many parts of the empire, while they made haste to throw off the dominion of the pope, they were equally inclined to call in question the grounds whereon the successor of the Cæsars founded his claim to temporal sovereignty. It is not surprising that the crowned heads of Europe should have viewed with suspicion and alarm the progress of a revolution which, though it seemed to confine its remonstrances in the first instance to ecclesiastical abuses, would most certainly extend its scrutiny to an investigation of those more general principles which constitute the basis of civil government.

The hostile spirit, therefore, manifested by Henry the Eighth

towards the monk of Wittenberg, might not be altogether confined to the theological speculations of that sturdy reformer, even though his majesty had himself taken the field of controversy in defence of the established doctrines. Young as he was, he could not fail to perceive that the shock given to authority, on a subject to which the minds of men had been so long bound in the most servile subjection, would not improbably throw loose their wonted attachment to other institutions which had no deeper seat in their hearts than a hereditary loyalty or an instinctive veneration.

But there is abundant evidence, at the same time, that Henry's opposition to the doctrinal errors of Rome and the corruptions of the ecclesiastical estate, did not originate in his quarrel with the pontiff about the celebrated divorce. Even in the third year of his reign, when yet in early youth, he lent a ready ear to those purer and more zealous members of the priesthood who endeavoured to improve the morals of their brethren. Colet, for instance, the learned dean of St. Paul's, read a course of public lectures on the Scriptures which were attended by some of the most eminent dignitaries of the church. The king himself listened to his discourses on some occasions, and, it is said, exhorted him privately to continue his preaching, making no scruple to tax the dissolute manners of the age. He knew well, he assured him, what incensed the bishops so highly against his person, and how much good he had done by his divine life and holy doctrine in the English church and nation; but trust me, added the royal monitor, with much vehemence, "I shall so curb their endeavours that the world shall soon perceive whoever troubles you shall not go unpunished."

The extent to which the king was willing to encourage an alteration in the church may be learned from the sentiments of this distinguished clergyman, whom he favoured with his good opinion, and protected by his power. Colet, in one of his discourses, alluding to the rise of those new notions which afterwards introduced the Reformation, observed that they were now-a-days much troubled with heretics, men infected with strange ideas; but that such heresies were not so pernicious to the church and the people as the degraded lives of the priests, which, if they believed St. Bernard, was of all heresy the chiefest and most perilous. He then pointed out the remedy for these abuses:—

"The way," said he, "by which the church may be reformed into a better fashion, is not to make new laws; for there be already laws enough, if not too many. The evils that are now in the church were before in times past, and there is no fault committed among us for which our forefathers have not provided excellent remedies. The reform-

ation and restoring of our ecclesiastical estate must begin with you, O fathers, and so follow in us your priests, and in all the clergy. You are the heads, you are the example of living to us; in you and in your lives we desire to read, as in lively books, how and in what manner we ought to live. The clergy and spiritual men being once reformed, we may proceed to the reformation of the laity; which, truly, will be very easily done, if we be first reformed ourselves; our goodness will teach them far more clearly and effectually to be good than all other teachings and preachings whatsoever; our goodness will compel them into the right way more powerfully than all your suspensions, cursings, and excommunications.”*

Such notices, it is remarked, are not unimportant in tracing the early history of that monarch, to whose later actions and opinions, overruled as they assuredly were by Divine Providence, we owe the commencement of the Reformation. They prove that within the pale of the Roman church,—for Colet was rigidly attached to the form, doctrine, and discipline of that body,—there was even then at work a spirit of amendment from which some favourable consequences might have been anticipated; and that Henry the Eighth, even at this early period, encouraged its exertions and defended its authors from the persecution of the more corrupted body of the clergy.

But the main instrument by which the happy change was realized will be found in the gradual progress of sound learning, already successfully begun in the schools and universities of England. Italy, the parent of letters in the western world, had some time before awakened from the sleep of the dark ages, and displayed her wonted taste and genius; drawing to her shores numerous pupils from France, England, and Germany. Even the reign of Henry the Seventh was adorned by many men of strong natural talent, who were enthusiastically devoted to literature; and it is from this date that we see the flame, feeble at first, gradually, but constantly, increasing till it completely banished the darkness of the monastic period. Erasmus was then in this country; his friends Linacre, Lupset, Grocyn, and Latimer, had drunk deeply of the classic fountains of Italy; they were masters of a pure Latin style, and even acquainted with Greek, still generally unknown in their native land. Colet, too, had founded his school of St. Paul's, the first public seminary in which the language of Athens was taught in the British isles. The enthusiasm of Sir Thomas More for every branch of human learning is well known; and the prince, emulating the example of the best men of his age, applied himself vigorously to the same studies, and imbibed the spirit of the society by which he was surrounded.

* Colet's Sermon to the Convocation. *Phoenix*, vol. ii. p. 11, quoted by Mr. Tytler

Erasmus in one of his letters has presented an interesting view of the method of tuition pursued under the roof of the Seventh Henry, directed in a great measure by the Countess of Richmond, his mother.

“ Thomas More,” says he, “ who had paid me a visit when I was Mountjoy’s guest, took me for the sake of recreating the mind, a walk to the next country seat. It was there the king’s children were educated, with the exception of Arthur, who had then attained majority. On entering the hall, the whole of the family assembled, and we found ourselves surrounded not only by the regal household, but by the servants of Mountjoy also. In the middle of the circle stood Henry, at that time only nine years of age, but bearing even then in his countenance an expression of royalty, a look of high birth, and at the same time full of openness and courtesy. On the right stood the princess Margaret, a girl of eleven years, and afterwards married to James the Fourth of Scotland. On the left was Mary, a child of four years of age, engaged in play: whilst Edmund, an infant in arms, completed the group. More, with Arnold our companion, after paying his compliments to little Henry, presented to him some piece of his own writing. I forget what it was. As for me, I had not anticipated such a meeting, and having nothing of the kind with me, I could only promise that I would shortly show my respect for the prince by some similar present.”

The great scholar of Rotterdam used at a later period to show with much pride a Latin letter written to him by Henry the Eighth when a boy. He exhibited it as a classical curiosity: and it is said to have been composed in a style of the purest Latinity. But making a due allowance for the excess of praise likely to be measured out to a young prince, it cannot be doubted that Henry, who early evinced a generous love of letters, soon became their enthusiastic patron. His father, it has been said, was rather studious than learned; and besides during the latter part of his reign the warfare which had then begun between the old system of learning, divided so entirely the sentiments of his people, that prudence required a strict neutrality until the object of the contest should be clearly ascertained. It was accordingly reserved for his successor to throw the weight of his encouragement into the scale of reviving knowledge. The example of the sovereign and his patronage of scholars not only spread throughout the kingdom a spirit of inquiry, but also led to the introduction of a more liberal system of education than had hitherto been followed. The scheme of instruction adopted during the monkish times is severely condemned by Erasmus, who ascribes the imperfect acquirements of the clergy first to the miserable state of the public schools, and, secondly, to the condition of the monasteries, especially those of the Dominican, Franciscan, and

Augustine order, where youth were educated for the ministry. In these the pupils, after devoting scarcely three months to their grammatical studies, were hurried away to sophistry, logic, suppositions, ampliations, restrictions, expositions, resolutions, and enigmatical quibbles; and after being led through the labyrinth of these questions, they are ushered into the mystic recesses of theology. Such a method of tuition, he justly maintains, kept the young men ignorant as to the true models of composition, eloquence, and reasoning; leaving them to grope about in utter darkness without a pattern to follow or a guide to direct.

It will not, therefore, be denied, that Colet argued wisely when he came to the conclusion that, in order to introduce true learning into England, the sources of human knowledge must be purified from the barbarism of the schools; that to read and compose correctly in the learned languages, was the best foundation for accurate thinking; and, in order to give the enfeebled mind sufficient strength to escape from the shackles under which it had groaned for so many centuries, it was necessary to treat men like children, to teach them to creep in grammar, before they could walk in philosophy.

Mr. Tytler draws our particular attention to two eminent men, one of whom has been already incidentally mentioned, who were patronized by the youthful monarch, and selected by him as his instructors; namely, William Grocyn, the first Englishman who taught Greek in the University of Oxford, and Thomas Linacre, the royal physician. The former, we are told, was an enthusiast in every department of knowledge, hypercritical almost to moroseness in his literary taste, a despiser of riches and promotion, generous and open-hearted to excess, and ready to sacrifice his whole fortune, including even his household plate, for the interests of literature and of his friends. This eccentric scholar, as was to be expected from such a character, reaped much fame and high consideration amongst men of letters, but died poor and neglected. Linacre, his contemporary, and his equal in literary enthusiasm, was more fortunate; for, after spending many delightful years in Italy, the friend of Lorenzo de Medici and Aldus Manutius, he returned to his native country, where he was received into the household of the king.

“Nothing could be more auspicious to such devoted scholars, than the period in which it fell to their lot to visit the land of Virgil and Cicero. Classical literature was then honoured by the patronage of princes; to be a scholar, was to be the favourite and equal of the titled and the affluent; the noble invention of printing, unlike other human discoveries, rude in their commencement, and slow in their progress to perfection, had leaped from its cradle a full and perfect art; and the mul-

tiplied copies of the ancient authors, facilitated study by superseding the necessity of procuring manuscripts at extravagant prices. The masters too, under whom they were instructed, Chalcondyles and Politian, were at that time the most eminent classical scholars in Europe; and in their schools they devoted their whole attention to the acquisition of the Greek language, which they were afterwards the happy instrument of transplanting into England. The cultivated Italians, on observing their ardent love of study, their wide range of general learning, and their command of a polished Latinity, hailed with delight the prospect of being assisted in their labours for the revival of true knowledge, by scholars from the remote and barbarous country of Britain. It was fortunate for Henry's dominions, that at the period when classical learning was about to be resuscitated, and assert its pre-eminence over the monkish systems which had so long enthralled the human mind, two such men had returned to their own country. The expressions of Erasmus, when in London, in a letter addressed to Archduke Ferdinand, are remarkable. 'I wish often, like you, that our Court would imitate Britain, which is full of men most learned in all kinds of studies. They stand round the royal table, where literary and philosophical subjects are discussed, relative to the education of a prince, or to some question of good morals. In short, the company of the palace is such, that there is no academy you would not undervalue in comparison of it.'

The same great scholar elsewhere observes that, about the beginning of the 16th century, neither France nor Germany stood so high, in point of literature, as England. That country, says he, so distant from Italy, holds the place next to it in the esteem of the learned. Mr. Hallam, indeed, remarks that, in the spirit of truth, we cannot quite take to ourselves the compliment of Erasmus. There must, he thinks, have been a far greater diffusion of sound learning in Germany, where professors of Greek had for some time been established in all the universities, and where a long list of men, ardent in the cultivation of letters, could be adduced. Erasmus, it is shrewdly insinuated, had a panegyrical humour towards his friends, of whom there were many in our land.

Mr. Hallam gives the names of the most distinguished individuals who flourished in the opening of Henry's reign, including those mentioned in our preceding paragraphs. He acknowledges, at the same time, that it would be an error to conclude, that every man who might enjoy some reputation in a learned profession could, in a later generation, have passed for a scholar. Colet, for example, and Fisher, persons as celebrated as almost any of that age, were unacquainted with the Greek tongue, and both made some efforts to attain it at an advanced age. It was not till the year 1517, that the first Greek lecture was established at Oxford, by Fox, bishop of Hereford, in his new foundation of Corpus Christi college. Wolsey, in 1519, endowed a regular

professorship in the university. It was about the same time that Fisher sent down to Cambridge Richard Croke, lately returned from Leipsic, to tread in the footsteps of Erasmus, as teacher of Greek. But this, it is added, was in advance of our neighbours ; for no public instruction in that language was yet given in France.

By the statutes of St. Paul's School, dated 1518, the master is to be " lerned in good and clene Latine literature, and also in Greke, iff such may be gotten." Of the boys, the founder says, " I wolde they were taught always in good literature, both Latin and Greke." But it does not follow from hence, that Greek was actually taught, and considering the want of lexicons and grammars, none of which were published in England for many years afterwards, we shall be apt to think that little instruction could have been given. It is therefore to be observed, that in the eulogies just expressed, we rather extol a small number of men who struggled against difficulties, than put in a claim for any general diffusion of literature in England. No classical works were yet printed, except Virgil's *Bucolics*, a small treatise of Seneca, and the first book of Cicero's *Epistles*; all meant for learners, whether at school or college. As yet, no Greek types had been employed; and no indigenious works had appeared, with the exception of a few very imperfect grammars.

There is not, however, any room for doubt, that philological learning increased greatly in all England during the reign of Henry the Eighth. It is said by Knight, that more grammar schools were founded in thirty years before the Reformation, than is, we presume, before the revolt of the Anglican Church under the second Tudor, than in three hundred years preceding. The same love of literature, and ambition to be distinguished among its supporters, descended in the royal family for several successions. Edward VI. received a learned education, and according to Ascham, read the *Ethics* of Aristotle in Greek. Of the princess Elizabeth, his favourite pupil, he gives a similar testimony. Nor was Mary, though in all respects less popular than her brother and sister, by any means illiterate. It is hardly necessary to mention Jane Grey, and the wife of Cecil. Their proficiency was such as to excite the admiration of every one, and is therefore, perhaps, no measure of the period in which they lived.

Though it must be admitted that, as yet, there was rather a commendable desire of learning, than any such diffusion of knowledge, as can entitle us to claim for that age an equality with the chief continental nations, it is, nevertheless, perfectly clear, that the progress of philology in England was connected with the advancement of the Reformation. The learned who appear in the first stage of that great revolution, were not, indeed, all

Protestants, but their disciples were such, in the most decided manner. They taunted the adherents of the old religion with ignorance; and though by that might be meant ignorance of the Scriptures, it was by their own acquaintance with the ancient languages that they had obtained a superiority in this respect. In truth, one of the greatest achievements of Erasmus, as a forerunner of the Reformation, was his edition of the Greek Testament with explanatory annotations and a continued paraphrase. Valla, no doubt, had led the inquiry as a commentator; and the Greek text, without notes, was already printed at Alcalá, by direction of Cardinal Ximenes. This impression, however, commonly called the Complutensian, did not appear till 1522, whereas that of Erasmus was published at Basle in 1516.

The slow and gentle march of knowledge, more especially as connected with the revival of ancient learning, had, as Mr. Hallam justly remarks, prepared the Reformation beforehand. The German nation was, in fact, so fully awakened to the abuses of the church, and the disclaimer of Papal sovereignty in the Councils of Constance and Basle had been so effectual in its influence on the public mind, that if neither Luther, nor Zuingli, had ever been born, there can be little question that a great religious movement was at hand. These Councils, he adds, were to the Reformation, what the Parliament of Paris was to the French Revolution. Their leaders never meant to sacrifice one article of received faith; but the little success they had in redressing what they denounced as abuses, convinced the laity that they must go much farther for themselves. When this dissatisfaction, enlightened by the increasing means of comparing opinions, was followed by a more extensive acquaintance with the New Testament, in the Greek language, nothing could be more natural than that inquisitive men should throw away much of what seemed the novel superstructure of religion, and should be encouraged by the obvious change in the temper of the multitude, to declare themselves. Pellican and Capito, two of the most learned scholars in western Germany, had, it is well known, so early as 1512, seen reason to reject altogether the doctrine of the real or corporeal presence in the holy Sacrament. We find also, that Œcolampadius had begun to promulgate some of the Protestant tenets in 1514. It cannot, therefore, be surprising, that the introduction of letters in England should have produced a similar effect, and that a large body of the people were disposed towards a change long before their sovereign quarrelled with the Pope.

As Henry VIII. was destined, by his father's first intentions, to the primacy of his native church, his education was not only decidedly scholastic, but had also somewhat of a professional

determination. Still it is not probable that his mind, of itself, would have fallen into the track of the reformers, because his high monarchical notions would soon have encountered a stumbling-block in the levelling principles countenanced by some of the German Protestants. The most striking effect of the first preaching of the Reformation was, that it appealed to the low and the ignorant; and though political liberty, properly so called, cannot be reckoned the aim of those who introduced it, yet there predominated that revolutionary spirit which loves to witness destruction for its own sake, and that intoxicated self-confidence which renders folly mischievous. Women took an active part in religious dispute, and the translation of the Scriptures, by Luther, supplied all classes of reasoners with weapons. Hence we cannot be surprised when we are told that it was common to hold conferences on the most profound subjects of theology before the burgomasters of insignificant towns, who thought themselves at once qualified and entitled to pronounce a decisive judgment.

The King of England was not likely to be influenced by the mere weight of argument to take part with Reformers whose tenets were so inauspicious to absolute power; and, in point of fact, matters were brought to a crisis by the difficulties which encumbered his demand to be liberated from a matrimonial engagement, the bonds of which, as they restrained his inclination, he was willing to consider invalid. Having recorded the demise of Henry VII. Mr. Tytler remarks that from the funeral of the old king there was an easy transition at the council table, to debate the marriage of their new sovereign; and after a protracted and anxious deliberation, the majority of the council agreed to recommend a union with the Princess Catherine of Spain, the widow of Prince Arthur, Henry's elder brother. To the upright mind of Warham the marriage appeared, as it undoubtedly was, illegal and incestuous; and the circumstances under which it took place were extraordinary. Arthur, her first husband, died before he had completed his sixteenth year; and Henry the Seventh, divided between his policy and his conscience, first contracted her to his son Henry, and afterwards, when the latter reached his fourteenth year, becoming alarmed, insisted on his formally renouncing the engagement. Yet, strange as it may appear, this renunciation was not communicated to her father nor to the princess, for whose union with Henry a papal dispensation had been procured. The reasons of state which recommended this match were chiefly grounded on the inexpediency of any marriage with France—a kingdom over which the English monarch had pretensions which were likely to come to the decision of the sword; and under such an occurrence the

alliance and assistance of Spain were highly to be desired. In the midst of these deliberations, Henry's heart became touched by the amiable qualities of Catherine, who showed no disinclination to receive him for her husband; and on the 3rd of June, about six weeks after his father's death, the marriage took place which was afterwards the cause of such important changes.

We have no intention to follow the beaten path of history towards the gradual and successive development of the great events which distinguish this reign; our object being rather to concentrate such rays of light, supplied by recent discoveries, as may remove part of the obscurity which still hangs over personal motives and character. No one acted a more prominent part than Wolsey, and no one has suffered more from the conflict of party spirit maintained by Popish and Protestant writers. An anonymous French author, resident at the English court, in a tract entitled *De plusieurs Particularités d'Angleterre*, speaks of him as presumptuous and overweening, who thought his power exceeded that of all others, and that his fortunes were exposed to no change. But it is admitted that if judged with due reference to all his qualities, he would be found wanting neither in talents nor penetration. He is said, by this chronicler, to have possessed prudence and liveliness of intellect, strength and energy enough to go to the bottom of all public affairs; and, moreover, conducted them all with such success, that no state was richer and more flourishing than England, no king more respected than Henry VIII., so long as the cardinal presided over national concerns. Twice he decided on the differences between the Emperor and the King of France, and was paid court to by the ministers of both those sovereigns, as if they had been servants of the King of England, and every one sought to conciliate him with a view to gaining his own ends. In proof of this pride, it is related that he caused himself to be served upon the knee by certain lords, and allowed himself the use of haughty and contemptuous expressions towards foreign ambassadors. It is certain, adds the same authority, that all, on their return home, spoke of the pomp and the glory, as well as the pride and the arrogance, of the Cardinal of York.

He goes on to inform us that Wolsey had two secretaries, Dr. Stephen Gardiner and Cromwell. The former was well versed in civil and ecclesiastical law as well as in the Scriptures, and in other respects, after the usual fashion of the English, arrogant and obstinate. He was sent by Wolsey to Rome, in order to bring about the divorce of Henry VIII. from his wife Catherine. "I was told," says the reporter, "by several, upon this that the doctor had received a double commission—to pretend one

thing and work for another, which instruction he betrayed to the king, out of which flowed hatred and mistrust between the latter and the cardinal." After Wolsey's death, the king raised Stephen to the bishopric of Winchester, sent him as ambassador to France, and on his return placed him in the privy council, and consulted him in the weightiest concerns. The other secretary, Thomas Cromwell, was a man of humble origin, and drove, it is said, in his earlier years, the trade of a tailor. He soon after became a soldier, showed himself brave and of great heart, travelled over Italy to inform himself, and saw, during his stay in Rome, so many abuses, that he afterwards strengthened Henry VIII. in his disinclination towards the papal court, and in his desire to tear away himself and his realm from under the influence of the Church. Cromwell, in other matters, served the cardinal with unimpeachable fidelity, stedfastly refused to bear witness against him, and defended him with the greatest firmness, in defiance of menace and persecution. By this conduct he raised in the mind of the king the highest opinion of his fidelity, and having taken Dr. Stephen (Gardiner) into his service because he had betrayed the secrets of Wolsey, he did the same by Cromwell because he had made no such discoveries. Cromwell, by his dexterity, rose so soon into favour with the king that he acquired the management of all affairs, and no less power than the cardinal himself had enjoyed. "I have seen him (says the Frenchman) as familiar with the king as though he had been of his blood, which raised much envy against him on the part of the great."

But Cromwell, adds this keen observer, understood no better than Wolsey how to maintain grandeur and dignity of position in relation to the tyrant king. He nevertheless might have long retained his power, had he not disappointed his master in recommending to his affections that piece of still life, Anne of Cleves. The reports of the French ambassador contain some interesting particulars on this head. In January, 1540, he writes to Francis I., telling him "that two days before it was publicly proclaimed in London that all who loved the king should next day come to Greenwich, and meet Madam Anne of Cleves, who was to be their queen. The ambassadors were invited likewise to the banquet, which proceeded with the greatest solemnity, wonderful quietness, and without any confusion. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk went out five miles to meet her, and the king and the rest of the court as far as an appointed distance. Anne, dressed in the fashion of her country, was received very cordially by the king, and conducted into her richly-adorned apartment. She is some thirty years of age, tall and strong, of moderate beauty, and of very assured and resolute countenance."

The notice now given is abridged from Marillac (*Depêches d'Angleterre adressées au Roi, &c.*), who, in a letter to the Constable Montmorenci, adds, "that Anne was not found so young nor so comely as all accounts had announced her to be. She is tall, and of such steady deportment that it is thought by understanding and vivacity she will make up for a somewhat deficient allowance of beauty. She has brought with her from twelve to fifteen ladies, all of whom, in regard to external appearance, are yet inferior to herself, and are so clumsily and unbecomingly dressed, that they would be thought hideous even if they were handsome." Speaking of the occurrences which followed shortly afterwards, he tells his sovereign "that Anne by no means opposes the divorce, which pleases the king the more, because, as is said, his new passion (*amourette*) is already with child. She is anything but low in spirits, occupies her time in every possible manner, and attires herself daily in new garments of wonderful pattern." All this indicates admirable prudence and dissimulation, or else excessive simplicity and stupidity. Of Catherine Howard, the same Marillac writes, "that she is of moderate beauty, but of very attractive deportment, little and strong, of modest demeanour and mild countenance. The king is much in love with her, and more so than he has been with any of the others. She is dressed in the French fashion, as are all the ladies of this court."

The story of Anne Boleyn has been so often told, that we can hardly expect to find, even in royal collections, any document illustrative of its details. This unfortunate lady, it is generally known, was sent to France so early as 1515, as an attendant on the Princess Mary, who became the wife of Louis XII. On the death of that monarch and the return of his young widow to England, Anne continued attached to the household of Queen Claude, in whose palace she remained till she was seventeen. At that period Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, the sister of Francis, being attracted by her manners and graceful appearance, invited her into her family. There she probably remained till the union of her patroness with the King of Navarre, in the year 1537; upon which she appears to have returned to her native country, when she became one of the maids of honour to the wife of Henry VIII.

Two events occurred at the time when she first appeared in the train of Catherine, which had no small effect in hastening the crisis that influenced so deeply her own fortune and the character of Henry. The Bishop of Tarbes, one of the plenipotentiaries sent by the French government to adjust the articles of marriage between Mary, the king's daughter, and the Duke of

Orleans, is said to have suggested some doubts as to the legitimacy of the princess's birth; a circumstance which has been commonly represented as reviving or creating in the mind of the monarch certain scruples regarding the legality of his nuptials with the relict of Arthur. Again, it was at the same moment a favourite project with Wolsey to procure for his master the privilege of a divorce, in the hope that a matrimonial union might afterwards be accomplished between him and the sister of Francis.

It is well known that the application to Clement for this divorce was made at a time when the pontiff was in the power of Charles V., the nephew of the English queen; and hence, however much he might have been disposed to gratify Henry, he was aware that it must be done at the manifest hazard of provoking the resentment of a prince neither more scrupulous nor less vindictive than the husband of Catherine. What the pope could not bestow, it was resolved to seek from universities and other learned bodies, who, though they possessed no executive authority, could at least expound the law of the church, and even determine in a matter of refined casuistry. The cases submitted to their judgment were clear, and the points in dispute were fairly stated; being no other than these two questions, first, whether marriage with a brother's widow was prohibited by the divine law, and, secondly, if it were, whether a papal dispensation could relieve the parties from the disqualifying effect. The most moderate of them answered that such a marriage could not be attempted without a breach of the sacred statute, even with a permission from the supreme pontiff. The universities of Orleans, Angers, Bourges, Toulouse, Ferrara, Padua, and Pavia, concurring with those of Bologna and Paris, the two most famous schools of civil and canon law on the continent, decreed that the marriage with Catherine was so mere a nullity, that it was incapable of being rendered valid even by a papal dispensation. No answer was made by the Catholic universities of Germany, because they were under the fear of the emperor; and a similar reason imposed silence on those of Italy and Spain.

The see of Rome, which could not remain unconcerned on an occasion so momentous, endeavoured through Campeggio, a special legate, to prevail on Catherine to retire to a nunnery;—a concession which a regard for her daughter would not allow her to make. Wolsey, who had called into action all his influence as well as his great talent for secret diplomacy, sank between his feeling of duty towards the church and his desire to realize the object on which he saw that the heart of his sovereign was placed. It fell to the lot of Cranmer, who was raised to the dig-

nity of archbishop and legate, to pronounce the final judgment, declaring the marriage between the king and the lady Catherine to have been null and void, and enjoining the parties no longer to cohabit. A step so decided, in defiance of the pontiff, rendered impracticable all reconciliation with the papal court; and it was no longer concealed that Henry was desirous to withdraw the Church of England from all obedience to the Roman conclave. Accordingly, in the year 1534, various statutes were passed by the legislature for the accomplishment of this important purpose, for confirming the decisions of Cranmer, and more especially for regulating the succession to the crown.

No event in the history of England is marked by circumstances so peculiar as those which attended the separation of the national church from the Romish communion. The people, whose sympathies are usually engaged in behalf of the weaker side, were indignant at the conduct of Henry to his queen; a large portion of the middle class, as well as many noble families, were attached to the old religion; the monarch himself did not in the slightest degree withdraw his affection from the creed which he had zealously defended; and yet, notwithstanding the concurrence of so many incidents unfavourable to his views, he realized his purpose with very little opposition. The authority of the pope was pronounced an usurpation; all connection and correspondence with his court were prohibited; appeals to his judgment were forbidden under the penalty of *premunire*; pecuniary contributions to his exchequer were abolished; and the sovereign was named by parliament the only earthly head of the Anglican church.

In truth, a path was already opened in England for the progress of the Reformation, and it would shortly have manifested its power, even though "gospel light had not flashed from Boleyn's eyes." The French author whose manuscript has been printed by Raumer, and who severely condemns the destruction of the convents, admits that "the alteration in the public mind supported that measure." He laments, too, that in place of the ancient reverence which was entertained for the Pope and the Roman chair, there was not a masquerade or other pastime in which some one was not to be seen going about in the dress of a pope or a cardinal. Even the women jested incessantly at the pope and his servants, and thought they could do no greater disgrace to any man than by calling him priest of the pope or papist.

Still there is no doubt that many were disposed to reject the papal dominion, who had no wish to innovate upon the doctrines and mode of worship which they had received from their ancestors; for not only was the subjection to Rome in spiritual mat-

ters attended with a heavy expense, but it also seemed from time to time to menace the political independence of the kingdom. The interference of the pope with the civil affairs of the principal European states, whenever their measures appeared to endanger the ascendancy of ecclesiastical power, created a natural suspicion in the minds of the people that his pretensions on some great emergency might put to hazard the prerogative of their natural prince. It will accordingly be found that the unlimited supremacy claimed for the crown of England, about the period of the Reformation, had less reference to the indigenous clergy than to the foreign prelate whom they had so long acknowledged as their head; and was not so much meant to invest the king with authority over the church, as to secure his right in the capacity of hereditary ruler over a free and sovereign nation. In withdrawing from the pope his wonted privilege of licensing and dispensing, the parliament professed to act upon the true principle "that your grace's realm, recognising no superior under God but only your grace, has been, and is, free from subjection to the laws of any foreign prince, potentate or prelate."

We may apply to England the remark already made with reference to Germany, that the Reformation would soon have taken place, in one form or other, though the Monk of Wittenberg had never been born. Literature had begun to diffuse its knowledge and taste; the Sacred Writings were gradually becoming accessible in the vernacular tongue; and the love of liberty, which always attends the progress of intellectual culture, was no longer a stranger to the hearts of the people. The adherents to the church of Rome, as Mr. Hallam observes, have never failed to cast two reproaches on those who left them; one, that the reform was brought about by intemperate and calumnious abuse, by the outrages of an excited populace, or by the tyranny of princes; the other, that after stimulating the most ignorant to reject the authority of their church, the reformers instantly withdrew this liberty of judgment, and devoted all who presumed to swerve from the line drawn by law, to virulent obloquy, or sometimes to bonds and death. Without denying that there may be some ground for these reproaches, we may be permitted to observe that the Protestant religion could not, according to the ordinary view of human motives, have been established by any other means. Those who act by calm reason are always so few in number, and often so undeterminate in purpose, that without the aid of passion and folly no great revolution can be achieved. A persuasion of some entire falsehood, in which every circumstance converges to the same effect on the mind—an exaggerated belief of good or evil disposition in

others—a universal inference peremptorily derived from some particular case,—these are what sway mankind, and not the simple truth, with all its limits and explanations, the fair partition of praise and blame, or the measured assent to probability that excludes not hesitation. That condition of the heart and understanding which renders men cautious in their judgment, and scrupulous in their dealings, unfits them for revolutionary seasons. But of this temper there is never much in the public. The people love to be told that they can judge; but they are conscious that they can act. Whether a saint in sculpture ought to stand in the niches of their cathedrals, it was equally tedious and difficult to inquire; but that he could be defaced was certain, and this was achieved. It is easy to censure such conduct as precipitancy; but it was not a mere act of the moment; it was the share that fell naturally to the multitude in a work which they were called to fulfil, and for which they sometimes encountered no slight danger.

But in no part of the world was popular violence less felt than in England. The steady hand with which Henry held the reins of government prevented the outbreaking of that furious zeal which is necessarily followed by a strong re-action. His tyranny even ministered to the peace of the country. He allowed no demonstration of triumph on the side of the Protestants, and the fear of his resentment reduced the Romanists to silence. Holding, to a certain extent, with both, he became not the partizan of either; and, in this way, by combining hope with terror in the breasts of the two leading parties, he obviated the collision which in other circumstances could hardly have failed to arise. On the continent, where sovereigns placed themselves at the head of religious factions, war was embittered by the animosity of contending sects; and in Scotland, where the executive authority was weak, the reformers were permitted to overthrow all ancient establishments, and to obliterate the most venerable institutions of primitive Christianity. The democratic spirit of destruction, answering to the call of Knox, not only demolished the finest of their ecclesiastical structures, but introduced a reign of anarchy which the return of happier times could not altogether compose. In Switzerland, too, the untaught mass were on numerous occasions made the arbiters of theological controversy, and presented, instead of the patient aspect of sedulous inquirers into divine truth, the menacing front of determined rebels against the older hierarchy.

But in England the progress of truth, being more gradual, was attended with less excitement. It required a vigilant eye to detect the motion of that gentle stream which, continuing long to

flow in the shade and in silence, at length carried on its broad bosom the interests, the attachments, the faith and the hope, of a great people. When Clark, the ambassador, presented at the feet of the pope the royal treatise against Luther, he pronounced a speech, in which was the following passage :—" Let others talk of other lands ; assuredly my native country of Britain, by modern cosmographers denominated England, situated in the remotest parts of the world, and separated from the continent by the ocean, as it has not been inferior to Spain, France, Italy, or Germany, in the expressions of a holy zeal for the worship of God, the true Christian faith, and due obedience to the church of Rome, so there is no nation that doth more impugn this monster (Luther), and the heresies revived by him. With us the church of God is in profound tranquillity ; no differences, no disputes, no ambiguous words, murmuring or complaints are heard among the people ; all troubles of mind, all apprehensions of strange revolutions in the world, and of the reign of antichrist, are now vanquished."

This encomiastic passage shows how much he misled the pope, and misrepresented the real condition of England. So far, says Mr. Tytler, from such complete tranquillity, such freedom from all doubt, and universal affection to the holy see, which is here described, it is certain that the doctrines of Luther had already begun to make a serious impression ; that they had infected the Universities ; and in many places unsettled the minds of the people.

There is, in Mr. Von Raumer's second volume, a letter by Petruccio Ubaldini on the manners of the English at the period of the Reformation, which, as being written by an eye-witness, is deserving of notice. It commences with a detailed account of the court, the dignitaries of the realm, palaces, ceremonies, eating, drinking, and other domestic usages. " When one of the king's sisters eats with him, she may neither sit under a canopy nor on a chair, but on a mere bench, which is provided with a cushion, and so far distant from the head of the table and the king, that the canopy does not overhang her." He had seen the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times in the presence of her brother, before she took her place at table. " Edward VI.," he adds, " loves to dress himself in red, white and violet ; and the last colour is so far appropriated by him that no one else dares to wear a hat of that hue. His livery, on the other hand, is green and white. As the English commonly attire themselves well, and spend much on their clothes, Edward in the same manner (although he falls far short of his father in this respect) constantly wears on all his garments embroideries of gold, silver and pearls.

He has a good demeanour, a royal presence, much grace and dignity in every transaction, and is affable and liberal to the people."

Ubal dini mentions the custom of making presents to the king on new-year's day, and makes some observations on the laws, religion, and military strength of England. But his remarks on the character of our countrymen are much more interesting, and present details little consistent with modern manners. He tells us that the Englishers universally spend their incomes. They eat often, and sit full two, three, four hours at table, not so much for the purpose of continually eating as for that of agreeable conversation with the ladies, without whose company no banquet takes place. They are disinclined to exertion, and sow so little that the produce barely suffices for subsistence; by reason of which they eat little bread, but so much the more meat, which they have of all kinds and perfect quality. Puddings and cheeses are every where forthcoming, for numberless herds pasture day and night in the most fertile districts. There are no wolves, but many deer, wild boars, and other game. They are much addicted to the chase, and very hospitable.

In respect of beauty, grace, dress, and manners, the women, he thinks, are nothing inferior to the best favoured of the Italians. The people in general are tolerably tall of stature; the nobles, for the most part, little; which comes from the prevalent custom of marrying rich damsels under age. Men and women are fair-skinned. To preserve or improve this natural complexion, the latter let blood two or three times in the year, instead of painting themselves like the Italian women. The men are by nature obstinate, so that if any one be obliged to contradict them, it is necessary not to thrust at first, but to show them his reasons by degrees, which they, then, by their good abilities, are quick to appreciate. Many, not being aware of this feature in the English character, have made a bad affair of it with people so suspicious.

The inferior classes in the towns, he had learned, and a part of the peasantry, are averse to foreigners, and think that no state in the world is worth any thing after their own; yet they are set right in such absurd notions by those who have better understanding and experience. It is, however, on this account not advisable for foreigners to travel about the country. He admits at the same time "that the behaviour of the higher classes in this respect is altogether different, for there is no lord in the kingdom who is not fond of having about him foreign servants and gentlemen, to whom they give a liberal treatment; these are much in favour with the courtiers, who take pleasure in learning French

and Italian, and in studying the sciences. The rich cause their sons and daughters to learn Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for since this storm of heresy has invaded the land, they hold it useful to read the Scriptures in the original tongue. The poorer, who cannot give their children a scientific education, are unwilling to appear ignorant or altogether strangers to refinement; they therefore dress themselves on Sundays and holidays well, nay, better than is becoming their station and pursuits. The noble ladies are easily to be distinguished from those not noble, for every one of the former wears a small hat in the French fashion, the others a cap of fur or white cloth, according to their rank and the custom of the country. The marriage customs are not dissimilar to those of other nations, but they marry early, and contract second and even third marriages; nay sometimes married persons stand contracted with another man or woman before their own husband or wife is dead."

The most remarkable fact mentioned by this Florentine is the attention paid to the original languages of the sacred volume. It is manifest that, in a country where such literature was encouraged, the doctrinal errors of the papal communion could not fail to be detected, and the corruptions of its discipline to be exposed. So far the "storm of heresy" was calculated to purify the ecclesiastical atmosphere, and to restore health to all who breathed its air. Hence also we are supplied with another proof that the Reformation in England did not entirely depend on the caprices of the sovereign, nor originate solely in his personal quarrel with the Court of Rome. No doubt, a variety of motives, altogether unconnected with the love of evangelical truth, influenced the several agents who vied with one another in bringing to pass the designs of Henry. The plunder of the church, as usual, excited the avarice and sharpened the zeal of many who strove for riches rather than for pureness of living. "I hear," said Bishop Fisher, "there is a motion made that the smaller monasteries should be given into the king's hands, which, notwithstanding the extraordinary anxiety professed for the reformation of the vicious lives of the clergy, makes me suspect that it is not so much the good as the goods of the church which men are now looking after. To what purpose have we these portentous and inquisitorial petitions from the Commons? To none other than that they may bring the clergy into contempt and collision with the laity, and seize upon their patrimony. Beware, my lords, beware of yourselves, your country, your religion, and your holy mother, the Catholic Church: the people are subject to novelties; Lutheranism is spreading amongst them; and let me beseech you to remember, from the recent

“ miseries of Germany and Bohemia, what disasters, from the same causes, are impending over ourselves. Resist then, resist manfully as becomes you, the mischiefs intended by the Com-mons; or, if you do not, be prepared to see all obedience withdrawn not only from the clergy but from yourselves.”

Most of the subjects now alluded to are ably treated by Mr. Tytler, and, more especially, the introduction of the learned languages and of classical literature into England, after their eclipse in the Middle Ages. He has successfully traced the effects of such studies in creating that freedom of thought to which the human mind had long been a stranger, and which was intimately connected with the establishment of the Reformation—minor links and secondary causes, assuredly, yet not the less powerful in the hands of that Sovereign Architect whose pleasure it was, in the history of this great moral revolution, to connect the light of reviving letters with the recovery of Revealed Truth. With regard to the materials and authorities employed by the author in composing this *Life of Henry VIII.* he refers to a most important volume, put forth about seven years ago by the commissioners for the publication of state-papers, including the original correspondence of the king, from 1518 to the time of his death. From this source, hitherto little known, much interesting information has been derived. He has also had access to various original manuscript letters, preserved in that noble depository of our national records, the State-Paper Office, as well as to certain documents in the valuable collection of the Duke of Hamilton.

It will be seen by those who have studied the history of this period, that Mr. Tytler has differed in some important points from Dr. Lingard, whose mind, not unnaturally, labours under a strong bias against the reformers of the Anglican church; and, in the estimate of Henry's character, he has dissented still more widely from the opinions of Mr. Sharon Turner, whose merits as an antiquary and annalist cannot be too highly extolled. The new views to which Mr. Tytler has attained, arise principally from the additional facts he has had the good fortune to collect, and seem not, in any case, to spring from an affected desire of novelty, or from a previous determination to correct other writers. His work, in short, does great credit to his candour as well as his industry, and cannot, therefore, fail to be highly esteemed by every competent reader. We have, on more than one occasion, given the tribute of our praise to the sound and accurate knowledge which distinguishes the Edinburgh Cabinet Library; and, at present, it gives us pleasure to express our conviction that the “*Life of Henry the Eighth*” will certainly add to its deserved reputation, as a popular miscellany.

ART. III.—1. *Sermons on the Lessons, the Gospel, or the Epistle for every Sunday in the Year; preached in the Parish Church of Hodnet, Salop.* By the late Reginald Heber, M.A., Rector of Hodnet, and afterwards Lord Bishop of Calcutta. In 3 vols. London: Murray. 1837.

2. *Sermons to a Country Congregation.* By Augustus William Hare, A.M., late Fellow of New College, and Rector of Alton Barnes. 2 vols. London: Hatchards. 1836.

IN noticing, some numbers ago, Mr. Gresley's *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus* and Dr. Porter's *Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching*, we said, "We are not about to write a dissertation upon pulpit eloquence. We are deterred by our sense of the difficulty and magnitude of the task, precluding us from the attempt to perform it in a loose, cursory and perfunctory manner."* On the present occasion also it is not our intent to write a dissertation upon pulpit eloquence (oftentimes misplaced), but, from the volumes with which our article is headed, to say a word about Parochial Preaching,—a subject which, if any other, deserves the closest attention, and is beset with many difficulties. It is very true that the difficulties the parochial minister has to contend with in his preaching are little thought of by the many,—nay, scarcely anticipated by himself: and, in the latter case, perhaps it is as well it should be nearly as it is, for, (though a dispensation be committed to him,) were he to be fully aware how hard a thing it is to be διδασκτικός, or, *apt to teach*, he might shrink from the burden, and our holy mother church might lose some of her best and most painful, though little heard of, clergy. There be they—not like Saul, who, *when he stood among the people, was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward*†—there be they, who, in a narrow sphere, in the little circle of a country parish, do, as it were, level themselves with the very skirts of the congregation, and employ their every talent to lay open the glad tidings of salvation. There be they who, after their blessed Lord's example, go about doing good, and are busied from the first spring of the day till the robin's evensong, in thinking also how they may best benefit the immortal souls of the poor round about them, who have *not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing and understanding the word of the Lord*.‡ We add of understanding it, because many do not hear so as to understand; some, because, like Gallio, they care for none of these things; others, because, like the eunuch of great authority under Can-

* No. XXXVI. October, 1835.

† 1 Sam. x. 28.

‡ Amos, viii. 12.

dace, queen of the Ethiopians, they need some one to guide them. Now such a guide is "the Country Parson," (we love these words for good George Herbert's sake,) who knows that many of his flock must be, like children, narrow-mouthed vessels, not able to take in much at once,—*for precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little, as they are able to bear it.** Such a guide was that humble man whose name, left unrecorded on earth,† is written in heaven, with reference to whose catechetical instructions Jackson says,—“In the mean time I shall every day bless my Lord God, as for all others, so in particular for this great blessing bestowed upon me, that I was, in a convenient age, in a happy time and place, presented by my sureties in baptism to ratify the vow which they made for me, and to receive the *benediction* of the *bishop of the diocese*, being first instructed in the *church's catechism* by the curate of the parish, from whose lips (though but a mere grammar scholar, and one that knew better how to read an *homily*, or to understand *Hemingius* or other Latin *Postils*, than to make a sermon in English,) I learned more good lessons than I did from many popular sermons; and to this day remember more than men at this time of greater years shall find in many late applauded *catechisms*.”‡ These words are, of course, to be understood as referring to that anxious care, plainness and simplicity, with which the country parson should impart his instructions; and then, *mutatis mutandis*, according to the change of times, and the increased information every clergyman may now-a-days avail himself of, they will as well suit our own day as that in which Jackson lived. In fact, he that (under the blessing of God) shall be a good parochial preacher, and turn many from darkness unto light, may be as learned as he can, and the more so the better; but then he must break his learning into fragments, and disperse it abroad amongst those committed to his charge, and see that the poor, and those who fill the place of the unlearned, do not lack the bread of life. Thus will his learning fulfil its proper duty, and it will teach the preacher himself and the people, that the only true wisdom is to be wise unto salvation. *Sed nimirum* (to use the words of Cicero) *majus est hoc quiddam, quam homines opinantur*.

Nevertheless, the Lord sends forth labourers into his vineyard, and he gives to them his manifold gifts of grace,—“the spirit of

* Isaiah, xxvii. 10.

† “The greater part must be content to be, as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man.”—Sir T. Browne's *Hydriotaphia*, vol. iii. p. 492. Ed. Wilkins.

‡ Thomas Jackson's Works, vol. iii. p. 273, ed. folio. 1673.

wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness;" and these know the awful responsibility they lie under, and of what consequence it is to their own souls and to the souls of their brethren, that even though they be the tallest cedars of Lebanon, they should condescend to those of low estate, and faithfully and truly perform their parochial duties; "using both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within their cures, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given."*

Of these we may fairly believe were the two departed ones whose sermons (all posthumous) head our article. The name of Reginald Heber is known far and wide, not only in the west, but in the east also, where, as a Christian bishop, he rendered up his spirit to God who gave it, having done that which it was his duty to do. Verily, (by God's help,) he did remember to stir up the grace which was given him by imposition of hands; and God did not give him the spirit of fear, "but of power, and love, and soberness." But he is gone,—nor he alone, but others have swelled that noble army of martyrs. Almost with certain death before them, they have gone forth to bear the glad tidings of salvation to the benighted idolaters of the east, and, rejoicing in their sufferings, filled up, as far as it was permitted unto them and they were able to bear it, that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in their flesh for his body's sake, which is the Church.† But the sermons to which we *now* call the attention of our readers, from the hand of Heber, that once held the pen of a ready writer, were preached in our own land, and, as he says in his affecting and deeply pious Farewell Sermon,‡ amongst those over whose spiritual welfare he had been set as a watchman,—to those "with many, very many, of whom he had grown up from childhood,§ in whose society he had passed his happiest days, and to whom, during more than fifteen years," it had been his duty and delight, with such ability as God had given him, to preach the Gospel of Christ. Few eyes were dry, few hearts untouched, we

* The Ordering of Priests.

† Coloss. i. 24.

‡ See vol. iii. p. 226.

§ There is a good deal to be said in favour of the remarks following, from the late Bishop Jebb, but Heber, without all controversy, was a splendid exception.

"Young men are apt to wish that they should procure curacies in the neighbourhood of their friends and connections. This, in the great majority of cases, is a fatal obstacle to clerical exertion. They are idled by friends; they are paralysed by false shame; or, if they are disposed to exert themselves, the boy, and the youth, is more present to the memory of their flocks than the clergyman. 'A prophet has no honour in his own country.' Bishops (and I speak from long observation and experience) ought systematically, and with rare exceptions, to discourage an hereditary local clergy. The tone of a country will seldom, if ever, be raised, by those who have passed their youth in it."—Forster's Life of Bishop Jebb, vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

venture to say, in the church of Hodnet, when the holy man, now with God, took leave of that flock, which, in all probability, and as it turned out with certainty, were to see his face in the flesh no more. Blessed thought—sweeter than the *spikenard* or the *clustering camphire in the vineyards of Engedi**—blessed thought, to know that good men do not die, but sleep,—that when the family named on earth is lessened by the taking down of these tabernacles, the *whole family in heaven* is increased. The kingdom which is to come is hastened; the number of the elect is nigher to its completion! Oh! may all we that remain have grace to follow their good examples who have departed this life in the faith and fear of the Lord!

And such was Heber! And the publication of these his parochial sermons, (of which we already see a *second edition* advertised,) has been committed to Sir Robert Harry Inglis,—than whom we could not readily name a fitter person; and what he says in his short preface will be found to be strictly true. “In executing this task,” he says, “I discharge a duty alike to the living and to the dead; to the Church of God, and to the memory of a friend. I believe, that, while they will add a new interest and lustre to the name of Reginald Heber, and will awaken a fresh regret for his loss, they will, not less assuredly, extend to distant places, and to distant years, the edification and improvement, which, at the time, they were designed and calculated to convey to the circle of his little flock in his own parish.” We ourselves know something of Heber’s influence at Hodnet,—we have heard it spoken of in no measured terms,—and many, without any doubt, in reading these sermons, will have their minds stirred up by way of remembrance. And needs must it be for their good. We are about, indeed, to utter a bold word, but we are constrained so to do, and most gladly,—for often we cannot but be sorry to be severe in our criticisms. As concerns these volumes then, surrounded as we are by good, nay excellent volumes of sermons, we do not think it possible for a family to be provided with any like them. They are altogether such as we would put into the hands of the young, the middle aged, and the old. In the general run of the better sort of sermons there is this, and that, and a third passage, which we could wish expunged, and then we could fully, and without a *but*, recommend them,—but these of the late Reginald Heber are altogether good. They are *devout and evangelical*, (in the true sense of the word,)—they are *learned but yet familiar*. So learned, indeed, (a rare point of learning this!) as to be understood of all, as to be open to the comprehension of

* The Song of Solomon, i. 14.

those whose hands are stiff with toil, and yet sufficient for the sober thought and the chamber-counsel (if we may so use the word) of those who have sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and have studied the deep things both of law and gospel. It is in reading such sermons as these, and not those which speak of the judgment to come without any judgment or feeling at all, that we arrive at the truth of Jeremy Taylor's affecting words,—“ God places a watery cloud in the eye, that, when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of men do not love to see a man perish.”

The other volumes of sermons which we have placed at the head of this article, are likewise by one whose warfare is accomplished,—by one whose learning and attainments were of the highest stamp,—by one, who, though dead, yet speaketh. As we said in the Ecclesiastical Record, appended to our last* Number, we heartily wish his excellent brother, or some friend capable of doing justice to it, had given us a brief memoir of the late Augustus William Hare. Some such a memoir ought to have been prefixed to these volumes. It is too little to read, “ Augustus William Hare. Born at Rome, Nov. 17, 1792. Died at Rome, Feb. 18, 1834.” We say it is too little,—and for this reason: the man who could have written and preached these sermons to a country congregation,—as excellent *in their way* as the late Bishop Heber's, or the laborious Mr. Newman's,—must have had so thorough a knowledge of parochial preaching, as could not but have profited those who are labouring in the same vineyard. Of all the many sermons preached before a rural congregation,—and that not exactly such a one as the church of Hodnet,—these seem to us to be some of the most appropriate. Like Heber's they are familiar, nay, sometimes even startlingly so, and nine-tenths of the illustrations are drawn from common life, so that the inhabitants of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors need scarcely ever to have been at a loss to understand their preacher. But although they are familiar, yet are they not vulgar. There is not a word in them which is not in just accordance with the king's English,—there is not a sentence which militates against good taste. In saying which, we do not mean to be the slaves of syllables, but we would merely assert that the familiarity with which these sermons are filled is not that which we sometimes hear *usque ad nauseam*,—but a familiarity drawn from our best divines, and such as abounds in aptitude of expression, with a

* This article was to have appeared in our last Number, but arrived too late for insertion.

facility of conveying to the ears of the congregation just what it was the preacher's wish to convey.

“ Sibi quivis

Speret idem, sudet multùm, frustra que laboret

Ausus idem : tantùm series juncturaque pollet !

Tantùm de medio sumptis accedit honoris !”*

Nor is this all,—for such might be the language of a mere essay writer;—but there is a spirit in these sermons which sends home sentence after sentence to the heart, and bids us think no more of *money and garments, and olive-yards and vine-yards, and sheep and oxen, and men-servants and maid-servants*, but only of the living God, and of Jesus Christ whom he has sent, and of those good works unto which in him we are created, *which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them*. In a word, the poor man and the unlearned, who should open these sermons, would think that they were written exactly and expressly for him,—the better instructed man would find them *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness*,—the learned man and the divine would find that he who wrote them had Jeremy Taylor, Bull, Hall, we think also Jackson, and our great theological writers, at his fingers' ends. Such, at least, after a careful perusal, is the conclusion we have arrived at, and we are bound strongly to recommend them. And because of their strong religious feeling, and freedom from all claptraps, so common, now-a-days, in discourses from the pulpit, we have given them, together with those of the lamented Heber, a place at the head of our article, in which we propose saying somewhat, not however so distinctly and methodically as we could wish, on Parochial Preaching.

To this subject,—to Parochial Preaching,—we now turn; purposing, as well in treating on it as in conclusion also, to give copious extracts both from Bishop Heber's and the late Augustus William Hare's sermons. These extracts may fall within the view of many who only know of them by hearsay, and may induce them to become purchasers. To omit them, therefore, might be to omit what may possibly turn out to the general good.

And here, at the commencement, let it be remarked, that whatever we may have to say, will be said under the full assurance that those who labour in their vocation, and are wise in winning souls to salvation, will have, by prayer and supplication, the assistance of that Holy Spirit of grace which shall help their infirmities even as preachers, and give them a voice which shall hardly be gain-said. Perhaps it were hardly necessary to have made this remark,

* Horat. Epist. ad Pis. v. 240.

but we grieve to say that charity is somewhat cold with certain professors, and they look for *professions* in others which might well be taken for granted. As Aristotle says, on a different head, *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀδικῶσιν, ὅταν δύνωνται*.* But we will avail ourselves of the postscript of Mr. Gresley, to his *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*,—a very good book,—but imperfect, like every thing else that is of earth.

“It is remarked that postscripts generally contain the most important matter in the letter. I cannot leave off without reminding you, in conclusion, that all the rules of rhetoric unsanctified by the Holy Ghost are worse than useless. The most eloquent sermon ever preached, if unaccompanied by the Spirit of Grace, is but ‘as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.’ My subject has led me, perhaps too exclusively, into mechanical details, and I may have seemed to attach too great importance to them. Yet I hope I have not lost sight of that principle, which, after all, is the most practically important, namely, the influence which the Divine Spirit must exercise, to render your most earnest preaching profitable. If, unfortunately, in my eagerness after less important matters, I may have appeared to wander from this great truth, let my last words remind you to ‘be constant in prayer’ for God’s blessing on your Christian labours. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. ‘If you forget all the rest, remember this.’”

Having said thus much, as it were, “*placare invidiam*,” we may now venture upon the subject we have in hand. And without any compromise, we still conceive, in the lines of Milton, that,

“Apt words have power to swage
The tumours of a troubled breast,
And are as balm to festered wounds.”

The first point we would observe upon is this, that in a *Parochial Sermon much more than the mere composition is to be attended to, if it be to do good*. At first sight, no doubt, this will appear a very common-place observation,—a truism, perhaps,—yet, for all this, it will need the attention of many a one, and improve the ministry of many a one, whose efforts, for want of due regard to the point in question, have not been blessed with that success which otherwise they might have been. And, indeed, when we look around us, we may be apt to conclude upon due consideration, that the *πρωτον ψευδος* of many a young clergyman is his thinking that a well composed and not inelegant discourse is sufficient. No doubt upon his first arrival at his cure, and until, by personal inquiry and observation, he has learned the character

* “C’est une chose étonnante,” says Mallet, in his history of Denmark, “que cette facilité avec laquelle chaque homme croit être plus rusé qu’il ne juge les autres énétrans.”—vol. v. p. 437.

and peculiar bent of those committed to his care, all he can do is to preach generally on the great points of the Christian faith. But after a while,—never, of course, neglecting these palmary truths in the least atom,—he should make such applications from them as the spiritual needs of his flock may most seem to require. And this is a work of no little tact, and requires a persevering earnestness, and a patient spirit, and much self-denial, and a mighty charity. The result of all this should be woven into his discourse. All personalities, of course, are to be strictly avoided; the object to be obtained is, that each one may of himself make the personal application required,—*God be merciful to me a sinner!*

Now nothing but a careful, a scrutinizing, and an exact knowledge of the ἥθος,* of those around a clergyman, can (humanly speaking) thus allow of his holding the people spell-bound. But, with this knowledge, sought and acquired under the influence of heavenly grace, he does, as it were, hold a wand over the congregation, and they become apt to receive the word of God; nay more, they do receive it, and many a fool that used to come to the house of God to scoff returns to pray. So that such a painful and laborious clergyman, as the one we are supposing, may gladly return thanks as St. Paul did, when he wrote to the Thessalonians, saying, "*For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe.*"† But how was it that St. Paul, under God's grace, gained this influence amongst the Thessalonians? Was it by little pains-taking? Was it by mere generalities? It was not. It was by "labour and travail;" nay, even, with his hands he laboured night and day that he might not be chargeable to any of them. Furthermore, says he, "*Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe: as ye know how we exhorted, and comforted, and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children, that ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory.*"

From these works, and from others like to them, we may see after what fashion a clergyman may make his discourses peculiarly applicable to the wants of his own congregation; and it will be self-evident also, that without being a pains-taking man, a minister of the Gospel can hardly sift and probe the *secret sins* either

* "*Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo*
Doctum imitatore, et veras hinc ducere voces."—Hor. A. P. 316.

† 1 Thes. ii. 13.

of his own heart, or of the hearts of the Lord's people. Happy he that can do as David did, of whom we read that, "*He bowed the heart of all the men of Judah, even as the heart of one man!*"* Happy he unto whom the Lord shall give the blessing of being the means of calling even *one* sinner from darkness to light! He shall not lose his reward. His pains-taking shall not have been in vain.

But it will be said, perhaps, that even after all that the most laborious of men can do in a parish,—after all his toil in endeavouring to make his parochial preaching beneficial, under God, to the salvation of souls, wickedness will still abound. Very true. When man has done all he can do, when he has laboured in the vineyard even to gray hairs, and his "hoary head is a crown of righteousness" unto him, still he is but an unprofitable servant, and *salvation is of the Lord*. Thus we find it to be in the world around us, and thus it must be till the consummation of all things. There will be a leaven of wickedness, and we must pray against it, but not murmur, remembering that it is written, "*Fret not thyself because of the ungodly.*" However, the man who so labours as to make his sermons really serviceable to those who hear him, and who does not think mere composition the only point to be attended to, will be the most likely to be of the number of those wise builders who build for eternity.

In illustration of the point on which we have been dwelling, we set down the first passage in Heber's Parochial Sermons which our notes direct us to,—a passage, we should say at once, derived to the sermon in which it occurs from personal visitation of the sick. The text is from Isaiah, xxxviii. 1, "*Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.*" The words are as follows, and they refer to that examination of our past lives, which is a necessary concomitant to repentance.

"First, it is highly probable, nay it is almost certain under such circumstances, that the review of our past behaviour will be, even to the best of us, extremely painful and humiliating, as well as alarming; and we shall be tempted to escape from the bitter recollection of our sins, by turning to those actions of our lives which wear a better appearance; and by attempting to strike such a balance between our evil and our good deeds, as may enable us to look forwards with less terror to the account which we have soon to render. But this must be at all events avoided. The very attempt to do so, the attempt to reason with our Judge, and to prepare beforehand the plea which we shall offer to him, will, of itself, extremely agitate the soul and the bodily frame, and render both the one and the other less fit for death, and less likely to escape death. And above all the attempt to plead our own good deeds in

* 2 Sam. xix. 14.

extenuation of our sins, must be extremely offensive to God, who has repeatedly refused in Scripture to admit any human merit, or any other call on his favour than our utter misery, and the merits and mediation of our Saviour. By flinging ourselves entirely on his mercy, we shall place our confidence where it will not be thrown away; we shall escape much present misery, and the alarm to which any reliance on our own efforts will expose us; and we shall escape that indignation which the Lord of life and death must feel against an insolvent debtor who should presume to reckon up his little services, and to bring forward his pitiful efforts as claims against Him to whom his all was due. And on this account I would advise the sick man to abstain entirely from all thought or recollection of what he may suppose the praiseworthy parts of his character.* It can do him no good to recollect them; since God knows them already, and needs not to be put in mind. And it *may*, nay *must* do him harm; inasmuch as it will take off his attention from a work for which his time is but too short, and will lead him, perhaps, to seek for comfort in things which cannot profit, instead of in that boundless mercy of God through his Son, in whose name alone there is salvation.

“Secondly, while the sick penitent thus abstains from all mention or notice of his own virtues, he will do well not to be too particular, or dwell too long, in his recapitulation of such of his sins as are gone by and not to be remedied. For these regret, however natural, is useless, and, beyond a certain degree, injurious. A deep sense of his own unworthiness and sinfulness; a thorough conviction that he has no hope but in God’s free mercy,—this is necessary; and for this a very general recollection of our lives will be sufficient. But to indulge in the horrid details of an ill-spent life; to paint, in exaggerated colours, the circumstances of each transgression, is not only a loss of time, and distressing ourselves in vain, but it is a very frequent snare of our enemy to plunge us into utter desperation and abandonment of ourselves, and of all those means of escape and salvation which the merciful grace of the Holy Ghost may, even yet, extend to us. Nor is this the worst. It is not impossible that, with such recollections, a guilty pleasure may revive in our soul; that our fancy may return with more regret than horror, to the scenes of our former enjoyment; and that, while we suppose ourselves to be mourning for sin, we are, in truth, only concerned that we must now give it up for ever.”—vol. i. p. 55—58.

In this passage we make no doubt but that the lamented Heber had but transferred to his sermon the result of his parochial experience. The same may be said of the passage which follows, and who does not know the truth of it?

“It may be observed, however, first, that this confession which is thus available with God to obtain forgiveness, must be express, and, under certain cases, public. (See *infra*.) By its being express I mean that it should be something more than a general and a formal avowal of the corruption of our nature, of our human unworthiness, and of those

* See Paley’s Sermons on Psalm li. 5. *My sin is ever before me.*

imperfections which clog and detract from our best and purest services. We may talk thus, and many persons do thus express themselves, without being a single step the nearer to any true humility. No man really thinks the worse, or more lowly of himself for those general infirmities, with regard to which all men are on a level, any more than he despises himself for the want of wings, or for not being twenty feet high : and thus a man may generally own that he is sinful, while in his heart he fully believes himself to be less sinful than all his neighbours ; and even takes to himself very considerable merit in the sight of God, for those actions whereby he has in part emancipated himself from this natural depravity. But it is by a meditation on the particular instances of our guilt ; by a reckoning up of each single action, (in which, contrary to our conscience, and in spite of God's grace, and having full power by his help to follow the way of holiness, we have wilfully sinned against our Maker and Redeemer,) that we are truly humbled in our own eyes, and seriously disposed to cry for mercy and grace to our offended God. The sinfulness, of which we profess to complain, is made up of many sinful actions ; we cannot either feel it or confess it, properly, without reckoning up these several actions before God ; and the more pain we feel in this examination the more reason we have to suppose it effectual."—vol. iii. pp. 33, 34.

Who, in what we are now about to give from the late Mr. Hare's volumes, does not *see* the sleepy worshipper? Who does not rejoice to know that the Sabbath was made for man? The *composition* here is plain to a degree, but there is a life in the wording which must have spoken with authority to the parishioners of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors.

"Again, another practical application of the text (Prov. x. 5) may be made to the way of keeping Sunday. Sunday is to the rest of the week in spirituals, what summer is to the rest of the year in temporals. It is the chief time for gathering knowledge to last you through the following week, just as summer is the chief season for gathering food to last you through the following twelvemonth. Do you make the most of this weekly summer? Do you, like wise sons, gather instruction by listening to the reader and the preacher? Do you gather fresh stores of grace and strength by diligent and humble attendance on the ordinances of God? Or do you sleep? Surely this question may well be asked in church? For many do sleep away their Sunday, some at church, and some at home ; and many who keep the eyes of their body open, allow the eyes of their mind to close, and are no wiser and no better for all they hear with their ears and repeat with their lips in this place, than if they had not set their foot in it. Verily I must warn you, brethren, such sleepers do indeed cause shame. They are a shame to their minister, whose teaching they refuse to profit by. They are a shame to the Church, which received them when infants into her bosom. They are a disgrace to the Lord and Master whose name they bear, but whose word they pay no heed to, and whose day they waste in sloth and carelessness."—vol. i. pp. 484, 485.

“It is a blessed thing for every man, for a poor and ignorant man it is most blessed, to live in a land where, once at least every week, he may hear and be reminded of his duty to God. You may now and then pick up something from a neighbour, who happens to have been better taught; but how few will be at the pains of doing this! No one who is so careless about heavenly things, as not to do his best to learn in church, is likely to take much pleasure in religious talk out of church. Indeed for those who cannot read, church is almost the only opportunity of learning the will of God, all that Christ has done for men. For those who can read too, even for those who well know and understand all the main truths contained in the Bible, the church-service is of great use, in stirring up their recollection of them. For this world is like the enchanted ground which we read of in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the air of which was apt to produce drowsiness in such as had occasion to pass over it. In like manner do the cares and business and pleasures of life take up and lull our minds, until we fall asleep on the road to heaven. So that the very best of us has need of a friendly shake to waken and rouse him from time to time. Nor did any man ever keep away from church, unless on account of illness, for six months together, without being sensibly the worse for it: though he may not be aware of this himself; because he will not examine himself regularly, nor take a full and true account of his thoughts and actions. If he did, he would find that his piety had slackened, that his love to God had grown colder; happy if he did not also find that he had caught some bad habit, and fallen into the practice of some known sin. But to the poor, to whom the church is the best school, and often the only one they can go to,—to the poor who on work-days have little leisure for reading, and who sometimes know not how to read,—our church-service is invaluable.”—vol. ii. p. 124—126.

Having endeavoured to show that something more than the mere composition of a sermon is to be looked to, the next point we would remark upon is, *the choice of subjects*. And here, no doubt, the preacher will do well,—we question if ordinarily the parochial preacher could do better,—to dwell, as the late Bishop Heber did in the course of Parochial Sermons which heads our article, on such passages of Scripture as are selected for our edification in the Epistle, the Gospel, and the Lessons for the day. We say *ordinarily*, because, of course, it will often fall out, in rural parishes more particularly, that local vices are to be censured, and then a peculiar and a forcibly striking and apt text will have great weight. It will not be forgotten, however much of the sermon is. Thus much premised, we would say to every parochial clergyman, in the words of Jeremy Taylor, in his *Advice to his Clergy*: “Do not spend your sermons in general and indefinite things, as in exhortations to the people to get Christ, to be united to Christ, and things of the like unlimited

signification; but tell them in every duty, what are the measures, what circumstances, what instruments, and what is the particular minute meaning of every general advice. For generals not explicated do but fill the people's heads with empty notions, and their mouths with perpetual unintelligible talk; but their hearts remain empty, and themselves are not edified."* Indeed, a man may go on preaching year after year to a country congregation in this manner, and they will scarcely, at least from the pulpit, be wiser unto salvation. Nine people out of ten, on religious matters, require to be snatched, as it were, *in medias res*. When this is not the case, they most commonly pass by what is appositely enough said to their own hearts, applying it with much complacency to the errors of their neighbours. They are not aware of—or rather, they are willingly ignorant of—the wallet on their own backs. As says the satirist,

“ Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere, nemo;
Sed præcedenti spectatur mantica tergo!”†

Unfortunately, what Jeremy Taylor censures in the passage above quoted has become but too common,—nay more, it becomes more and more common daily. Therefore, it is that we would urge the clergy of the Establishment to be very particular in the choice of their subjects,—and never, as they value their own soul's health, and the soul's health of them that hear them, to preach for display, but to *speak the things which become sound doctrine*. We recollect to have read two lines long ago (we think in Watt's Sermons), which speak touchingly on the point we would enforce;

“ I preach as though I ne'er should preach again,
And as a dying man to dying men!”

And doubtless he that did so preach would not spend his time in vain, or choose subjects better adapted for *itching ears* than for edification. But on this head we would again enforce our own words by those of Bishop Taylor: “ In your sermons to the people, often speak of the four last things,—of death, of judgment, of heaven and hell; of the life and death of Jesus Christ; of God's mercy to repentant sinners, and his severity against the impenitent; of the formidable examples of God's anger poured forth upon rebels, sacrilegious, oppressors of widows and

* See Works, vol. xiv. p. 498. If the Epistles themselves, says John Miller, in his Bampton Lectures, where he has quoted this same passage, “ wandered into flights of mysticism, or were wholly taken up with general and indefinite things, we should deny that they described and addressed ourselves.”—p. 177. Lect. vi.

† Pers. Sat. iv. 23, 24.

orphans, and all persons guilty of crying sins; these are useful, safe, and profitable: but never run into extravagances and curiosities, nor trouble yourselves or them with mysterious secrets; for there is more laid before you than you can understand; and the whole duty of man is, *To fear God and keep his commandments*. Speak but very little of the secret and high things of God, but as much as you can of the lowness and humility of Christ.* Excellent advice! and happy that preacher who shall so consider the Psalmist's words as to act up to them, *I do not exercise myself in great matters, which are too high for me.*† His voice the sheep will hear, and, under God's blessing, will not be likely to go far astray, but will do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly. On this head we may remember to advantage the lines of Milton, as well as those concerning whom they are spoken.

“ Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.”‡

Concerning the selections from the Gospels and Epistles in our Prayer Books, we would wish to give the words of the late Mr. Hare. The homely illustration is to be considered as addressed to his own country parishioners.

“ The great plenty of Bibles and Testaments which God has given us in this land, makes us, I fear, more neglectful than we ought to be of our Prayer Book, which contains the Epistles and Gospels, as they are called, for the Sundays throughout the year. Now this is just the same kind of mistake, as if a man, because he had turnips and potatoes in his fields, were to neglect sowing any in his garden. The turnips and potatoes raised in gardens are generally of a choicer kind. So is it with the little portions of the Epistles and Gospels, which are selected to be read in the Communion Service. They are like so many choice plants culled out of the New Testament for some useful lesson of doctrine or practice. Therefore, though I have always exhorted you to read your New Testament, I would by no means have you neglect those selections from the New Testament which are printed by themselves in the Prayer Book. Indeed, I am not sure that a beginner in Christianity would not do best to set out with studying them. In giving you this advice I am thinking more particularly of the Epistles. We know on the authority of St. Peter himself, that in St. Paul's Epistles are things hard to be understood. Now a hard book is not fit for a beginner. In Christianity, as in every thing else, it is well to begin with what is easy, and to rise by degrees to what is harder. Indeed, this is St. Paul's own rule: first, milk for babies, and afterwards meat for strong men. What are we to

* Works, vol. xiv. p. 500.

† Ps. cxxxi. 2.

‡ Par. Lost, ii. 555.

do then? Are we to follow the example of the Roman Catholics, and to hold back any doctrinal or practical part of Scripture, especially so important a part as St. Paul's Epistles, from the people, as too hard for them? That would never do. The great doctrines of justification by faith alone, of forgiveness for Christ's sake, of our being unable to earn God's favour by any thing we can do, and of our being too weak and corrupt to take one step toward holiness, except by the assistance of the Holy Spirit,—these great doctrines are the very foundations of Christianity. They are the very things to give us that sense of sin, that distrust of ourselves, that feeling of entire dependence on God, that love for the Father and the Son, which are the springs and fountains of all Christian living. These things, moreover, are quite as necessary to be taught now, as at any former time; because human nature is not changed; and men are still just as apt to value themselves on their merits, and to make light of their sins, and to think little about God, as they ever were of yore. Therefore, being still prone to the same proud fancies and conceits, we have still need of the same good lessons, to show us our natural vileness and nothingness in the sight of God. But these lessons are taught more fully, more clearly, and more convincingly in St. Paul than in any other part* of the New Testament. Therefore, seeing that these lessons are so important, and that St. Paul is the best teacher of them, it would never do to withhold his writings from the people. Meat must be given them as well as milk. Still, as all meat is not equally suited to every stomach, the Church, out of the strong meats of St. Paul and the other Apostles, has picked out the plainest and the most nourishing morsels, and sets them from time to time before the people. It has chosen a certain part of such passages out of St. Paul's and the other Epistles, as appeared most likely to be generally useful; and these passages are placed in the Prayer Book by themselves, that even those who cannot understand the whole of St. Paul, may be put in the way of reading the plainest and most important points of them. Therefore, I would advise you all to read the Gospels in the New Testament, but to begin with reading the Epistles in the Prayer Book; and to be content with what you find there till you have made such progress in the knowledge of holy things, as may encourage you in trying a bolder flight.(?) I do not say, neglect St. Paul, or the other Epistles; only go on by degrees: be content to make yourselves masters of the easier passages, before you meddle with the harder. Be content to exercise yourselves awhile in the shallower places, before you plunge into the deeper, lest you get out of your depth and sink."—vol. ii. p. 74—77.

We believe this to be very sound and good advice, and it would be wished that parochial clergymen generally would not gratify the *minority* of their hearers at the expense of the *majority*, by dwelling on favourite texts from the Romans—better suited, as

* We do not say that this is put too strongly, for certainly Mr. Hare ever turned his flock to the Gospels, as we see just below. But, lest any one should think so, let us propose, on the other hand, Mr. Ogilvie's Bampton Lectures to the attention of our readers.

treated on commonly, to *itching ears*, than practical edification. We therefore recommend the plain parts of the Epistles and Gospels. But, if it should be necessary to speak once in a way of those depths (to use the words of Bishop Hall) in which the elephant may swim, we could wish that the plan of the late Reginald Heber were followed, as exemplified in the subjoined extract. The text is, Joshua, xxiv. 15, *Chuse (? choose*) you this day whom ye will serve: * * * but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.*

“First, it is plain, that, in the opinion of the Prophet Joshua, a choice between good and evil was, to a certain extent, in the power of his hearers; and that he neither supposed them, according to some wise men, to be irresistibly influenced and swayed by the impressions which outward objects made on their mind; nor, as others have also fancied, to be already so absolutely predestinated by God to heaven or hell, as that their choice must be naturally and necessarily determined by the gift or refusal of an overpowering grace, which, as none could resist when it was bestowed, so none could, without it, be quickened to repentance. For if the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, were not in the power of all,—and if all, to whom this grace is given, were saved in consequence of an irresistible decree, it is plain, that the admonition and example of Joshua, and all other admonitions and examples whatever, would be alike needless to the one and fruitless to the other; inasmuch as the reprobate could not be quickened, nor the elect, according to such a notion, perish. And as it would be mere madness to exhort the last of these to beware of falling, when God had determined to hold them upright; so to exhort the former, the reprobates, to forsake those sins to which they are impelled by a fatal and incurable disease of nature, is something worse than fruitless; and no other than a cruel mockery, of which a wise man would not, and a prophet like Joshua, speaking by the authority of God, could not, we may rest assured, be guilty.”—*Heber's Sermons*, vol. iii. 188—190.

Next to *composition* and the *choice of subjects* and the generally uncontroversial way of treating them, it would be hardly necessary to say that sermons addressed to a country congregation should be plain and practical, were it not that experience teaches us that they usually are not so. We speak, indeed, from a painful experience, for our walk of every-day life (seldom diversified) is amongst those whose learning, for the most part, can only be that which maketh a man wise unto salvation. And, in such a walk of life, one used to the city—*homines urbemque feris præponere*

* We observe the word to be so spelt throughout the sermon. In Mr. Hare's sermons there are several peculiarities in the spelling—but not so many as in Mitford's *Greece*, and in Walter Savage Landor's works. One, by the way, of these talented men, edited a volume of Walter Savage Landor's poems,—it is long since it was in our hands, and which of the Hares edited it we forget just at present.

silvis—has very little idea, or, at least, a very imperfect idea, how much he has to learn himself, and how much, how very much to teach others. It is in visiting from house to house, as Wesley said, that a clergyman is enabled to fathom the capacities of his congregation; without so doing, he is almost as a ship reft of chart and compass. But when once a parochial clergyman, awake to the heavy responsibility of his charge (yet who really is awake, *who is sufficient for these things?*) and having learned what are the capacities of his hearers, begins to meditate with a serious and a heavy heart on these matters,—then it is,—as Burnet so well observes in that most excellent and instructive and heart-stirring treatise,—*THE PASTORAL CARE*,—that the preacher learns to strip that of all garnishing, which is offered in the church to be understood of all. In short, a preacher is to fancy himself as in the room of the most unlearned man in his whole parish; and therefore he must put such parts of his discourse as he would have all understand, in so plain a form of words, that it must not be beyond the meanest of them. This he will certainly study to do, if his desire is to edify them, rather than to make them admire himself as a learned and high-spoken man. What then are we to say concerning the oratorical and popular sermons of the day,—at least of very many of them? What but this, in the words of the same prelate, “We wish the majesty of the pulpit were more looked to; and that no sermons were offered from thence but such as should make the hearers both the better and the wiser; the more knowing and the more serious.” Indeed, the poet says well,—

“The clear harangue, and cold as it is clear,
Falls soporific on the listless ear;
Like quicksilver, the rhetoric they display
Shines as it runs, but grasp’d it slips away.”*

Or, as he again expresses himself, expostulating with those neither cold nor hot,—

“Rhetoric’s artifice, the work of man;
And tricks and turns, that fancy may devise,
Are far too mean for Him that rules the skies.”†

In making these statements we have purposely given them in the words of others, if so they might have the greater weight, and we conclude what more especially relates to this matter with the opinion of Bishop Wilson,—one of whom might be said, what the “blind Melisigenes, thence Homer called,” says of Axlus,

* Cowper’s Progress of Error.

† Ibid. Expostulation.

Φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισι Πάντας γὰρ φιλέσκει.* “If their sermons were plain and practical, with an eye to the understanding and capacities of those that are to hear them; if they would always read the service, and administer the sacraments, with great seriousness, *doing holy things after an holy manner*; and take care *that the ministry be not blamed*, through any liberties they take: this would convince the world effectually of the great blessing of a standing ministry.”†

But here it is that a but too common fault is to be guarded against, for it happens with many according to the proverb,

“Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim.”

What we allude to is, the great mistake some fall into in using *low language* under the idea of speaking *familiarly*, or, in a tongue to be “understood by the people.” But in this they pass a fallacy upon themselves, for it is not *understanding*, as they imagine, but *learning*, that the people want. We do not mean to say, without any restrictions, that the mass are *quick* of comprehension, for this would not be true,—but they will certainly understand a plain discourse well enough, and will treasure it up,—yea, and as we can testify, ask for it again. We remember particularly the impression which was made by a sermon on Ezekiel, xiii. 10. “*One built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar.*” The text was taken, as our clerical readers will well recollect, from the first evening lesson for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, and the subject dwelt upon naturally was the wisdom of those builders which built for eternity. A full year after, during a parochial visit, it was discoursed upon, and asked for again. The truth is, as relates to great plainness of speech, “great regard is to be had to the nature of the auditory, that so the point explained may be in some measure proportioned to them. Too close a thread of reason, too great an abstraction of thought, too sublime and metaphysical a strain, are suitable to very few audiences, if to any at all.”

Mr. Hare’s sermons, no doubt, were proportioned to his auditory, and this accounts for the many peculiar expressions, and the sometimes extreme homeliness of illustration, which is to be found in many of them. We would instance, for example, in vol. i. pp. 74. 79. 96. 259. 290. 339, 497; in vol. ii. pp. 36, 37. 52. 114. 198. 244. 305. 312. 334. 570. 615., with many other passages which we have omitted to note down. But, as we before said, we do not consider the homeliness of these sermons out of place; though we might think, that had Mr. Hare been living, he would have used the ὑγρωσσὼν σπόγγος to some of them,

* Iliad, z. v. 14.

† Sermons, vol. iv. p. 253.

because, especially when we compare them with the two last in the second volume, we can see a *why* and a *wherefore*. Who need doubt but that the passage which follows,—plain and practical enough,—was well proportioned to his hearers?—

“ But you may ask me, how is a man to get to feel such a longing for God’s forgiveness, as shall make him pray for it with his heart, or with his spirit, as well as with his tongue. Some of you may be tempted to say within yourselves, ‘ It is not my fault that I do not feel all this ; I have tried to do so, and cannot.’ To such a man I answer, ‘ I believe it, I believe it fully. Nothing is more certain, than that we cannot of ourselves call up spiritual feelings in our hearts at pleasure. Man, in his natural, unassisted state,—man, without the help of the Holy Ghost, cannot love the things of God.’ St. Paul’s language on this point is clear and positive ; and even if he had never written a word about the matter, one could hardly look round the world, one could not look into one’s own heart, and not perceive that it is not natural for man to love the things of God. Many of God’s laws we can keep naturally, or at least with no more than that ordinary and scant measure of divine grace, which must have been vouchsafed even to the heathens. For example, the light of conscience, and the checks of laws and education, are enough to hold most men back from the grosser offences (?) against their neighbours, such as murder and adultery. Again, a man may be induced to eschew certain vices, by observing their evil consequences in this world. He may see that brawls abroad and sickness at home often follow after strong drink, and for this reason may shun drunkenness. In like manner he may be led to thrift and industry, by noticing how surely waste and sloth bring a man to rags and hunger ; or he may be rendered cleanly and regular, by remarking the discomforts and troubles of dirt, untidiness, and disorder. Further, a man, without being a Christian, may do many kind and praiseworthy actions, out of a regard for public opinion,—from the principles to be met with even in such books as have no concern with religion,—or through an easy cheerful temper, and a compassionate heart. To this pitch of excellence, we often see, an irreligious man may attain. And what does it amount to ? To harmlessness, which is the virtue of the sheep ; to industry, which is the virtue of the ant ; to prudence, which is the virtue of the bee ; to friendliness and generosity, strong traces of which may be found in the half-human* dog. I do not say that there may not now and then be an example of an irreligious man rising beyond this, and devoting himself to the service of his fellow-creatures, out of what seems to be true love.

* Just after this was read we were on a parochial visit, and our way was towards the Downs. On going we met with a shepherd, his dog, and his flock, and—*sicut meus est mos*—entered into conversation with him. Ourselves rested—instructed also—and the shepherd pleased, we passed on. Some two hours after we returned by the same way, and found the dog left in charge of the flock, whilst the shepherd had gone down to the village below ; and never were we more struck with the importance of the “ half-human dog.” He knew us,—looked unutterable things,—and seemed to make it known to us—*more canino*—that he was left in charge of five hundred sheep, not one of which must escape his faithful care !

But, generally speaking, the virtues of the irreligious are only animal virtues. They are only excellences which belong to man, as an observing and social animal: the proof of which is, that even beasts that perish share them with him. Mind, I am not saying that thrift and industry, and friendliness, are not good qualities; and nobody can be a true Christian without them. But, excellent as they are, they are not spiritual qualities; and, when standing by themselves, can no more make a Christian, than wood without sails can make a ship. A plank of wood, you know, will float of itself, and, if large enough, will bear up a man who lays hold on it. So a person having those animal good qualities, which lie within the reach of the natural man, will float on the tide of this world, and, as the phrase is, will keep his head above water. But would you prepare for the voyage which you must all undertake? Would you speed toward the haven where we shall all one day wish to be? Mere wood will not serve; you must get sails.* To the virtues of this world you must add the feelings of another world. To the animal good qualities, which, as animals, we have in common with the gentler and more social of the brutes, you must add those spiritual graces which raise man to a brotherhood with the angels. This is the one thing especially needful, which yet no man can do for himself. No man can say, 'I will love God.' No man can say, 'I will grieve for having offended God by my coldness and negligence in his service.' These feelings are no longer natural to us; we lost them at the Fall; and ever since a man can no more bid them spring up in his heart, than the hull of a ship can fit itself out for sea, and wing itself with sails for starting."—vol. ii. p. 94—97.

Another point to be much attended to in *Parochial Preaching* is, that ideas should not be too much condensed, but expanded rather; or else, which perhaps is better, the same idea should be enforced over and over again in different words. In that case, what is not at first intelligible, may become so presently. Again, weighty truths may be conveyed in pithy sentences, such as are like to keep their hold on people's minds, and may be often presented to them. But in this, as in all other cases, extremes are to be avoided, and a too great diffuseness of style will be equally bad with over conciseness, which dwindles into obscurity,—at least with nine-tenths of a country congregation, if not with a

* Cowper's lines were probably in Mr. Hare's mind when he wrote this passage—

"Bound on a voyage of awful length,
And dangers little known,
A stranger to superior strength,
Man vainly trusts his own.

"But oars alone can ne'er prevail
To reach the distant coast;
The breath of heaven must swell the sail,
Or all our toil is lost."

Human Frailty.

town one too. What Horace says of dramatic poetry is true here, and indeed under any circumstances :—

“ Brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio.”

Connected with this part of our subject is the ancient custom of division and sub-division, than which nothing can be well imagined more certain to puzzle and confound an audience not used to syllogize much for themselves. Happily, however, this ancient tyranny of custom is fast departing, and it is now extremely rare to hear more than a direct statement concerning the text or subject to be treated on. We may again avail ourselves of the words of Horace, so much to the purpose :—

“ Cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis hæc virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici
Pleraque differat, et præsens in tempus omittat.”

We may remark, by the way, that curious divisions were at one time so generally looked for and expected, that Jackson, in leaving them off, was obliged to apologize for quitting “ *Dichotomy*,” &c. to be practical. Those who are acquainted with Bishop Andrewe’s and Donne’s Sermons will at once acknowledge how much chaff is to be winnowed away even from their good matter, more particularly as regards the former. The following is a very curious passage from Jackson, relative to the division and subdivision of discourses :—“ In this disquisition I hope you will dispense with me, for want of a *formal division* or *dichotomy*, because the channel through which I am to pass is so narrow, and so dangerously beset with rocks and shelves on the right hand and on the left ; as there is no possibility for two to go on breast, nor any room for *steerage*, but only *towage*. One passage in my disquisition must draw another after it, by one and the same direct line.”*

The sermons affixed to this article are excellent on the heads here dwelt upon. In Bishop Heber’s, it is true, there occur certain divisions, but they arise at once out of the text, and suggest themselves spontaneously. And, if such should not be the case in all instances, they are so plain and forcible as to carry weight and attention with them at once. But perhaps one of the most striking points in these volumes is, that proper expansion and contraction of the subject dwelt upon, which, ordinarily, can arise only from deep thought and much reading, together with such experience as can be reaped only from much parochial visit-

* Works, vol. iii. p. 751.

ing, and much observation of the tempers and the manners of men. Moreover,—a thing to be much observed in these days,—they take in the whole compass of our spiritual and moral duties; we say of moral also, for, in the words of Bishop Sprat, “Let none be deceived, moral preaching is of marvellous use, whenever it is subservient to the inspired doctrine of Christianity, and does not strive to jostle that, which is its principal, quite out of the pulpit.”

We were now about to have relieved ourselves of the thoughts which crowd upon our minds relative to some most important—we might say *the* most important—points of parochial preaching. But our favourite Bishop Taylor’s Advice to his Clergy lies open before us on our table, and we cannot do better than transcribe a leaf out of his book,—and the more so, as that great master of the English language has forcibly said what less able, even though not less zealous, candidates for eternity, might weaken by alteration. The paragraphs which follow are from his “Rules and Advices concerning preaching :”—

“In the reproof of sins be as particular as you please, and spare no man’s sin, but meddle with no man’s person; neither name any man, nor signify him, neither reproach him, or make him to be suspected; he that doth otherwise makes his sermon to be a libel, and the ministry of repentance an instrument of revenge; and so doing he shall exasperate the man, but never amend the sinner.

“Let the business of your sermons be to preach holy life, obedience, peace, love among neighbours, hearty love; to live as the old Christians did, and the new should; to do hurt to no man, to do good to every man; for in these things the honour of God consists, and the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.

“Press those graces most that do most good, and make the least noise; such as giving privately, and forgiving publicly; and prescribe the grace of charity by all the measures of it which are given by the apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. For this grace is not finished by good words, nor yet by good works, but it is a great building, and many materials go to the structure of it. It is worth your study, for it is fulfilling of the commandments.

“Because it is impossible that charity should live, unless the lust of the tongue be mortified: let every minister in his charge be frequent and severe against slanderers, detractors, and backbiters; for the crime of backbiting is the poison of charity, and yet so common, that it is passed into a proverb, *After a good dinner let us sit down and backbite our neighbours.*

“Let every minister be careful to observe, and vehement in reproofing, those faults in his parishioners, of which the laws cannot or do not take cognizance; such as are many degrees of intemperate drinkings, gluttony, riotous living, expenses above their ability, pride, bragging, lying in ordinary conversation, covetousness, peevishness, and hasty anger, and

such like. For the word of God searches deeper than the laws of men; and many things will be hard to be proved by the measures of courts, which are easy enough to be observed by the watchful and diligent eye and ear of the guide of souls."*

It is quite impossible that any thoughtful minister of the word should read these lines and not see in them the very essence of that practical parochial preaching, which, under God, by the power of the Holy Ghost, is able to convert and to save souls. *These things are good and profitable unto all men*, and will render secret sins too heavy a burden, and hold back from presumptuous ones. Sermons moulded after such rules as these, though perhaps we may not see their effect, will, like the seed, spring and grow up, one knoweth not how. God, in his own good time, will give the increase. And is not this what the parochial clergyman finds continually? Has he not reason to give continual thanks for that the labours of his predecessors, under God, are bringing forth fruit, even when in sorrow of heart, and with many tears, those predecessors may have lamented that the seed was, as it were, sown by the road side? It is even so. Nay, it shows how the leaven works which is the leaven of the Gospel of peace. In one house is found a "Preparation for the Sacrament" long laid by, but taken up in the hour of need, and treasured for the instruction and the comfort which it gives. In another, sundry "*good books*" (the common term amongst country people for all those books which teach a man to be wise unto salvation), ranged in regular order above the Bible, and well *thumb'd*, show that they were not distributed in vain. Nay more, heavy and sad regrets come out in confession, and it is seen full well and clearly that the word of truth has been burning in many a man's bones, and would not let him rest. Therefore (inasmuch as a man cannot know the way of the spirit), *In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.*† But having spoken of the Gospel leaven, it reminds us of one of Mr. Hare's sermons, of which we will give the beginning. It is a specimen, perhaps, of what may be called *too familiar* illustration, but it is nevertheless practically good.

"There are two things we should always keep in mind,—what we ought to be, and what we are. In fixing our eyes on what we ought to be, we see the good we should aim at: in looking at what we are, we see the evil we should get rid of. If we thought only of what we ought to be, we might pass through life without ever finding out our own sinfulness, and might even fall into the mistake of fancying that because we know and approve what is good and right, we must be good and

* See Clergyman's Instructor, pp. 102, 103, 4th edit.; or Jeremy Taylor's Works, vol. xiv. pp. 499, 500.

† Eccles. xi. 6.

right ourselves. On the other hand, if we kept our eyes only on what we are, we should grow so accustomed to our sins, and to the sins of those about us, that we should cease to think of the great guilt and danger of such common every-day matters, and perhaps should get to look upon them almost as things of course. A man may walk with his eyes bent on the ground till he grows double: a man may live in sin, and hear of sin, and look on sin, till he loses all sense of uprightness. For these reasons, the two things—*what we ought to be*, and *what we are*—should be often compared together. When this is done, and they are brought before a man, and the difference between them is pointed out to him,—when the preacher says to us, ‘Look here! this glorious pattern of excellence is what God designed you to be! but, alas! that little, puny, crooked, stunted thing, is what you are;’—the glaring contrast between what we ought to be, and what we are, may awaken even the proudest and most conceited to a sense of their manifold imperfections, and may move them for very shame, to set about amending and improving.

“Now, what we ought to be, we may learn from the parable which I have chosen for my text. ‘The kingdom of Heaven is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.’ You all know what leaven is, or at least you know what yeast is, which is nearly the same thing. You know too that, if you want to have good bread, you must begin by getting good yeast, and must knead it up well with the flour, so that the dough may rise and become light, instead of being heavy and lumpish. Now Jesus Christ, in this parable tell us, that, as yeast is mixed up with flour, and works its way through every part of it, in order to turn it into bread, in like manner must his Gospel be mixed up with the hearts of men, and must work through every part of them, before they can be turned from children of death into what children of life ought to be. The leaven of his word must work in them until the whole is leavened,—not only their outward behaviour, but their inward feelings also,—not only their deeds, but their words, and their very thoughts;—and not only those feelings and thoughts which seem to belong more nearly to religion, but all their feelings and all their thoughts. Whether in church or out of church, at home or abroad, in business or in pleasure; whether with his family, or with servants, or with his friends,—wherever the Christian may be, and whatever he may be about, the leaven of the Gospel will be living and working in him. Whatever he does, he will do as unto God, always bearing in mind that he is God’s child, and God’s servant. As a good child and a good servant always keeps his father’s or his master’s will steadily in view, and endeavours to perform it,—so does the follower of Christ try to follow Christ in doing the will of his Father. As light cannot hide itself, or check itself, but, when a candle is burning in a room, it fills the whole room with light, and leaves no corner of it in darkness; so, when the light of the Gospel is burning in a man, it must needs spread through every part of him, and fill every part with light; and it enables him to walk in every thing, and to act in every thing, not blindly, as in darkness, but seeingly, so that he knows what he ought to do, and is able to do it. This, I say, it must needs do, unless there be

something within him to check it; for the light will not check itself, or stop itself. The heaven will work through his whole heart, and soul, and mind, raising them all, turning them all from heavy lumps of dough into nourishing wholesome bread. There is no part of a man's nature which the Gospel does not purify, no relation of life which it does not hallow. It does not make him less a husband, less a father, less a son, less a servant, than he was before; it does not rob him of one of his finer feelings, of one of his home affections, of one of his powers of body or mind, but it gives them all a lift, and sanctifies them all, and makes them all rise heavenward."—vol. i. p. 140—143.

We have now, we believe, mentioned the more particular points which have relation to Parochial Preaching,—to which species of preaching our remarks are now confined. Those who would desire a regular treatise on preaching, may safely be referred to Mr. Gresley's *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*, a good work, as we before observed, though imperfect in many of its parts.

Ere, however, we proceed to give certain extracts from the sermons before us, we cannot but observe, in conclusion, that he who hopes to succeed in his preaching, and to win souls to Christ, must be all earnestness. "When he preacheth," (says Herbert, concerning the parson preaching,) "he procures attention by all possible art, both by earnestness of speech, it being natural to men to think, that where is much earnestness, there is somewhat worth hearing; and by a diligent and busy cast of his eye upon his auditors, will let them know that he observes who marks and who not," &c. Now, what the good George Herbert calls *art* we humbly conceive should be *reality*. The preacher, it is true, from constitutional temperament may not always be able to appear all life and animation,—nay, his manifold infirmities, and the more flagrant outrages of malicious wickedness, may make him sad,—but there is an earnestness in things relating to God, which should be discernible at all times, and a country congregation is not slow upon such occasions. The way to increase this earnestness is, of course, by being much in prayer, and by striving to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: or, as St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, *by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned; by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the arm of righteousness on the right hand, and on the left.** Indeed, the preacher must be most careful to live sermons, and then, sooner or later, he will not fail to command attention. But "he that lives an idle life, may preach with truth

* 2 Cor. vi. 6, 7. Hear what George Herbert says of this epistle. "What an admirable Epistle is the Second to the Corinthians! how full of affections. He joys, and he is sorry; he grieves and he glories; never was there such a care of a flock expressed, save in the great Shepherd of the fold, who first shed tears over Jerusalem, and afterwards blood. Therefore this care may be learned there, and then woven into sermons, which will make them appear exceeding reverend and holy."—c. vii.

and reason, or as did the Pharisees ; but not as Christ, or as one having authority." Moreover, in his preaching, the country parson, as in his parochial visits, should speak *feelingly*, if indeed, it is possible to separate feeling from earnestness. The congregation must be made to *feel* that it is their eternal welfare that he is anxious about,—and that his words are not words of course, but of sober, though passionate, expostulation. Such we may imagine to have been the "Village Preacher," so touchingly described in the well known lines of Goldsmith.

" Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side ;
But in his duty prompt, at ev'ry call,
He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt, for all :
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries,
To tempt its new-fledg'd offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allur'd to brighter worlds, and led the way.

" Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain, by turns dismay'd,
The rev'rend champion stood. At his control,
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul ;
Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise,
And his last falt'ring accents whisper'd praise.

" At church with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorn'd the venerable place ;
Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff, remain'd to pray."*

A remarkable instance of the truths conveyed in the two last lines, is given by the excellent Nelson in his life of Bishop Bull,†

* Deserted Village.

† The instance is so remarkable that we cannot help giving it in a note.

" There was a petty occurrence, which happened a little after he came to this living, which contributed very much to the establishing his reputation as a preacher, in so disaffected a place as this was ; and since oftentimes from very little seeming accidents, such as this, there have been, as is known to every one's observation, most considerable effects brought out ; it is hoped, hence, that the notice of it will not be thought altogether useless, or be unacceptable for appearing at first trivial. Now the matter was this :—One Sunday, when he had began his sermon, as he was turning over his Bible, to explain some texts of Scripture which he had quoted, it happened unfortunately (as it was thought) that his notes, contained in several small pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church ; by which means there was instantly raised a laughter in many of his congregation, consisting chiefly of wild seafaring persons ; these, concluding that their young preacher would now, for want of his materials, be entirely at a nonplus, were not a little pleased ; and prepared themselves hereupon to sport at him with an air of contempt, not considering him as the minister of Christ to them in the weakness of flesh ; but some who were sober, or better natured than the rest, condemning the levity of those scoffers, with great concern gathered them up, and carried them to him in his pulpit. Mr. Bull took them ; but perceiving most of the company there present to be rather inclined to triumph over him in that surprise, and to insult his youth, which stood in need of such props, immediately clapped his notes into his book again and shut it, not without a great presence of mind, and then gave himself the liberty of discoursing to them on the spot, prosecuting the subject which

—the *malleus Socinianorum*. Nor is it to be doubted but that, by the grace of God, effects like to the above are continually occurring, and it is a comfort to every zealous and active parish parson, gradually to perceive the leaven working, and to find the hearts of the disobedient turned to the wisdom of the just. As says the son of Sirach, *Be not slow to visit the sick, for that shall make thee to be beloved;** and not only so, but it is in sickness that a timely word may be spoken, which shall sink down into hearts long seared, and teach many a knee to bend again in prayer, which has been little used to bend before the Lord, either secretly, or in the congregation of the faithful. We may ask of any parochial minister of some standing and ready affections—Are not these things so? They are.

“A soul redeemed demands a life of praise,
Hence the complexion of his future days.”

Therefore, let the ministry preach, and plant, and water, and the Lord of heaven and earth will, in his own good time, give the increase. Let us strive to weave for the congregations committed to our trust the chaplet of the “immarcessible amarant,”—

“Immortal amarant, a flow’r which once,
In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
Began to bloom.”

Having, however, spoken thus much on winning the affections of our hearers, it is necessary to say, at the same time, that they must speak boldly, as they ought to speak, and never, for fear of losing ground with any of the weaker brethren, attempt to compromise the everlasting truth, that the “everlasting Son of the Father”—though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered, *and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto ALL THEM THAT OBEY HIM*. Boldly then let the preacher speak, boldly let him rebuke vice, especially the *local*† vices of his parish, and if needs be, patiently let him suffer for righteousness and the truth’s sake; but still let him do so with fear and reverence, and with much charity, as becometh a candidate for mercy. In the words of Jeremy

he had begun; which he performed so very much to their satisfaction, that they who at first were most inclined to laugh at him, began to grow serious; and from despising him, were at length so affected with his discourse, that this mightily advanced his reputation for the future among them, and secured him the good will and esteem of those very persons who had been so forward to divert themselves at that which they apprehended would have exposed him to be a common derision.”—See *Life of Dr. George Bull*, pp. 26, 27. Works, vol. i. Ed. Burton.

* Eccles. vii. 35.

† See what Paley says: for example, with relation to drunkenness, which he calls a *local* vice, “found to prevail (i. e. inordinately) in certain countries, in certain districts of a country, or in particular towns, without any reason to be given for the fashion, but that it had been introduced by some popular examples.”—*Moral Philosophy*, Book iv. c. ii.

Taylor, so often quoted before (for he is a mighty master in these sentences,) "Let not the reverence of any man cause you to sin against God; but, in the matter of souls, being well advised, be bold and confident: but abate nothing of the honour of God, or the just measures of your duty, to satisfy the importunity of any man whatsoever, and God will bear you out."

It is hardly necessary to say, perhaps, in quitting these points, that no parochial preacher can do better than to study well Herbert's Country Parson, Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Advice to his Clergy, and Bishop Burnet's Discourse of the Pastoral Care. These, with several other most valuable instructions and directions, amongst which we would particularly instance Hort's Instructions to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tuam, and Bishop Wilson's Parochialia,—are collected in that most useful compilation, The Clergyman's Instructor. To these also may profitably be added, Chrysostom's work Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης—Bishop Jebb's translation of which we are glad to see is to be published in the Library of Fathers of the Church. But above all, let the Christian preacher lay up in his heart the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, and thence let him learn, that *The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves: if God, peradventure, will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.**

We now proceed to make some copious extracts from the lamented Heber's Parochial Sermons, and also from those of the late Mr. Hare. Our first extract from Bishop Heber will be the commencement of the very first sermon, which is one that will show the use of learning in a country parish. Indeed, the winning and interesting way in which Heber continually makes known to his parishioners, what is ordinarily so little known, the Antiquities of the Jews, and what relates to the worship of the temple, is a peculiar and remarkable feature in these excellent sermons. But, *ad rem*.

"The circumstances which gave rise to these words (My house shall be called *the House of Prayer*), and which have been shortly related in the Gospel of the day, will be understood by you more clearly, when I shall have explained what the practice was, which our Saviour thus strongly condemns.

"The temple of Jerusalem being different from our Christian churches both in the multitudes which it was to contain, and the kind of worship which was practised there, was not, as we might fancy, a small roofed building like that in which we are assembled, but a vast square court of three or four hundred feet every way, open over head to the sky, but sur-

* 2 Tim. c. ii. 24—26.

rounded with pillared walks and cloisters, and capable of containing many thousand worshippers, together with their offerings. At the west end of this court was the sanctuary, or House of the Lord, a sort of chapel, into which the priests only were allowed to enter; and before this last or in the midst of the court, was a large stone altar of the burnt offerings.

"The outer court, therefore, and the cloister round it, were the places where the people stood and prayed; and common decency required that this, as the scene of their solemn assembly, and the spot where they were to offer up their petitions to the Most High, should be kept with neatness and propriety, and devoted to the service of God alone. Of this propriety, however, the Jews both are, and always have been, exceedingly regardless. I have been in one of their synagogues, where the greater number of those who were present were talking about their own concerns, and settling their private bargains; and many of their ancient rabbins complain heavily, and almost in the words of the Lord, of the impiety of those who made the synagogue a house of merchandise. But in the case of the Temple the offence was still greater, from the peculiar holiness of that one mountain which God had chosen to put his name there; from the positive laws of the ancient Jews, which forbade them so much as to enter it with their shoes on their feet, or with staves in their hands, or to carry any burden or parcel through it; and from the particular abuse and extortions of those persons who were thus turned out by our Saviour, and whose practices were such as fully to justify the severe name of thieves.*"

"The case was this:—Every grown-up person in the Jewish nation was obliged by the law to attend at the time of Easter in the Temple, when, after certain offerings, they were admitted to the great yearly sacrifice. In like manner at the birth of a first-born son, and on certain other occasions, they were obliged to offer, according to their circumstances, a calf, a lamb, or a pair of young pigeons, as an offering of purification. Now as those Israelites who came from a distance could not conveniently bring the proper offerings with them, the officers of the temple sold doves and lambs to such as wanted them for this purpose, and had their stalls within the cloisters, where, having the command of the market, and their customers being anxious to finish those religious ceremonies for which they came, they rated their commodities at a very extravagant and oppressive price, often demanding a piece of gold for a single pigeon. Hence, too, another great oppression arose; for, as the worshippers had not always sufficient money to answer such demands, or required to have their money changed, others were ready, who either lent them money at interest, contrary to the law of Moses, or required a heavy per centage on every sum, how small soever, which they reduced into a more convenient form. The noise, the quarrelling, the confusion to which such proceedings gave rise, may be easily conceived; and, as none were admitted into the Temple who did not thus pay at the door,

* Hammond in loc. says, "By λησται, thieves, here are meant those that by merchandise make gain of others, not those that are robbers indeed; so John ii. 16, 'tis οἶκος ἐμπορίας, a house of merchandise." But even the common meaning of thieves might be borne out by a passage adduced by commentators from Josephus.—See B. J. v. 9.4.

many of the poor were completely shut out from the house of God, which was, of right, common to all. As many, however, of the rich men and the magistrates derived a considerable profit from the practice, no one had power to alter that of which many complained: and St. Jerome, perhaps with reason, considers it as one of the most extraordinary miracles ever wrought by our Saviour, and only to be accounted for by the divine terrors of His eye, and His awful countenance, that a single man like Him, without any worldly authority or claim to respect, could, at once, and without resistance, drive out such a multitude of interested and insolent attendants and guards as were concerned in this traffic. But, be this as it may, &c.”—vol. ii. pp. 1—4.

This extract will be sufficient to show the way in which Heber brought down his various and comprehensive learning to the understanding of the very skirts of the people amongst the congregation at Hodnet. It is only well-read theological scholars, indeed, who can fully appreciate such passages. Let any one turn to Lightfoot’s Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations, (vol. ii. p. 224,) or to his second part of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, (vol. i. pp. 548—551,) (and we refer to Lightfoot only because his works are the more accessible,) and he will soon see how much *hard study and careful reading* is required for *easy writing*. As we shall not have space to extract other passages under the head of Antiquities, we would refer to vol. i. 66, 228; ii. 12, 19, 33, 332, 345, 379; iii. 205, &c. &c. To take another extract. How solemnly humiliating is the passage which follows:

“In Christian countries, indeed, (and this I say with great thankfulness to that God Incarnate who hath made his name and will and power so gloriously and brightly known to us,) in Christian countries, it is most true that vice has been driven, by the light of the Gospel, into greater obscurity; that good examples are less uncommon and more powerful; and that, as the grace of God has been more richly given, so its fruits have been fairer and more abundant; and have exerted a power of opinion and decency over many, even of those whose hearts have been never thoroughly under the influence of Christian principles. Thus, mankind, in general, are wiser and better in England, at this day, than they appear to have been among the old Romans and Jews, or than they now are among the idolaters of India. The more detestable and outrageous vices are not so often, and not so boldly practised with us as with them; and it cannot be said, that the popular feeling of our country takes pleasure in those who do such things.

“But, with all this improvement, and, as I have already said, I thankfully allow it to be a very great one; with all this improvement, enough, and more than enough, of wickedness, enough of secret, enough of daring and open and fashionable wickedness remains among us, to take from us all occasion of boasting, and to justify, to their fullest extent, the charges brought by the apostle against unregenerate man; and to show plainly, that, even in Christian countries, and among those who call themselves Christians, there are many having ‘a form of godliness, but

denying the power;—many, who have ‘fallen away from their first love’ and grace received; many who are still ‘in the bond of iniquity, and gall of wickedness;’ that all are but too worldly, too carnal, too careless of God and good things; that all have abundant reason to humble themselves before Him, as miserable sinners; as having ‘erred and strayed from his ways like lost sheep;’ as having ‘left undone those things which we ought to have done, and done those things which we ought not to have done.’ If, indeed, we doubt the sinfulness of mankind in general, we have only to look at our neighbour; if we doubt our own sinfulness, we have only to examine, fairly and freely, our own hearts and behaviour; nor can we fail to come to the same conclusion with the prophet Isaiah, in the chapter which I am now endeavouring to explain to you, that ‘judgment is far from us, neither doth justice overtake us;’ that we may ‘look for judgment, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far from us;’ and that we can hope for no preserver, nor ‘intercessor, but the arm of the Lord, and his righteousness only.’

“It is thus that Scripture always leads us to a consideration of the comforts and hopes of the Gospel; by first laying before us the darkness and crimes, the fears and the dangers of our natural condition; and by proving, that, in ourselves, we have neither strength, nor life, nor hope; but only in the free mercies of God, through his Son, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer.

“My brethren, this is a truth of the most important and practical nature. It is a truth, which, if duly and carefully kept in mind, will show forth its consequence in all that we do, or say, or think; which will make us humble towards God; meek and merciful towards mankind; and will, above all, fill our hearts with unbounded love and thankfulness towards that blessed Lord, whose mercy and merits have opened to us an escape from hell, and an entrance into Paradise. A knowledge of our own fallen condition by nature, and a recollection of the many sins and infirmities, which still cleave to, and defile, the very best of us, will effectually keep us from indulging in vain thoughts of our own goodness, our own holiness, our own proficiency in grace and faith, and in the favour of the Almighty. The offender, who is kneeling before his judge for pardon, has little time, has little heart or inclination, to run over the beadroll of his own fancied merits; or to demand reward, when he feels his need of forgiveness. ‘God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are!’—may flow very naturally from the lips of one who knows not his own condition; but, believe me, there is no one who diligently searches into his own works, his own thoughts, and inmost sentiments, who will not feel himself not only inclined, but compelled to smite his breast, and say, ‘God be merciful to me a sinner!’”—vol. i. p. 116—119.

What may we suppose to have been the practical effect produced on the audience at Hodnet, from these words on the Parable of the Sower? That which Quintilian lays down is well exemplified. “*Quidquid loquemur, ubicunque, sit pro sua scilicet portione perfectum.*”

“The first kind of men to whom the Gospel is preached in vain, are

they, from whose hearts, while they hear the word, the devil takes away the knowledge and feeling of those truths which might else have moved their souls to faith and repentance, and might have brought forth, in their conduct, the fruits of holiness and life without end. This is what Satan is ready to attempt with all men; and he is generally most successful with those whom our Lord compares to the public and beaten path; who pass their lives entirely in the world; whose hearts are hardened with that sort of experience which a continued round of company and conversation produces; and where, consequently, the furrows of a good education, even where such has been afforded them, are beaten into a smooth and level surface, which is easy to pass over; but into which nothing sinks, and on which the gracious dews of heaven descend in vain. When such as these attend the house of God, it is the object of the devil to keep them from attending seriously to what is passing there, by filling their heads with unseasonable recollections of the world and worldly things, by drawing off their eyes and their thoughts to any object, how trifling soever, rather than to the will of God and their own eternal happiness. You will see the eyes of men like these wandering round the building of the church, or the faces of the congregation, seldom resting in one place, and never, even for a moment, marked with that seriousness which becomes a penitent sinner, in the peculiar presence of his Saviour and his God. They whisper to their neighbours; they turn over the pages of their books; or, if they seem composed and thoughtful, their thoughts, it is to be feared, are all engaged with those trifles, or that business, in which only they are accustomed to seek for happiness. When the service is over, ask them what they have heard, and they will not be able to give a reasonable answer. Satan has taken the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved. To men like these it may be of use, perhaps, to consider, that whatever worldly or wicked, or foolish thoughts arise in their minds, thus unseasonably, are, in truth, no less certainly visitations of the evil spirit, than if they could behold his wings waving over their heads, and his talons snatching from their souls those truths, on the knowledge of which their eternal salvation may, perhaps, depend. The danger of their situation may, perhaps, compose their minds to that calm fixedness, that fear of God, and reverence of His word, which the tempter must ever assault in vain; and the thought of heaven or hell may be employed to scare off the spoilers from their prey."—vol. i. p. 142—144.

We cannot help giving the two annexed extracts,—they will speak for themselves:

"Whatever my faith or knowledge may be, saith St. Paul, and however I use them to the conversion of others, though I preach the Gospel with the tongue of men and angels, yet if my preaching do not flow from a desire to do good, from a love of my brethren, I am like sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. The sweet or lofty sounds which such musical instruments offer, may move the passions of those who hear them; but the drum, or the cymbal, remains itself unaffected. The brass hears not the music, which so deeply affects the multitude; and though the soldier may glow with patriotic ardour, the trumpet, which

rouses him, partakes not his valour. And thus it is with him who, while he preaches to others, is himself a castaway. He may speak, and speak well and satisfactorily—of faith, and righteousness, and a judgment to come; but if he only speaks to show his own talents, if his sermon is not prompted by a desire to bring salvation to his hearers, if, in short, he preaches from any other motive than charity, his hearers may indeed be warned by his means; but, for himself, he surely cannot be profited.”—vol. i. p. 156.

“But, in truth, if we do our best in our station, and commit, in humble faith, the issue of the whole to God, we may be sure that our exertions, however small,—our alms, however scanty,—(provided we can do no more,) will not be thrown away. I have myself been sometimes astonished, when I have seen, or read, of the mighty good, which has arisen from small beginnings, accompanied by the blessing and favour of the Most High.* But, in giving our alms, we cannot tell, or calculate,—for no one knows, but God,—how much good even a widow’s mite may do. A single warm and comfortable meal, given to a poor neighbour, in a time of distress, may, by its consequences, be the means of saving a family.† It may seem strange; but what if this man were, even then, almost worn out with want and toil, and if such timely nourishment have prevented his falling sick, and preserved him in a capacity to labour;—are not then his own and his family’s lives sustained by it? or what, if such a small relief came at a moment, when his heart was growing hard with distress; and when he was tempted to take to bad courses,‡ for support;—may not a soul have been saved for ever, by our means? Oh, it will be a glorious sight, when the books of Providence are laid open before our eyes;—to see by what secret springs, what humble exertions, what meek and modest charities, the happiness of families, the support of nations, the great machine of the world itself, have been regulated and influenced:—to witness how God’s Providence may have given power and energy to the alms of a widow; or to the silent prayers of those who had prayers only to bestow; or how a cup of cold water given in the name of Christ, shall, in nowise, lose its reward.”—pp. 216, 217.

We now pass on to make a few extracts from the second volume. The first we shall make conveys to the unlearned in a simple way, not only instruction, but that comfort also which makes the heart to leap for joy,—neither do we know where the learned would be better taught. It is from the sermon on Dives and Lazarus.

“Now, to explain this point, which has perplexed exceedingly many pious and learned men, it is necessary to tell you, that in the ancient

* “God lays the foundation of great works, in despised and self-despising instruments; ‘in a day of small things,’ and, as it were, in a ‘grain of mustard seed,’ that he may have the greater honour.”—*Bishop Reynolds’s Works*, vol. iv. p. 337.

† This, from the vividness and life of the wording, looks very like an illustration drawn from parochial experience. There are many such in these volumes.

‡ Probably the verses of the Proverbs—“the words of Agur”—were in the writer’s thoughts.—xxx. 8, 9.

language of the Scripture, there are two very different places mentioned under very different names; the one called Gehinnon, or Tophet,—the other Hades, or Sheol. Both these are called Hell in English; but, I think, improperly; as Gehinnon is that dreadful lake, burning with brimstone and fire, into which both the souls and bodies of the wicked will be thrown, after the general judgment and resurrection of the last day, and after this world and all its elements shall have melted away with fervent heat; while Hades is described as a hollow place below the earth, in which the souls of all men shall abide, while separated from their bodies, and while waiting for the day of judgment. Of that place then, and of its different regions, a description is here given; and though the words of Christ are certainly not to be understood in a grosser bodily sense, yet, as we may be sure, that He would not, even in a parable, give us a false idea of the other world, we may learn hence, that, immediately after death, the soul of man does not, as some have fancied, sleep till the day of judgment; but that it is immediately carried, either to a place of pain, or to a place of pleasure, (such pain, and such pleasure, as spirits are capable of feeling,) both which should appear to be situated under the earth, and to be divided by a mighty gulf from each other. In the one of these, which is called Paradise, the spirits of the good remain in joy and hope. Here it was that the penitent thief on the cross was promised, that his soul should pass, the very day of his death; thither the soul of Christ himself descended, while His body remained in the sepulchre; and it is this common abode of all departed souls which we mean, when we say, that He descended into hell; for that the blessed Lord went down into a place of torment, it would be wild and wicked to imagine. In the other of these wide regions, which must be the place more properly called Hell, all those abide, whose hope of mercy is past, and to whom there remaineth but a fearful expectation of judgment to come, and a lamentable recollection of the time which they have misspent on earth. Of these regions,—this place of happiness, and this dungeon of misery,—it hath not pleased the Almighty to give us further knowledge: and even these opinions,—though founded, as I verily think, upon the plain word of God,—must be received with caution, as they are uttered, God knows, with doubt, humility, and fear.

“It is not necessary for us to know the secret things of the world to come: but it is most necessary, that we always keep in mind that there is a world to come, where fashion passeth away; where rich and poor are on the same level; and where faith, and good works, and alms, and prayers, alone can give us entrance into Paradise, or deliverance from the jaws of Hell. We cannot think of these things without being serious: It is impossible for us to look, even a little way, into that darkness which follows the grave, without withdrawing our thoughts from the toys and trifles of this world, whose value is mouldering away so soon, and whose noise and clamour will soon be swallowed up in silence. How do worldly honours come to an end, when the spirit hath unclothed itself of its fleshly robes, and goes in naked apprehension, to wait its concluding sentence. How do friendships and loves of sinners close, when those who loved each other best on earth, have the great gulf between them, or are doomed together to a dreadful communion of fire.

"But how different are the feelings of the pious and hopeful believer, in looking to the land of souls! To him there shall arise up a light in the darkness: to him shall hope and happiness open the gates of Paradise, where he shall pass his happy time with the good and wise men of every age of the world;* with his parents and his virtuous friends who are gone before, in constant expectation of the goodness of the Lord; and of that day, when a nobler Paradise shall invite him to its bowers; when his body, glorified and made immortal, shall reclothe his soul in perfect beauty; and when he shall be admitted to behold the brightness of that God, from whose face the heavens and the earth shall flee away.

"This is the promise made to us in Scripture: a promise confirmed, not only by Moses, and the prophets, but by the very evidence which the rich man desired that his brethren might receive—the resurrection of a greater man than Moses, from the dead! Him let us hear; let us believe Him; and in true repentance, and in lively faith, let us hope that he who pardoned the crucified but repentant robber, may open to us, by His merits, the eternal gates of Paradise."—vol. ii. pp. 37—40.

How many are they who, in the words of our English Homer, are "laughing aloud, but racked with deep despair!" How often is he to be found ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος! If such there were in Hodnet church, how must they have returned home, acknowledging that the written word of God, uttered by mortal mouth, is strong and powerful, and mighty to pull down the strongholds of sin, on hearing such words as these which follow:

"Many, many, are there, whose outward condition is the object of envy to half mankind, who would give up all their dazzling splendours for a single night of sweet sleep or a single day of quiet conscience; whose exaltation above the rest of mankind, is, in truth, a part of their chastisement; whose desires have been granted, and leanness sent withal into their souls; and who have been set in the high and slippery places,

* Many of our readers (in connection with this subject) may be pleased to see some lines of Southey's which have never appeared but in the Autobiography of Sir Egerton Brydges,—an extraordinary book, however egotistical. Lovers of the "*artes ingenue*" are much indebted to the "private press at Lee Priory in Kent." The lines alluded to are these,—and it is to be observed, that they are incomplete.

1

My days among the dead are past,
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old:
My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

2

With them I take delight in weal
And seek relief in woe;
And while I understand and feel
How much to them I owe,
My cheeks have often been bedew'd
With tears of thoughtful gratitude.

3

My thoughts are with the dead; with them
I live on long-past years;
Their virtues love; their faults condemn,
Partake their hopes and fears:
And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with a humble mind.

4

My hopes are with the dead; anon
My place with them will be,
And I with them shall travel on
Thro' all futurity;
Yet leaving here a name, I trust,
That will not perish with the dust.

See *Autobiography*, vol. ii. p. 272.

that their wretchedness might be so much the more visible to others, or, at any rate, more keenly perceptible to themselves.”—p. 74.

Wishing to give one or two extracts from the latter part of this volume, we are obliged to pass by the striking way in which Heber dwelt on the histories of the Old Testament. We would particularly, however, refer our readers to the history of David’s sin, in Sermon xxxvii. in which, by the by, what is said of idleness, (and all how true!) is to be found in South, vol. iv. p. 343; to the history of Jeroboam and Ahab, in sermons xl. and xlii., and to what is said of Jehu’s character in sermon xlv. though it is possible some may think what is said in the latter sermon, rather above the comprehension of a country congregation. This, however, is not.

“Nor is this all; the task of executing God’s anger on sinners, would, to a good man, be not only painful and odious, but it would also be often dangerous. He who was once accustomed to inflict pain on others, as a matter of duty, would be likely, by degrees, to find an unholy pleasure in the act, and to become the persecutor and oppressor of his brethren, not for God’s sake, but for his own. Nor can we wonder, therefore, that He, who will not lead his people into temptation, should choose for the most part, the rods of his anger, and the instruments of his righteous judgments from among those, who are not called by his name; and who are already filled with the leading elements of rage and bitterness; nor that such a person as Jehu, was taken as a fit agent to destroy the house of Ahab. Such men as these, indeed, are to the moral creation of God, what storms and tempests are to the natural: it is by the whirlwind and by the hurricane, not by the gentle breeze, that the air is purified from the pestilence.”—pp. 193, 194.* “Even in the highest orders of creation, they are not His *good* angels to whom God assigns the necessary parts of accusers and tormentors. The toils of the princes of the Seraphim are confined to the more pleasing charge of ministering to the wants, and warding off the dangers, and assisting the prayers of the heirs of salvation; while it is Satan who has the task to which his malice best adapts him, of proving the faith, and of exercising the patience, and of avenging the crimes of men, as their tempter, their persecutor, their adversary. What wonder then that the Almighty, when he desires to cut off an incorrigible offender, should choose his instruments from among those whose tempers are fitted to acts of severity; and whose furious passions, like those storms which the heathens feigned to murmur in their parent cave, till a breach was made for their passage, rush violently and with blind rage, through whatever channel the Almighty sceptre opens for them.”—pp. 192, 193.

With the two annexed extracts, each characteristic, we are obliged to conclude our extracts from the second volume.

* This, in Heber’s sermons, as will be seen by reference to the pages, precedes the former extract, but it suits these pages to place it as it is here placed. Compare what is here said with the remarks of Jeremy Taylor; “God hath many ends of Providence to serve by the hands of violent and vicious men,” &c. &c.—vol. v. p. 554.

“Christianity is no solitary concern to any of us. We must neither hope, nor grieve, nor rejoice, nor tremble, each man for himself, and without heeding what may befall his neighbour. We are more than neighbours; we are all one family, which, whether in heaven, or in earth, whether among the saints who reign in glory, or among the saints who yet sojourn in the valley of temptations and tears, is named by one common name, united by one common interest, washed by one common baptism, purified by the same precious blood, and whose prayers should mount up together in the same sweet savour before our common Father and Lord! To the performance of outward works of charity, it is not every one who hath power or opportunity. We cannot all give alms; we cannot all preach the Gospel; we cannot all, by wisdom and eloquence, warn the sinner of the error of his ways; but our lips, our hearts, our faith, our love may all be brought into the common stock of supplication; and the weakest of us all may pray for those whose wants he cannot relieve, and whose pride may scorn his reproof or counsel. Nor is it to others only that our prayers may thus be serviceable. Those, for whom we accustom ourselves to pray, we cannot help loving; and the more we pray for others, the more we shall be disposed to realize that character of BRETHREN,* by which our Master’s household should be known; and to give its full effect to that sublime invocation, in which all mankind are taught to address the maker of all, OUR FATHER, which art in heaven!”—pp. 253, 254.

“But the instruction to be drawn from those words (Matt. xxii. 21,) is not to be limited to the public affairs of nations; or to the relative obligations of religion and government. In this world there are many Cæsars; and our king, our country, our wives, our children, our friends, our business, and our worldly interests, all with whom we acknowledge a connection, or which, in this world, call for our exertions, or our care—are all implied in the one command of rendering to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s. Not only as prudent men, not only as endowed with natural affection, are we bound to be active and diligent in the performing of our worldly duties; and in rendering honour, tribute, obedience, fatherly care, love and charity, to our sovereign, to our superiors, to our families, to our kindred, to our poor; but, as Christians, we may not, and must not, neglect them; since, though these are called worldly duties, yet it is our duty to our neighbour, commanded in the same breath, and upheld on the same authority as the duty which we owe to God. When, therefore, you meet with men of high pretensions to faith and holiness, in whose lives this faith and holiness do not shine forth to warm and cherish their brethren;—if you meet a zealot in religious matters, who is careless of his duty to his king and country, unkind to his friends, and idle in his worldly business, be sure that this man’s religion is far too imperfect to be acceptable to God. God will not split†

* A beautiful instance of Christian brotherhood may be seen in Acts, ix. 17, where Ananias, taught of the Lord, addresses the late persecutor of the brethren by the affecting appellation of, BROTHER SAUL.

† Jeremy Taylor speaks of certain people who threw down and broke the tablets of Moses, and picked up, to keep, those pieces and fragments which suited their carnal nature best,

and separate his commandments ; he will not suffer us to obey any two or three which we choose, and leave the rest unattended to. He, who bids us render to God the faith and honour due to Him, requires also at our hands, that the ties and duties of the world should, in no case, be overlooked and forgotten. Away, then, with those who pretend that a faith alone in the merits of the Son of God has power to lead us to heaven ! Neither our faith, nor our prayers, nor our miracles, had we the power of working them, could set us free from a single duty of those which we owe to our neighbours. ‘ If any man bridle not his tongue, that man’s religion is vain ;’—‘ if any man do not labour to provide for his own, that Christian is worse than an infidel.’

“ It is then a fatal error to suppose that our strictness in rendering to God the things which are God’s, can justify us in neglecting those things which belong to Cæsar. But it is an equally deplorable, and still more common, mistake to fancy that, by leading mere harmless and useful lives in this world, by being industrious, civil and sober in our dealings with men, we may be excused from the faith, the holiness, and the prayers, which properly belong to God the Almighty. For, how, my friends, can we, in common sense, expect that God will suffer us to make any such compromise, or that He will allow us to neglect Him, because we are upright in our dealings with mankind ?

“ What should we ourselves say to a favourite son, who was always undutiful to his parents, yet well behaved to every one besides ? Should we excuse him for his ingratitude to ourselves, because he made himself useful to others ? or, should we not rather say, that the unkindness which he showed to those who most strongly claimed his affection, was aggravated and made worse by the general good character which he supported in other things ? ‘ To others,’ might the wretched parent exclaim, ‘ to others my son is kind ; to me alone, hard and undutiful ; and every good action which he does to his neighbours, only serves to increase the bitterness of the conduct which he maintains towards me !’ Exactly such are those who boast themselves in the kindness of their hearts, and in the accuracy of their dealings among their brethren of earth ; while God alone, the great Parent and Benefactor of all, receives no share whatever of their love, their honour, and their thankfulness.

“ My friends, while you are careful and troubled about many things, forget not the one thing needful. While you are zealous for your king and country, forget not Him by whose almighty blessing that country and that king must stand. While you are labouring hard for the support of your families, cease not to pray, that God would make your labour prosperous ! While you are anxious to pass honestly through the world, and to render to every man his lawful due, recollect, that you yourselves, your hearts, your affections, your faith, and your prayers, are the purchased property of Christ. Our bodies bear the stamp of his image ; our souls are redeemed by his blood ; our hearts are prepared temples, where the Holy Ghost should dwell ; and our best love, our warmest gratitude, our purest and most ardent services, are all too little, when we seek to pay the debt of a Christian to his Creator and Redeemer, and to render unto God the things which are God’s.

“That we may so love Him, and so strive to keep His commandments, as that we, who now bear his earthly image, may be superscribed with the promises of the Gospel, and bear, at length, in our immortal bodies, the image of God eternal in the heavens, may He grant, whose purchased flock we are, and who shall claim us as his own in the great day of final reckoning.”*—p. 352—355.

None, probably, will lament to find so long and so beautiful an extract in these pages. We must now take a passage or two from the third volume. The first we hit upon, relates to the conversion of St. Paul:—

“In the first place, the history of St. Paul’s conversion can hardly be noticed, even by the least attentive hearer or reader, without very solemn reflections on the freedom and riches of God’s grace, which could turn so quickly and so completely the persecutor into an apostle, and bend his heart and stubborn will to do and suffer all things, for a cause to which he had so long done all the injury in his power. But while we thus wonder at the secrets of divine mercy, and acknowledge the absolute necessity of God’s spirit to turn man from the error of his ways, and to open his eyes, that he may see the things belonging to his peace, shall we not do wisely to ask ourselves if we have never felt the same spirit by which Paul was sanctified, working with like blessedness, though not in a manner equally miraculous, to amend our hearts, and save our souls from the destroyer. Have we felt no rising sense of guilt, no strange perception of the happiness which God’s people inherit, no inward wish that we might partake with them in the blessings which Christ’s blood bestows, no weak and struggling inclination to amend our ways, and to give ourselves up to his service? O! as you would have mercy shown to your souls in the day of wrath, harden not your hearts, nor stop your ears, against these gracious feelings! They are the voice of the same God who spake to Paul, in his way to Damascus: and he who despiseth that voice, despiseth the Lord who died for him.”—vol. iii. pp. 48, 49.

The subjoined short, but painfully true passage, is from the sermon on St. Luke’s day,—Antioch’s beloved physician, whose praise is in the Gospel:—

“It is a fatal mistake to suppose, that there can be no apostacy from Christ where we are not absolutely called on to deny his name, or to burn incense to an idol. We deny our Lord, whenever, like that Demas who is named in my text (2 Tim. iv. 10), we, through love of this present world, forsake the course of duty which Christ has plainly pointed out to us. We deny our Lord, whenever we lend the sanction of our countenance, our praise, or even our silence, to measures or opinions which may be popular or fashionable, but which we ourselves be-

* We have not space to extract the remarks so plainly and so simply put in vol. ii. pp. 378, 379, on the translation of the Hebrew *Jehovah*, in our version by THE LORD; but they are well worth turning to.

lieve to be sinful in themselves, or tending to sin. We deny our Lord, whenever we forsake a good man in affliction, and refuse to give countenance, encouragement, and support to those who, for God's sake, and for the faithful discharge of their duty, are exposed to persecution and slander."—pp. 97, 98.

How beautiful is what is said of the saints in the sermon on the Saints' Day! How is it brought home to ourselves!—

"Let us recollect who those were whose virtues we thus despair of imitating, and by what help it was that they have attained to such a height of blessedness. They were men like ourselves—weak, ignorant, and sinful men, who felt, as much as we do, their want of power to serve the Lord; and who sought, as we may do, His grace to guide and strengthen them. They, who gave up all worldly riches for the sake of the Gospel, were, by nature, as fond of wealth as we, who grudge to God what he claims from us for His Church and for the poor. They, who resisted all temptations which the devil and the flesh could hold forth, were endued with the same capacities of enjoyment, the same passions, the same natural weakness of resolution, as we, who talk so much of being unable to withstand the persuasion of wicked friends, or the whispers of wicked appetites. They, who cheerfully bore affliction, bonds, and death, for the Gospel, were as sensible of pain, of hunger, and of cold, and as fond of life, as we can be, who murmur under every slight disease, who make the least possible inconvenience a reason for neglecting our duty; whom a little shower can keep back from Church,* or a little worldly damage seduce to falsehood or desertion of our principles. The more, then, we admire their victory, the more should shame forbid us to give way, under such trifling difficulties as God usually thinks fit to try us with; and the more earnestly should we seek, by every appointed means, for that grace by which we, like they, shall be made more than conquerors."—pp. 110, 111.

We have only space left for one more extract; that, however, is a searching one:—

"The history of the Jews is given us, in the Bible, for our example, as well as for our instruction; and, while we wonder at their blindness to the truth, and at that hardness of heart, which was proof alike against the miracles, the mercy, and the judgments of God, we should ourselves take good heed, that we do not, in certain respects, resemble them. We too, perhaps, or many of us, at least, have had warnings from God, by which we set no store; mercies, for which we have given no worthy thanks; judgments, which have had no power to terrify us into repentance; and we ourselves may have cause to fear that, like the Jews, our day of grace may be drawing to an end; and that, forasmuch as we hardened our hearts against those things which belonged to our peace, those things may, henceforth, be hid from our eyes, and the Lord, whom we would not permit to save us, may depart from us, perhaps, for ever.

* The same excuses are alluded to in vol. i. p. 210—262, and might be applied to every congregation.

The sin of the Jews—that sin, at least, for which our Saviour is here reproving them (Matt. xxiii. 37)—consisted in an obstinate disregard to their own salvation, a blindness to the means of grace afforded, and an unwillingness to forsake their darling sins, even when called upon by Him who spake as never man spake, in whose person shone all the power and brightness of his Father bodily. And are not we also, my brethren, both called by Christ and taught by Him? These glorious words of the Gospel read to you every Sabbath-day, and which there are few who, if they were anxious to improve the opportunities which God has given them, might not study in private,—these sermons, which, however little value they possess in themselves, do yet, if I know my own heart, convey to you faithfully the doctrine of the Scriptures; that Holy Spirit which you feel within you, and which testifies against every act and word displeasing to the God of heaven,—are not these the means whereby Christ, even now, instructs the world, whereby He calls us to repentance, and most lovingly promises us pardon? Let us not undervalue the privileges which we enjoy! God, who in sundry manners spake unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. Many prophets and kings have desired to understand the mysteries of love and wisdom, which are now, through Jesus Christ, made plain to the simplest believer; and if we blame the Jews, who knew not Christ to be their appointed Saviour, while, as yet, He was obscured by the form of man, and by the lowliness of his worldly condition, of how much severer punishment may we apprehend ourselves to be worthy, with whom not only the blameless life, but the meritorious death and sufferings of the Messiah plead in vain; who, professing to believe that Christ is in very truth the Saviour which should come,—that He died for us,—for us is now interceding at the right hand of His Father,—yet neither love Him truly as the friend of man, nor fear Him, as it becomes us to fear the Judge of the World,—who neither follow His example, nor obey His commandments,—who, by our evil lives, disgrace the religion of which we are outward members, and renew, by our shameful sins, the pain and disgrace of our Heavenly Master's crucifixion? The Jews put Christ to death; we put the Church, which is his mystical body, to shame; we rend it by our violent passions; we defile it by our indecent actions; we make the worthy name, whereby we are called, to be evil spoken of among the heathen; we do every thing in our power to give pain to our Lord, and to make the sufferings useless, which He has, for our sake, endured; and can we, dare we stand in the temple of God, and wash our hands, like Pilate, and maintain ourselves guiltless of the blood of this just Person, and give thanks to God that we are better than the Jews?"—p. 176—179.

With these extracts we close the volumes, for the present, of the lamented Heber—often about to open them again (God willing) for our own edification. And if any one, on referring to them, shall be surprised at the little idea we have given of their intrinsic merit, from such portions as could be extracted unconnectedly in a Review,—if any should say, as did Queen Sheba,

of the wisdom and prosperity of Solomon,* *Behold, the half was not told me*, we readily admit the truth. Happy was the man of Hodnet, happy (had they but known it) were the congregation committed to his trust, which stood continually before him, and that heard his wisdom!

We turn now to the volumes of the late Augustus William Hare, —more homely than those of Heber, but, as we have said, well fitted, no doubt, to the congregation of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors. But though in parts they be homely,—sometimes, possibly, too much so,—yet throughout is displayed the workmanship of a Bezaleel and an Aholiab, of a wise-hearted man,† “*that knew how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that the Lord had commanded.*” Our first extract is from Sermon viii. “*Why was the Spirit sent?*”

“The death of Christ was to procure our pardon, and to redeem us from the curse of the law: the coming of the Holy Ghost is to make us new creatures, by giving us the strength to become so. For God does not force us to obey Him, whether we will or not. He loves a willing and a reasonable service; therefore he works upon our will. By every persuasive argument, by every tender entreaty, by every inspiring promise, by every fearful threat, he endeavours to frighten us from wickedness, and to win us over to holiness and godliness.

“Hence we may learn the absolute necessity of our being made new creatures, and renewed in the image of God. For this is the will of God, even our sanctification; and God’s will must be done. If Christ’s death proves that, without a spotless sacrifice, there could be no forgiveness for us, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost proves that, unless we become new creatures, we cannot be received into heaven. For can any one suppose, that so much would have been done and suffered, unless there had been an absolute need for it? Would the Son of God have humbled himself, and become obedient unto death, if we could have been redeemed without a price? Would the Spirit of God vouchsafe to come and dwell in the polluted chambers of our hearts, if we could possibly be saved without holiness? No, my brethren, God never worketh in vain. It is to cure the strain and wrench, which our nature got through Adam’s fall,—it is to rebuild the temple of God in the heart of man, which sin and Satan, by their fraud and malice, had thrown down,—it is for these ends that the Holy Ghost was given, therefore these ends must needs be of the utmost importance. We are too apt to say within ourselves, ‘Christ has done all for me, therefore I need do nothing for myself.’ Nay, there are some, whom the devil has so utterly deluded, that they will even be mad enough to cry, ‘Let us continue in sin, that grace may abound:’ that is, let us not be afraid of sinning, because Christ has bought our pardon. You know what St. Paul says, when this wicked thought comes across him in the course of his argument (Rom. vi. 1). He cries out, ‘God forbid!’ as if he had said, Can such a thought,

* 1 Kings, x. 7.

† Exod. xxxvi. 1.

a thought so impious, so foolish, so thankless, find a place in any heart ? In like manner would he cry out against those in our times, who say, 'Christ has done all, and I need not trouble my head about the matter.' To them, too, he would say, 'God forbid ! drive the wicked thought out of your heart ; Christ did not come that you might go on sinning with impunity, but that you might be enabled to leave off sinning, and to turn to righteousness and to God. He came, as he himself tells us, to fulfil the will of God : and this is the will of God, even our sanctification.'"—vol. i. p. 130—132.

What follows is a word on repentance :—

"It is impossible to press this point too strongly : so I will try to enforce what I have said by another parable. On the sea-shore many of you must know there are often rocks. Now suppose a man, walking among these rocks, and finding the stones painful to his feet, thinks he shall walk more easily and pleasantly on the smooth sand below. He quits the rocks, and goes down to the sands. The tide is out ; the sea is calm ; the waves are a long way off ; there can be no danger ; so he walks on. Presently the wind begins to arise. Still there can be no danger, it is only rounding that jutting cliff ; there is plenty of time ; and then he will be safe. Meanwhile the sea comes on, gradually, gradually, wave after wave, like so many lines of horsemen in battle array, riding one after the other. Every moment they advance a step or two ; and before the man has got to the jutting cliff, he sees them dashing against its feet. What is he to do ? On one side of him is a steep and rugged ledge of rocks, on the other side the sea, which the wind is lashing into a storm, is rushing toward him with all its might and fury. Would a man in such a plight think of losing another moment ? Would he stop to consider, whether he should not hurt his hands by laying hold of the sharp stones ? Would not he strain every nerve to reach a place of safety, before the waves could overtake him ? If his slothfulness whispered him, 'It is of no use, the ledge is very steep ; you may fall back when you have gotten half way ; stay where you are, perhaps the wind may drop, or the waves may stop short, and so you will be safe here : ' if his slothfulness prompted such thoughts as these, would he listen to them ? Would he not reply, 'Hard as the task may be, it must be tried, or I am a dead man. God will not work a miracle in my behalf ; he will not change the course of the tides, and put a new and strange bridle on the sea, to save me from the effects of my own laziness. I have still a few minutes left ; let me make the most of them, and I may be safe ; if they slip away I must be drowned.' This picture is not a mere piece of fancy. Many stories are told of the risks people have run by the coming in of the tide, when they were straying heedlessly along the sands. Some by great efforts, aided by God's good providence, have escaped. Others have perished miserably. Now the sinner is just in the situation of the man I have been speaking of. On one side of him is the steep ledge of repentance ; on the other, the fiery waves of the bottomless pit are every moment rolling on toward him. Could his eyes be opened, as the eyes of Elisha's servant were, he would see those fiery waves already beginning to surround him. Is this a situ-

ation for a man to stop in? Will any one, in such a plight, talk about the difficulty of repentance? Let passion cry out, 'It is hard to deny oneself.' Faith must make answer, 'It is harder to dwell amid endless burnings.'

"There is one great difference, however, between the man walking on the sea-shore and the sinner loitering on the edge of the fiery lake. The former would try to climb the rocks, because they offer him a chance of escaping; but if we try to climb the edge of repentance, our escape is certain, provided we begin in time. Jesus Christ himself is standing on the top of that ledge, crying to us,—'Why will ye perish?' He stretches out his hands to us to help us: we have only to lay hold on them, and we are safe.

"But then we must begin in time. If a man sets about climbing a steep cliff, when he is young and active, and has the free use of his limbs, he has a great advantage: the old and the crippled are pretty sure to fail. So it is with repentance. The young can mount the hill, if they set about it in good earnest, with much less toil. But they who are old in sin, they whose souls have become stiff through years of wickedness, and have grown double, so to say, by always looking eastward,—how can they make the efforts which are needed for such a task. Of all hopeless miracles, the miracle of a death-bed repentance seems to me one of the most hopeless.* Therefore repent in time; that is, repent now; for now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation."—p. 228—231.

The annexed extract is from Sermon xix. *Christ's Disinterestedness our Pattern.*

"Again, our love should be self-denying. What is the value of services which cost the doer nothing, in comparison with those which cost him pains and trouble? It is the pains a friend will take to serve you, the sacrifices he will make for your sake, that prove his love to be sincere. A man may do many kind things from goodnature and easiness of temper; but call on him to exert himself, to deny himself, to put himself to trouble, to undergo a little hardship and privation on your account, and you bring his affection to the trial. If it stand this test, you may trust it. What is true of friendship between man and man, is equally true of Christian love. No deed in which there is not some sort of self-denial, can have any right to the glorious name of a deed of charity. Here let me point out to you an advantage which the poor have in this respect, although perhaps few of them are aware of it. It is an easier matter for a poor man to be charitable than a rich one. 'What! (you exclaim) how can a poor man be more charitable than a

* See Jeremy Taylor's sermon on "The Invalidity of a late or Death-bed Repentance." Works, vol. v. p. 462, &c. But *nothing is impossible* with God. We may remark by the way, that this sermon of Jeremy Taylor's, on Jer. xiii. 16, and that of Hammond's, on Matt. iii. 2, (Works, vol. iv. p. 490, &c.) have much in common. A hasty reader would imagine one a plagiarism from the other. But the fact is, the classical quotations are taken from a common source,—such as Durandus or Erasmus' Adagia,—and used as there applied. This will explain many apparent plagiarisms in our elder divines.

rich one? when the rich man may give away his hundreds, or, if he is very rich, his thousands, and not miss them; while a poor man cannot even give a penny or a crust of bread, without feeling the loss; he cannot even go to help or nurse a friend, without forfeiting a part of his wages.' True: and for this very reason—because a poor man cannot do any service to his neighbour without some loss, some self-denial,—it is easier for him to show the sincerity of his Christian love. He who for Christ's sake shares his one loaf with the hungry, casts more into the treasury, than they who out of their abundance scatter hundreds or thousands they will never miss. I know, when one hears anybody called charitable, one takes it for granted that he must have plenty of money: and it is a very rare thing to hear poor persons so called. Yet I trust it is not rare for them to be so. Piteous indeed would be the condition of the poor, if their poverty shut them out from the noblest privilege which God has bestowed upon mankind, the privilege of helping each other, the privilege of showing Christian charity in the various exercises of brotherly love. But it does not. If any of you have ever fancied that because you are poor, you have nothing to give, and that the duties of Christian charity do not concern such as you, drive such a notion out of your minds. The poorest of you may do as much,—what in God's eyes will be accounted as much,—as the richest can do. You of your poverty may give your all; and they at the utmost can do no more. This, however, they may do too. They may make sacrifices in various ways, though not so easily as you can. They may show their love by giving their time, by giving their labour, by giving their thoughts, by giving up their tastes, by giving up their prejudices. They too may go forth like St. Paul; though the weaknesses of men now-a-days will hardly come near the graces of that holy apostle, they too may go forth in the service of Christ, to minister to their brethren 'in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings and cold.' That is to say, there is no outward hindrance to keep them from doing so. If the love of Christ burns in their hearts, as it did in his, they may do so. Nay, unless they do this in one way or other, unless they deny themselves for the love of Christ, and their brethren, the love of Christ and of their brethren has no place in their hearts."—pp. 326—329.

The following is a good specimen of such Bible criticism as may be edifying to a country congregation.

"These words (Luke, xvi. 8, 9) are from the parable of the unjust steward; and there are two parts in them by which, owing to a want of clearness in the translation,* many persons have been a good deal puzzled.

* Ordinarily it will not be wise, before a country congregation, to question the correctness of our translation. They will misunderstand on such a point. It would be better to say that our translation is almost perfect,—that there is not a single doctrine in the Old or New Testament contravened either by a mistranslation or a false reading.

In the New Testament, the various readings amount on the whole to above 30,000. Mills was thirty years in compiling them. "Nor is one article of faith or moral precept" (says Bentley, in his Remarks on Free-Thinking,) "either perverted or lost in them; choose awkwardly as you can, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings."—§. xxxii.

zled. How comes our Lord Jesus, they ask, to commend the dishonest steward? How again comes he to bid us make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness? or, as most readers now-a-days are likely to understand the words, to make the mammon of unrighteousness our friend? If these two difficulties are removed, the parable is clear enough; and removed they may be in a very few words.

"In the first place, it is not our Lord Jesus Christ, who commends the unjust steward, but the steward's own lord and master; for this is the word we should use now-a-days: it is the steward's master, who, being struck by the cleverness he had shown, commends it; just as people now might, perhaps, speak with admiration of the cleverness and skill displayed by a forger, in copying a very difficult bank-note, without in the least intending by so doing to justify or excuse his crime. We should all agree in condemning that. All would agree in saying it was a sad pity that the man had turned his cleverness to such a bad purpose. Still a person may do a bad thing in a sharp, handy manner, and we might praise the manner of doing it, while we utterly reprobated the thing itself. Just so is it with the steward's master in the parable. He can never have meant to praise his servant for defrauding him of his rents; but he was struck with the cleverness of the rogue's contrivance, and that he commended.

"As to the other difficulty, it arises altogether from a change in the meaning of the little word *of*; which our forefathers often used, where we should now say *by*. Thus in the Bible we often find such expressions as 'taught *of* God,' 'warned *of* God.' Here, however, though in these days we should say, 'taught *by* God,' 'warned *by* God,' still, as the words cannot mean any thing else, there is no uncertainty. But there are many passages in which it is otherwise, and we may easily fall into mistakes. For instance, when we read in the first chapter of St. Matthew, 'Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken *of* the Lord by the prophet,'—at first thought we should all take these words to mean, 'what was spoken *concerning* the Lord by the prophet;' whereas their real meaning is, that 'all this was done to the end that what was spoken *by* the Lord, through the mouth of his prophet, might be fulfilled.' I have said thus much about this little word, because I believe very few persons read the New Testament, who do not stumble at my text; and numbers, even among those who have had what is called a good education, turn away from it in sad perplexity, unable to conceive how Jesus Christ could command them to make the mammon of unrighteousness their friend. And assuredly he does not so command them. What he bids us do, is to make friends *by*, or by the help of, the mammon of unrighteousness; that is, to employ the mammon of unrighteousness,—mark the words,—to employ that mammon, that riches, which is called unrighteousness, because by so many it is gained dis-

Middleton, on the Greek Article, judiciously observes, "The general fidelity of our English translation has been never questioned, and its style is incomparably superior to any thing which might be expected from the finical and perverted taste of our own age. It is simple; it is harmonious; it is energetic; and, which is of no small importance, use has made it familiar, and time has rendered it sacred."

honestly, and spent wickedly,—to employ that riches, which so many employ amiss to their souls' hurt, in making friends to ourselves, who shall receive us into everlasting habitations. In other words, our blessed Lord commands us to make such use of our money, and of all our other talents, be they what they may, for the glory of God, and the good of our brethren, that after our death, it may please our God and Father to receive us into the heavenly abodes of never-ending peace and joy."—pp. 395—399.

Our extracts, we are aware, are vague and unconnected. That, however, was not to be avoided,—it being our wish to give one or two passages which might serve as a sample of the sermons before us. From the second volume we are sorry not to be able to extract some striking portions,—more especially from those discourses which bear upon our Liturgy. All that we can say is—**THEY ARE EXCELLENT**,—and heartily do we wish that they may find a more general circulation than among the congregation for which they were written. Having a word or two to say, by way of caution, to those who shall be imitators of the late Mr. Hare's style, we conclude these extracts with two long but very valuable ones from the sermon entitled "**Offences in the Ministry a stumbling-block to Christians**;"* one of those two sermons which show how well this excellent man could have written for the learned as well as for the unlearned.

"But as the religion of Christ is one harmonious whole, so likewise is the visible Church of England a whole, and a whole too of the same kind, a whole composed of various parts brought into a common centre; a whole of combination, a whole, it ought to be, of harmony. Were we more careful to keep this in mind, we should be freer, than we now are, from the imputation of division. We should be less eager about verbal agreement, knowing that there are generally many ways of saying the same thing. We should be prepared to see the ministers of Christ differing from each other in the lights and shades of their discourses; one perhaps insisting more frequently upon one truth, and his brother in the next parish on another truth; though both would be ready perhaps, if need were, to lay down their lives for both truths equally. The prominence which under certain circumstances should be given to any particular doctrine, is a question of Christian prudence: and as such it might be well to make it the subject of friendly conference among ourselves. This is the best way of treating such questions; each for himself being only anxious to ascertain the shortest road to the hearts and understandings of his parishioners, and for that purpose being ever ready to profit by his neighbour's learning, or observation, or experience. But if these things should not divide us, much less should any difference of mere delivery, such as preaching with or without book, or using more

* A visitation sermon, preached at Devizes, August 2, 1832, before the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

or less gesticulation,*—pardon me for mentioning such trifles,—be made a matter, as I fear it sometimes is, of comment and of suspicion. Is this the liberty which Christ has bought for us? Let us go back to the Jewish bondage; if such things are to be prescribed and meted out to us, not by those who are over us in the Lord, but by that vague and tyrannous abstraction, the general opinion of this or that class of men; so that I am to pass as an enthusiast among the one, or a formalist among the other, according as I adopt this manner or that. With regard to clerical amusements again, how many offences would be spared, if we could only persuade ourselves, that he who joins in them moderately and discreetly, may do well! though he who can abstain from them in a gentle and uncensorious spirit, does better; if we remembered on the other hand, that, however wrong it may seem to some of us to be intolerant of admitted relaxations, it must be more wrong to be intolerant of professional strictness,—that our neighbour has at least as great a right to keep aloof from the world as we have to mix with it,—and that in every case the worst thing we can do is to judge our brother harshly or unnecessarily. In a word, let us make it our rule of life, to give our indulgence to others, and to keep our severity for ourselves. Then, all those lesser distinctions, which serve so often to perpetuate parties, would soon be lost sight of; probably many of them would be laid aside; and the rest would be overlooked as insignificant.

“Even with regard to doctrines,—to rise from small things to the greatest,—the same principles hold good. Every one may see, I think, that sameness of opinion is unattainable about those darker and more mysterious things which belong to the Lord our God, which human reason cannot fathom, and which revelation has rather hinted at than declared. Every one with any modesty may apprehend farther, that points, which the wisest men, the ablest, the most learned, the most pious, the most studious of Scripture, have differed upon, cannot be so clearly laid down in Holy Writ, as to make either opinion unallowable, yet, if this be so, surely we ought not to read the 17th Article,—for to that my remarks tend,—bearing in mind, as we are bound to do, the circumstances of the times, and how it is guarded too from popular misapprehension by the tone and language of the Liturgy—without feeling and admiring the tender prudence wherewith our reformers drew it up; without appreciating their pious caution in not going a step beyond the words of revelation, to say either less or more; without being grateful to them for having exprest themselves on a point so difficult with such practical and comprehensive moderation. These surely are the feelings which even a slight study of that Article, if conducted in a tolerant and humble spirit, should beget in us; not divisions, and sharp-tongued disputations. Would any reasonable or kind man wish to reword that Article, so as to straighten the wholesome latitude which the Church at this point allows us? Is it not desirable to have the road so formed, that two equally good men may walk abreast in it, the one on the shady side, the other on the sunny, leaving room in the middle for the unpolemical Christian to walk humbly and contentedly between them? or, to look at the question from an

* Dem. de Cor. §. 68, p. 305, Ed. Reisk.

historical point of view, will any be bold enough to wish, that our Articles had been framed in such accordance with either Arminian or Calvinistic notions, as that either Leighton* or Jeremy Taylor should have been excluded by them? Yet the Church which could hold them, is surely large enough, at least in doctrine, for all Catholic Protestants; provided they will only consent, each, to keep his own place, and quietly mind his own business, avoiding curious questions, and devoting themselves, if ministers, to the edification and instruction of the souls committed to their charge."—vol. ii. p. 505—509.

"But it is not enough that we purify and weed our hearts from the germs of professional ambition, from the fibres of worldly cares, from a distrustful tendency to burthen our minds with anxious thoughts about the future; we must also clear ourselves, in these times, from imputations the most indiscriminate and reckless, of worldliness and covetousness in the gross. There are men who, if they saw one sparrow-hawk and a dozen larks, would call them all kites at least, if not vultures. By men of this sort, the accusation I am speaking of is urged against us most unsparingly; and I fear it has been listened to sufficiently to do us no little mischief. Undoubtedly, it is no new charge to bring against God's servants, that they do not serve him for nought: but having been brought against us, it must be refuted. And how may that best be done? Truly by following the Gospel rule of overcoming evil with good: it must be done by opposing to the accusation proofs the most undeniable of disinterestedness. This is a right defence for a body of Christian ministers to make against a charge of this nature; and it is a defence which will have full weight given to it in the minds of English people. Our countrymen, the true people of England, are apt indeed to be led astray; but they are not blind, nor ungenerous, nor ungrateful; and when they see that we have learnt, in whatever station we are, therewith to be content; when they see that our wealth, such as it is, is valued by us chiefly as a means of assisting others; when they see your labours of love, in beneficence, in teaching, in going among the poor, in spiritual and bodily ministrations, in every shape of active kindness; and see, too, that you do all this readily and cheerfully, like men who make a business of doing good, they will venerate your persons and your doctrine, and learn to love the Church of Christ doubly for your sakes. And they *will* see these things, for their eyes are upon you. Hitherto your good deeds have passed comparatively unnoticed, but now the attention of the people has been called to them; they will be looked for, and observed, and acknowledged joyfully by a thousand and a thousand tongues, till the ignorance of foolish men is put to silence. The truth will at last be made to shine forth clearly, and it will show all things in their just proportions. The stumbling-blocks, which lately seemed so numerous and formidable, will prove to have been insignificant and few: the offence will cease, and the woe pronounced against it will be changed into a glory and a blessing.

* Note. "There can be no doubt that Leighton was at least a denizen of the Church of England. After his retirement into Sussex, he was in the habit of preaching in his own and the neighbouring parish churches."

“It would be sad to think that it could be otherwise, even in a single instance. It would be sad to think it possible that, when the terrible voice inquires of us, ‘*Where is the flock that I entrusted to you?*’ it should appear that, while we have been contending about indeterminable points, or seeking a richer charge, perhaps, and aiming at ecclesiastical distinctions,—honourable, if they come unsought to a servant of Christ, as a reward, but worthless and disgraceful to him if made the object of his exertions,—some lamb has remained unfed, some sheep has wandered and has perished, which might have been saved if we had been heedful. The thought of such a possibility (not from worldliness alone,—that is amongst the least common of our faults, though the oftenest imputed,—nor from divisions alone, but from oversight, from easiness of disposition, from the seductions of literature, or temporal avocations, from indolence, from timidity, from harshness, from want of judgment, from any single one of the numberless sins and stumbling-blocks which lie in the path of Christ’s minister), might well shake the heart of the stoutest at his ordination; nay, rather woe to that heart which, at such a time, is not shaken by it! The dread of such an event might disquiet the death-bed of the best among us, were we not comforted and sustained by Christ’s merits. The realization of it,—and who shall say that it may not be realized in his case?—might make him sink before the judgment-seat of Christ, and almost poison the very joys of heaven. Think of hearing any from the midst of that miserable company on the left hand, ‘*If thou hadst done thy duty by me, I should not be here; thou hast ruined my soul.*’

“But I would have you all remember, my Christian brethren, that it is not the ministers of our Lord alone, who are liable to be the objects of a cry so fearful. Every parent, every guardian of youth, every head of a family, every friend, has opportunities entrusted to him, more or less, of instructing and improving some one or more of his fellow-creatures. And if he have neglected those opportunities, what has he to look to, except the prospect of a like cry. ‘*But for thy negligence I should not be here; through thee am I descending into that place of torment.*’

“How, then, should we all pray for God’s Holy Spirit, to assist us in fulfilling every trust, moral or religious, which may fall to us! How should we of the clergy more especially pray!—join, good people, in that prayer; pray for us your pastors, and for yourselves also, that God would be pleased to watch over us, and to overrule all our doings to your good; that he would prosper our labours, supply our deficiencies, pardon our failings, and make them harmless to the souls of others; that he would raise us above a vain and perishable world, to a life of active holiness, and meek and humble brotherly love; that he would teach us to avoid all offences, real or imaginary, which might hinder you in your Christian journey; finally, that he would give us strength and wisdom faithfully to discharge all our duties as your appointed shepherds under Christ, feeding his flock, and nourishing and increasing it, and leading it through the wilderness of this world to the land of everlasting rest. Grant this, O heavenly Father! for the sake of thy dear Son, the chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.”—p. 515—519.

Such are the extracts which our limits will admit of, and we now would make a few remarks for the benefit of those,—particularly our younger brethren,—who are likely to be imitators of Mr. Hare's style.

Now, it is well said by one of our Platonic Divines,* as they are called, that “divine truth becomes many times in Scripture incarnate, debasing itself to assume our rude conceptions, that so it might converse more freely with us, and infuse its own divinity into us.” And so it is; and none can read our blessed Lord's words without returning continual thanks that it is so: for therein are the words of eternal life, which the most uneducated of the people may understand, if they have only understanding hearts, and, what is the necessary accompaniment, hands washed in innocence. “*If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God,*” (John, c. vii. 17,) is the text laid down by our Saviour himself.

But then, the language of Holy Scripture when it comes to be handled by mortal men, must be handled with a holy fear. It must be approached, morally speaking, with our shoes taken off our feet,—it is holy ground. In other words, when we have to expound to the people the great doctrines of our faith, and the moral duties imposed upon us as Christians, we are to do it in as plain a way as possible, and the plainer the better; but we are not to humble that noble and ennobling language which in itself is so highly exalted, and doth so work itself into the secret chambers of our hearts, declaring there the *beauty of holiness*, and the glorious excellency of heavenly things treated in a heavenly manner. Those, indeed, who, running in a direct contrary way to the magnificent language of Scripture, use “bald and hungry expressions, mistaking them for homeliness, and for a speech to be understood of the people,” have need to learn (in the words of Gloucester Ridley) that the highest form of speech “faints beneath the weight of that truth it was intended to carry.”

Let this be borne in mind, then, by such as in youthful haste would imitate the language of the late Augustus Hare, and let them not imagine that because his language is homely, that therefore it is easy to be followed. Far from it,—it is *non usitatâ nec tenui pennâ*. It is fraught, as we have before observed, with rich divinity, and tempered by abundance of learning, both of the head and of the heart. It seems easy and plain,—yea, we could even imagine some unlearned ones describing it as superficial,—but, let such think a while, and lay to heart the secret springs his words will expose, and they will be obliged to swim in those waters wherein they thought to wade. We have reason to be-

* John Smith, p. 182 of the Reprint.

lieve that the striking lines of Waller could be applied to none with greater justice than to Augustus Hare in the latter days of his parochial ministry,—

“The soul’s dark cottage, battered and decayed,
Lets in new lights through chinks which time has made.”

The *antiqua probo* in divinity is assented to in every page, and the old paths of our old divines, and the racy application of Scripture phraseology throws a freshness on each successive sermon. Those, therefore, who would think to manage their language as Mr. Hare did, and make homeliness of expression searching and edifying, must see that they be, like Apollos, “*mighty in the Scriptures*,” and well furnished with that sterling knowledge which has but little connection with the flimsy and flippant superficiality of the present day. Those who *shall not* do so, but be mere imitators, will but do as did “the apes, which espying a glow-worm on a winter’s night, gathered sticks and blowed themselves breathless to make them burn;”^{*}—whereas (in the words of the same author) those who *shall* do so, shall do more than the *Great Magore* (Mogul) was used to do, who weighed himself “every year in gold, and distributed the sum thereof to the poor.”

Bearing in mind the true saying, “*Decipit exemplar vitii imitabile*,” we would also particularly call upon any, who may take up Mr. Hare’s parable and imitate his style, to avoid what may appear to some *beauties*, whereas they are in reality *peculiarities*,—possibly very expressions which may have occurred in parochial visits, and have been turned to edification. As, however, it is very possible that such peculiarities may be followed, we would especially warn our younger readers against them. Indeed, the style, on some occasions, of Mr. Hare, and in less cunning hands, would but appear a very sorry thing,—we mean if it were mere words and not chastened with his deep religious feeling and thorough reading. But, as we have said before, we have no doubt but that Augustus Hare, had he lived to publish these sermons himself, would have cut down the *ambitiosa ornamenta*, and have left much of the homeliness to the recollection of the parishioners of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors. In all other respects we have but to re-echo the half-wish, half-prayer, expressed in the lines following, which the reader of the good Doctor Townson’s works will recollect as inscribed on a tablet of white marble against the south wall, in the Church of Blithfield,

“Let future Rectors follow if they can
The bright example of this holy man.”

^{*} Jackson’s Works, vol. i. p. 1023; vol. iii. p. 237.

ART. IV. — *Society in America*. By Harriet Martineau. 3 vols. Second Edition. London: Saunders and Otley. 1837.

IF Miss Martineau had confined herself to her favourite political discussions in these remarks upon American Society, we should have allowed them to pass unnoticed. It would have been beyond our province to attempt to neutralize their tendency to mischief. That task would have been more appropriate to others. But the misfortune is, that our authoress must indulge in religious speculations, and seeing that—crude and dull though they are—her literary celebrity will obtain them access to the public, we deem it our solemn duty to expose their fallaciousness. That duty is a grievous one. We shall have to speak in terms as severe as can be permitted to courtesy. We shall have to affirm and substantiate the charge—that her statements are neither more nor less than disguised Atheism.

These volumes are written in laud of democracy—the principle which the particular constitution of the United States strives to embody, viz. “the capacity of mankind for self-government.” Now, it is very obvious that such a principle, when adopted, must engender an extreme jealousy of the slightest control, whether economical or moral; an uneasiness under the least imposition, whether of command or remonstrance. It will tolerate nothing prescriptive in intellectual belief, any more than in self-authorized legislation. It will recognize no rule but what it selects; it will practise no virtue but what it spontaneously approves; it will receive no creed whose truths have been revealed, not discovered. This is the abstract essence of democracy—self-government. All power must be *its* manufacture.

We have mentioned as one of its features, that it will receive no creed whose truths have been revealed, not discovered. This is natural; for the bare admission of any system for the truth and authority of which it must refer to some higher agency, is a surrender of the principle, that it has an universal capacity for self-government. This is an unpleasant limit to its aspirations after boundless freedom. It feels a painful humiliation in calling any one “Master,” even though that One be God.

That portion of the work before us which is allotted to American Religion, will very appositely illustrate the above remarks. Miss Martineau is examining how far the principle of republicanism, the principle of “the capacity of mankind for self-government,” has been allowed free operation in religion in general, in its spirit, in its science, and in its administration. We propose to accompany her throughout this analysis. This is her preliminary:

"Religion is the highest fact in the Rights of Man, from its being the most exclusively private and individual, while it is also a universal, concern, of any in which man is interested. Religion is, in its widest sense, "the tendency of human nature to the Infinite;" and its principle is manifested in the pursuit of perfection in any direction whatever. It is in this widest sense, *that some speculative Atheists have been religious men*; religious in their efforts after self-perfection; though unable to personify their conception of the Infinite. In a somewhat narrower sense, religion is the relation which the highest human sentiments bear towards an infinitely perfect Being.

"There can be no further narrowing than this. *Any account of religion which restricts it within the boundaries of any system, which connects it with any mode of belief, which implicates it with hope of reward or fear of punishment, is low and injurious, and debases religion into superstition.*

"The Christian religion is specified as being the highest fact in the rights of man, from its embodying (with all the rest) the principle of natural religion—that religion is at once an individual, an universal, and an equal concern. In it may be found a sanction of all just claims of political and social equality; for it proclaims, now in music and now in thunder; it blazons, now in sunshine and now in lightning; the fact of the natural equality of men. In giving forth this as its grand doctrine, it is indeed "*the root of all democracy*;" the root of the maxim (among others), that among the inalienable rights of all men are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The democracy of America is planted down deep into the Christian religion; into its principles, which it has in common with natural religion, and which it verifies and illumines, but does not alter.

"How does the existing state of religion (in America) accord with the promise of its birth? In a country which professes to secure to every man the pursuit of happiness in his own way, what is the state of his liberty in the most private and individual of all concerns? How carefully are all men and women left free from interference in following up their own aspirations after the Infinite, in realising their own ideas of perfection, in bringing into harmonious action the functions of their spirits, as infinitely diversified as the expression of their features."—vol. iii. pp. 224, 225.

Here is a precious specimen of "self-government" in religion! This extract affirms two great momentous doctrines, the truth or falsehood of which we proceed to ascertain. The first is, that "Religion, in its widest sense, is the tendency of human nature to the Infinite; and, in a narrower sense, the relation which the highest human *sentiments* bear towards an infinitely perfect Being." The second is, that "the Christian religion is the root of all democracy."

I. The question on which this *first* dogma hinges is, Whether religion is or is not, exclusively a matter of *sentiment*? We apprehend that Miss Martineau, in speaking of "the relation of

human *sentiments* towards an infinitely perfect Being," means the relation of those human *emotions* which are generally designated religious. And is religion a matter of "sentiment," "emotion" solely? Whatever share man's intellect may have in the production of religious feelings, inasmuch as it provides them with truths on which to fix themselves, that share is but subordinate. And is man's intellect, in its pure and passionless abstraction, to pay no spiritual homage to an infinitely perfect Being? An infinitely perfect Being must be a God of "Truth"—truth, not merely in the sense of veracity, but of knowledge. On its principles he must look with ineffable complacency, as well as upon the fitness of emotion; especially so, when they bear an immediate relation to himself. Doctrine, as well as sentiment, must be included in religion.

The monstrous absurdity of this mawkish, sentimental definition of religion would quickly appear to Miss Martineau, and the Socinian school of which she avows herself to be a member, if they would but bring against it their own latitudinarianism. No body of men are fonder of intellectual abstractions. All their theories of government, of religion, are abstractions. Abstract rights in regard to one another, and abstract rights in regard to God,—these are their watchwords. But there are no "*sentiments*" in abstract rights; whatever value they have, depends upon their *truth*. Cold and barren though they are in themselves, they nevertheless have the power of evoking the mightiest emotions in those who contemplate them; aye, in those who contemplate them, not as topics for *selfish* contest, but as doctrines of pure speculation. Abstract truth can be *loved*. We need not embody her in order to devote to her the fondest passions of our bosom. She may present herself in the bloodless, fleshless garb of numbers, lines, and ratios,—still she can be loved. Are *doctrines*, therefore, of value in our estimate, and shall we rob the Divine Mind of a similar source of complacent appreciation? Is it no matter to him whether hideous theories of himself—vesting him with cruelty and bloodthirstiness—float in the brain of man, his creature, or whether he is thought of as most beneficent and just? Are *we*, we whose delicacy of intellectual sensibility is so benumbed by ten thousand prejudices, to feel indignation and contempt at *error*, and shall *He* regard it with indifference?

According to Miss Martineau, "sentiment," originate from what idea it may, whether true or false, constitutes religion.

"I was told of a child who stood in the middle of a grass-plot, with its arms by its sides, and listening with a countenance of intense expectation, 'to hear God's tramp on that high blue floor.' Who would care to know what Christian sect this child belonged to; or whether to any?

I was told of a father and mother, savages, who lost their only child, and were overwhelmed with grief, under which the father soon sank. From the moment of his death, the solitary survivor recovered her cheerfulness. Being asked why, she said she had been miserable for her child, lest he should be forlorn in the world of spirits: he had his father with him now, and would be happy. Who would inquire for the creed of this example of disinterested love? I was told of a young girl, brought up from the country by a selfish betrayer, refused the marriage which had been promised, and turned out of doors by him on her being seized with the cholera. She was picked up from a door-step, and carried to the hospital. In the midst of her dying agonies, no inducement could prevail on her to tell the name of her betrayer, and she died faithful to him; so that the secret of whose treachery we are abhorring is dead with her. With such testimony that the very spirit of the Gospel was in this humble creature, none but those who would dare to cast her out for her fall would feel any anxiety as to how she received the facts of the Gospel. Religion is safe, and would be seen to be so if we would set ourselves to mark how universal are some few of man's convictions, and the whole of man's affections. While men feel wonder, and the universe is wonderful;—while men love natural glory, and the heavens and the earth are resplendent with it;—while men revere holiness, and the beauty of holiness beams at times upon the dimmest sight, religion is safe."—Vol. iii. pp. 241, 242.

Not to undervalue the extreme beauty of these facts thus adduced, we are nevertheless compelled to disallow their application to religion. With the exception of the first—the child's awe and curiosity—a slight attention would have shown Miss Martineau that they are essentially distinct from *her* conception of religion. Lofty and lovely "sentiments" though they are, they bear "no relation to an infinitely perfect Being." The fond disinterested mother's emotion terminated in her child;—the hapless victim's fidelity terminated in her undeserving betrayer. But our object in this quotation is more than to show our authoress's oversight of essential distinctions. We wish to point out the exclusive value she assigns to "sentiment" in religion; and we trust our foregoing argument, that it omits "truth"—as if its possession by man was a matter of perfect indifference to the Deity—will establish its absurdity.

Moreover, such an overweening regard for "sentiment" thus detached, so far as its moral value is concerned, from the conception that excites it, is contradicted by all just analogies. In the physical relations between our sensations and the causes which awake them, we never, in reasoning as to the truth or value of the former, suffer them to be dissociated. The sensation of bitterness in a man whose palate is in disorder, produced in him by an object which in a state of health would be sweet, is invariably neglected as *untrue*. Do we value that man's admira-

tion, who, from ignorance of true beauty and proportion, falls into ecstasy at the sight of what is generally considered ugliness? Who cares for the applause of an auditor, without an ear for music, who listens with approval to tones which to all others are discordant, and whose nerves are soothed by combinations that grate upon all others as inharmonious? And can the Divine Being so thoroughly dissociate "sentiments" from their causes, as to accept ignorant wonder as equal in value to the reverence of knowledge, or to love the gratitude of one who robes him with sensualism, and thanks him for the gratification of his lusts, as much as the gratitude of another who blesses "the Father of Spirits" in spirit and in truth?

There is more cant in Heresy than there is in Methodism. Let us listen: "Religion is the tendency of the human nature to the infinite; and its principle is manifested in the pursuit of perfection in any direction whatever. It is in this widest sense that some speculative Atheists have been religious men: religious in their efforts after self-perfection, though unable to personify their conception of the Infinite." This is giving religion an universality of domain with a vengeance. To say "there is no God," is to be religious! To assert the eternity of fate, is to be religious! To deny the existence of an universal mind, because he cannot be personified with corresponding physical functions, is to be religious! Numbers are infinite: how devout a man must have been the algebraical inventor of the "Infinite Series!" The particles of matter are infinitesimally divisible: Devout chemist! thou to whom no element can be sufficiently simple! Ambition is boundless: therefore it is religious. Miss Martineau should have given us an illustration of this "tendency to the Infinite, this pursuit of self-perfection in any direction whatever." Surely there was an apt one at hand; even he—

" Whose pride
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host
Of rebel angels; by whose aid, aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers,
He trusted to have equall'd the Most High,
If he opposed; and, with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God,
Raised impious war in heaven."

Miss Martineau avows her belief in the Christian religion,—that is, as far as an Unitarian can be said to believe it. Where is her consistency, then, when she says—"Any account which restricts religion within the boundaries of any system, which connects it with any mode of belief, which implicates it with hope of reward or fear of punishment, is low and injurious, and debases

religion into superstition?" This is a wicked, bad calumny upon Christianity: this is a disguised assertion, that it is a "low," an "injurious," a "debasing," a "superstitious" economy. The above sentence enumerates some of the principal characteristics of Christianity; and did we dare attribute motives, we should be inclined to suggest that this very enumeration was made in order that the application of the inference might be the more immediate. Does not Christianity restrict religion within the boundaries of its system, when of those not embraced by its immunities, it says, "the whole world lieth in wickedness?" Does it not connect it with any mode of belief, when it arrogates to itself such exclusiveness as to proclaim, "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved?" Does it not implicate it with hope of reward or fear of punishment? "God will render to every man according to his deeds. To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, *and do not obey the truth*, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil,—the Jew first, and also of the Gentile: But glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good,—to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." "He that *believeth* shall be saved, and he that *believeth not* shall be damned." We shall be at no pains now to contravene the inference which Miss Martineau would thus subtilly apply to Christianity. We will rather avail ourselves of her own personal avowal of belief in inspiration. And we therefore call upon her either to disavow that profession, and to present herself as an honest calumniator, or, as a penance for her "false-witness," to prove that Christianity is neither low, nor injurious, nor superstitious, nor degrading.

The God of Truth, at a vast expenditure, hath submitted doctrines for our belief. He hath—agreeably even with Miss Martineau's Unitarian fellow-disciples—employed the costly machinery of Prophets, of Miracles, of Apostles: not merely to announce and illustrate precepts, but to propound principles. In whatever light we regard Jesus Christ, if only as a teacher, he taught a divine philosophy as well as a divine code. He taught the Unity of God. He taught the immortality of the soul. He taught the obnoxiousness of guilt to punishment. He taught the resurrection of the body. These he taught. We select *these* rudiments because we presume Miss Martineau would so far acquiesce in our assertion. And would he have wasted his holy energies, would he have mispent hours which otherwise might have been employed in ethical instructions, if "sentiment" had been every thing and "*creed*" nought?

II. But we proceed to canvass the *second doctrine*, "*that the Christian religion is the root of all democracy.*"

Miss Martineau is excessively fond of the "*Fallacia Amphibolia.*" We find her speaking of democracy as a system which works out "the capacity of mankind for self-government," and anon of democracy as a system which works out the maxim "that among the inalienable rights of all men are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and again, of democracy as emblazoning the fact of "the natural equality of men." Here is a term, with, to use a logical phrase, three "intentions." For the life of us we know not which one to accept in the assertion before us, "the Christian religion is the root of all democracy." Let us severally accept them all.

1. Let democracy mean the capacity of men for self-government: How is this a seedling of which Christianity is the root? Who ever doubted it? The system which, including the whole human family, declares, "There is none righteous, no, not one; there is no fear of God before their eyes," of course admits the security of human nature imposing upon herself her own restrictions. The system which so eulogizes the human heart as to affirm that "out of it proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies," of course admits that its tenants are so peaceable and quiet, that with ease it can control them. The system which calls all men originally "foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another," must of course concede that a self-governed community will abound in all the reciprocities of forbearance and love. Who ever read in "Christianity, the root of all democracy," these treasonable words—words so insulting to the rights of man—"put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates?" Blessed charter that eschews as usurpation the command, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth *the ordinance of God.*" Christianity knows nought of this. She will not even tolerate any secular authority imposed as an ordinance by God himself. She blazons now in sunshine, now in lightning that man has a capacity for governing himself!—She is the root of all democracy.

2. Let democracy mean "that among the inalienable rights of all men are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," or "that all men are naturally equal." In either of these senses, is Christianity its root?

We answer this, by denying the truth of both these definitions.

Democracy is not the sole proclaimer, either of these inalienable rights, or of this natural equality. Democracy is an artificial mode of government, as well as monarchy. It may profess to constitute itself the guardian of these principles, but unavoidably, it is posterior to them. And so may and must monarchy be likewise. They may both lay claim to the high prerogatives of humanity. But surely neither of them can claim identity with those prerogatives. So that though Christianity may recognize these rights and this equality,—until democracy proves that it more fully sympathizes with them than does any monarchy whatsoever, it can claim no nearer relationship to Christianity. To say, therefore, that Christianity is the root of all democracy—because Christianity, in a modified sense, is the root of these great principles—is to beg the question. At least, let us wait until it can—which it cannot—be shown that all monarchies set them at defiance.

There is a false *ad captandum* fallacy in this part of Miss Martineau's statement. There is the closest intimacy between these principles of inalienable rights and natural equality, on the one hand, and that blessed Gospel which provides us with mutual estimation, and declares that "God is no respecter of persons," on the other hand. To insist upon the near relationship between these principles and Christianity, seemed to be an easy step towards insisting on the relationship between Christianity and that democracy which identified itself with them. And then, at last, to an unwary reader, our authoress thought it would be an undetected transition from the one meaning she gives to democracy in one place, to the other meaning she gives it in the other place; as if a man would be hoodwinked into the conclusion that, as Christianity is the root of all democracy, in admitting the natural equality of mankind, so it is the root of all democracy, in admitting "the capacity of mankind for self-government."

"The democracy of America is planted down deep into the Christian Religion." We should like to know the sense in which Miss Martineau employs the term "democracy" *here*. Is it as the vindicator of the "natural equality of man"—when, according to her own confession, the majority of American religionists refuse a communion of worship of the Universal Parent with the miserable, degraded, insulted slave? when, in their estimation, a difference of colour so modifies this "natural equality," that a black man has no equal right with themselves to the same house of God, or to the same Bible, or to the same sacramental cup, or to the same Christian teacher? Or will it be more convenient to Miss Martineau to accept "democracy" in this place as conceding that among the inalienable rights of all men are life,

liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" Then how dares she, in the face of facts of her own recording—facts of slaves murdered, slaves enchained, slaves denied the possibility of happiness, and that by professed Christians, and with national sanction—how dares she assert that American democracy is planted down deep into the Christian religion? Will she so far libel Christianity as to declare that her soil contains so foul a tree, and that it is through her administration of juices and succulence to its roots "planted down deep" within her bosom, that tears of blood and ignorance are its abundant fruits?

But enough as to Miss Martineau's general statement of religion. We proceed to her next chapter, which she entitles "The Science of Religion." We shall not follow her through her visionary projects for so separating the scientific study and popular administration of religion, as to allot them to different persons. It will be of much more consequence for us to protest against a theory which she holds in common with many others, viz. that Christianity as a matter of knowledge, is, like the sciences—progressive; and that its fields are to be explored for the purposes of discovery. Now we hold this to be one of the most dangerous hypotheses that can be assumed: It lays the axe to the root of the principle, that the truths of the Gospel are the results of Revelation, not human inquiry: that they are the relations of a world, and of an economy, which no mundane eye can independently explore. The corrections of chronology may marshal its facts—they can elicit no new ones. The discoveries of physical science may add their testimony; they cannot add another to its original announcements. All this appears to us to follow immediately from the term "Revelation." The Divine Being has communicated to us certain truths—if he had not, even the bare surmise of them had never crossed us. We should then have been in *total* ignorance—ignorance inevitable. We are now, however, left but in *partial* ignorance, but we contend that that remnant equally defies our powers of dissipation.

The advocates for progressive discoveries in Christianity are ever guilty of contradictions. Let us hear Dr. Channing, an American Socinian, from whom Miss Martineau, in this part of her work, is, perhaps unconsciously, plagiarizing. In an article on national literature, he says,

"Religion and moral truth is indeed appointed to carry forward mankind; but not as conceived and expounded by narrow minds, not as darkened by the ignorant, not as debased by the superstitious, not as subtilized by the visionary, not as thundered out by the intolerant fanatic, not as turned into a drivelling cant by the hypocrite. Like all other truths, it requires for its full reception and powerful communica-

tion, a free and vigorous intellect. Indeed, its grandeur and infinite connections demand a more earnest and various use of our faculties than any other subject. As a single illustration of this remark, we may observe, that all moral and religious truth may be reduced to one great and central thought—*Perfection of Mind*: a thought which comprehends all that is glorious in the Divine Nature, and which reveals to us the end and happiness of our own existence. *This perfection has as yet only dawned on the most gifted human beings, and the great purposes of our present and future existence is to enlarge our conceptions of it without end, and to embody and make them manifest in character and life.* Religion has been wronged by nothing more than by being separated from intellect; than by being removed from the provinces of reason and free research, into that of mystery and authority, of impulse and feeling. Hence it is, that the prevalent forms or exhibitions of Christianity are comparatively inert, and that most which is written on the subject is of little or no worth. Christianity was given, not to contradict and degrade the rational nature, but to call it forth, to enlarge its range and its powers. *It admits of endless development. It is the last truth which should remain stationary.*"

How forcibly does this writer refute himself in his first discourse on the Evidence of Christianity!

"Christianity, I maintain, was not the growth of any of the circumstances, principles, or feelings of the age in which it appeared. In truth, one of the great distinctions of the Gospel is, that it did not grow. The conception which filled the mind of Christ, of a religion more spiritual, generous, comprehensive, and unworldly than Judaism, and destined to take its place, was not of gradual formation. The suddenness with which the religion broke forth, THE MATURITY of the system at the very moment of its birth, the absence of gradual development, seems to me a strong mark of its Divine original. . . . How was it, that from thick darkness there burst forth at once meridian light? Were I told that the sciences of the civilized world sprung up to perfection at once amidst a barbarous horde, I should pronounce it incredible."

When the advocates of a mischievous theory will at one moment assert of a system that "it admits of endless development," that "it is the last truth which should remain stationary," and will soon after assert "its maturity,—its arrival at the meridian," we need trouble ourselves no longer with its refutation.

Christianity, we affirm, will not admit of endless development in this world. It hath disclosed "mysteries" so dark, so impenetrable, as to their modes of existence, as rebuke the proud, self-confident explorer with "thus far shalt thou go but no further." Its truths, far from being axioms—capable of being constituted the basis of a science—are rather the doctrines of that science, so ultimate in their nature, that faith, not investigation, must adopt them. It has been from forgetting this, and from so consociating revealed religion and natural religion, (as if

they harmonized in the methods by which they were communicated, and therefore equally required philosophical experiment and induction,)—it has been from this, that Miss Martineau and her apostle, Dr. Channing, with the whole herd of German neologians, have educed a form of Christianity, as powerless and as anomalous as an emasculated hybrid.

It is natural that, with views so indefinite, so unavoidably fluctuating, that our authoress should be unconcerned as to the inculcations of religious education:—

“ I have witnessed sights which persuade me that the principle of charity will yet be carried out to its full extent. It gave me pleasure to see the provisions made for every class of unfortunates. It gave me more to see young men and women devoting their evening and Sunday leisure to fostering, in the most benignant manner, the minds of active and trustful children. But nothing gave me so much delight as what was said by a young physician to a young clergyman, on their entering a new building prepared as a place of worship for children, and also as a kind of school: as a place where religion might have its free course among young and free minds. ‘ Now,’ said the young physician, ‘ here we are, with these children dependent upon us. Never let us defile this place with the smallest act of spiritual tyranny. Watch me, and I will watch you, that we may not lay the weight of a hair upon these little minds. If we impose one single opinion upon them, we bring a curse upon our work. Here, in this one place, let mind be absolutely free.’ This is the true spirit of reverence. He who spoke these words may be considered, I believe and trust, as the organ of no few, who are aware that reverence is as requisite to the faithful administration of charity as to the acceptable offering of prayer.”—vol. iii. p. 260.

We like this; it is boldly speaking out. There is no shuffling here. Fancy the young physician and the young clergyman—both of them young scape-graces in intellectual philosophy—fancy them, each delivering his inaugural discourse to their infant disciples. Quoth the physician, “ My dear children, your intellects *HERE* shall be free, whatever they may be out of doors. I care not whether you adopt my opinions or not. *I* think that fire burns, and that if you put your little fingers between the bars it will make them smart. But mind you, *I* would not lay the weight of a hair on your dear little minds, in order to make you agree with me. In this bottle which *I* hold in my hand there is a liquid, which *I* think would kill you, were you to drink it down. It will be lying on this desk to-day; but mind you, *I* would not lay the weight of a hair on your dear little minds, in order to make you of the same opinion.” Quoth the young clergyman, “ My dear children, *I* think you have souls, you are not quite like horses; but that is only *my* opinion; God forbid *I* should lay the weight of a hair on your minds to make you

believe it. *I think there is a great God, but pray don't believe it, unless you like. I think that the Bible is true, but I would not step across the door to induce you to think so too. No, no, my dear children, here you shall be free.*—Exeunt. How imitatively copied from the example of one of the inspired writers of that YOUNG CLERGYMAN'S Bible! “My son, keep my words, and lay up my commandments with thee. Keep my commandments and live, and my law as the apple of thine eye. Bind them upon thy fingers, write them upon the table of thine heart.” “Train up a child in the way he SHOULD go, that when he is old he may not depart from it.”

We are sure the Americans will be, in the next generation, very remarkable. We augur they will copy the meek and retiring qualities which we presume Miss Martineau learnt in a “normal school” of this description, and of which she gives us so rich a specimen as the following. We premise that, no doubt, not the weight of a hair was laid on her young mind, in order to inculcate it. Our authoress is delivering a philippic on the cruelty of the political non-existence of women. She assumes that some one will object that it is no cruelty, since women uncomplainingly acquiesce.

Answer. “But this acquiescence is only partial; and to give any semblance of strength to the plea, the acquiescence must be complete. I, FOR ONE, DO NOT ACQUIESCE. *I declare that, whatever obedience I yield to the laws of the society in which I live, is a matter between, not the community and myself, but my judgment and my will.* Any punishment inflicted on me for the breach of the laws, I should regard as so much gratuitous injury; for to those laws I have never, actually or virtually, assented. I know that there are women in England who agree with me in this; I know that there are women in America who agree with me in this. The plea of acquiescence is invalidated by us.”—vol. i. p. 204.

Witness another rich result of her “free” mind:—

“What can a woman be or do without bravery? Has she not to struggle with the toils and difficulties which follow upon the mere possession of a mind! Must she not face physical and moral pain—physical and moral danger? Is there a day of her life in which there are not conflicts wherein no one can help her,—perilous work to be done, in which she can have neither sympathy nor aid? Let her lean upon man as much as she will, how much is it he can do for her? from how much can he protect her? . . . Men are ungentle, tyrannical. They abuse the right of the strongest, however they may veil the abuse with indulgence. They want the magnanimity to discern woman's rights; and they crush her morals rather than allow them. Women are, as might be anticipated, weak, ignorant, and subservient, in as far as they exchange self-reliance for reliance on any thing out of themselves.

Those who will not submit to such a suspension of their moral functions, (for the work of self-perfection remains to be done, sooner or later,) have to suffer for their allegiance to duty."—vol. iii. p. 117.

It is not our wish to enter on this Amazonian argument. We only remark that, of course, these fair ladies, who aspire to political existence, can have no objection to the addition of a female regiment to our standing army.

The last, and far from the least important topic in these volumes to which we will allude, is Miss Martineau's *Stricture upon Marriage*. Especially at the present crisis, when *our* laws concerning marriage are undergoing so serious a modification, we hold it to be our duty to watch, very jealously, any doctrines that might undermine it as a *religious* institute.

Let us hear Miss Martineau :—

"Of the American States, I believe New York approaches nearest to England in its laws of divorce. It is less rigid, in as far as that more is comprehended under the term 'cruelty.' The husband is supposed to be liable to cruelty from the wife, as well as the wife from the husband. There is no practical distinction made between rich and poor, by the process being rendered expensive ; and the cause is more easily resumable after a reconciliation of the parties. In Massachusetts, the term 'cruelty' is made so comprehensive, and the mode of sustaining the plea is so considerably devised, that divorces are obtainable with peculiar ease. The natural consequence follows ; such a thing is never heard of. A long-established and very eminent lawyer of Boston told me, that he had known of only one in all his experience. Thus it is wherever the law is relaxed, and, *cæteris paribus*, in proportion to its relaxation : for the obvious reason, that the protection offered by law to the injured party causes marriages to be entered into with fewer risks, and the conjugal relation carried on with more equality. Retribution is known to impend over violations of conjugal duty. When I was in North Carolina, the wife of a gamester there obtained a divorce without the slightest difficulty. When she had brought evidence of the danger to herself and her children, danger pecuniary and moral, from her husband's gambling habits, the bill passed both houses without a dissenting voice.

"It is clear that the sole business which legislation has with marriages, is with the arrangement of property ; to guard the reciprocal rights of the children of the marriage and the community. There is no further pretence for the interference of the law in any way. An advance towards the recognition of the true principle of legislative interference in marriage has been made in England, in the new law in which the agreement of marriage is made a civil contract, leaving the religious obligation to the conscience and taste of the parties. It will be probably next perceived that if the civil obligation is fulfilled, if the children of the marriage are legally and satisfactorily provided for by the parties, without the assistance of the legislature, the legislature has in

principle, nothing more to do with the matter. This principle has been acted upon in the marriage arrangements of Zurich, with the best effects upon the morals of the conjugal relation. The parties there are married by a form; and have liberty to divorce themselves without any appeal to law, on showing that they have legally provided for the children of the marriage. There was some previous alarm about the effect upon morals of the removal of such important legal restrictions; but the event justified the confidence of those who proceeded on the conviction that the laws of human affection, when not tampered with, are more sacred and binding than those of any legislature that ever sat in council. There was some levity at first, chiefly on the part of those who were suffering under the old system; but the morals of the society soon became, and have since remained, peculiarly pure."—vol. iii. pp. 125, 126.

The most lamentable part of our new laws respecting marriage is, that our legislature has not *insisted* that in *all* cases whatsoever without any exception, there should be some *religious* ceremonial; that it has not prevented the *practical* discussion of the question:—*Whether marriage is merely a civil or a religious contract? by practically affirming the latter.* We contend that *marriage is primarily and essentially a religious, while it is only secondarily and accidentally a civil institution.*

The objectors to this doctrine form two distinct classes; the *first* of those who reject, the *second* of those who receive Divine Revelation. As to the first, the sceptic, he contends, in the language of the historian Hume, that "as marriage is an engagement entered into by mutual consent; it is evident, that it must be susceptible of all the variety of conditions, which consent establishes."* Now the mode by which such an assertion must be combated, is unavoidably an indirect one. For on the supposition that we have no divine revelation, this *dogma* would be a true one. Our course therefore is, we say indirect, for we must first prove to this objector the truth of that revelation, whence we infer a widely different, though not opposite conclusion. But obviously this would be too digressive, and here, an unnecessary discussion. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to the second class. *There are believers in Holy Scripture, who contend that because the ends proposed by marriage are natural, temporal, not religious, that therefore, it is not a religious ordinance; such as Baptism and the Eucharist: that because it has no religious ceremonial, appointed by God, not even such as distinguished the Mosaic feasts or the Christian sacraments, that therefore, it is not a religious rite: that because it is not an universal duty, it is destitute of the chief attribute in moral obligation: and that, therefore, being neither a religious nor a moral, it must be a civil institution.* Thus we

* Hume's Essays, 21, p. 111.

have *two* objects to accomplish, first, to establish our proposition, and, secondly, to consider these objections.

Marriage, we repeat, is *primarily and essentially a religious*, while it is *only secondarily and accidentally a civil, ordinance*.

Let us in the first place consider,

I. Its nature.

That act by which two persons of different sexes unite themselves to each other for life, thereby accepting all the attendant restrictions, sympathies, and duties of that relation, is *not* (we boldly affirm) the dictate of *instinct*.

In addition to the testimony of the facts—that whereinsoever nature has worked out her own unrestricted inclinations, both polygamy and gross nuptial infidelity have been common,—we have, *à priori*, those guards, limitations, and controls, which show that marriage is an *artificial* relation. We use the term *artificial* just as we would apply it to any consolidated government, as distinguished from the natural, savage libertinism of forest society. There is nothing originally in human nature, which would bind to this unity of connexion. In the eighth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, we read, that “the hardness,” the insensibility of the human heart to moral delicacy, is ever prompting towards *divorce*; is originally hostile to the fidelity and isolatedness of monogamy. A moment’s reference to the practice of Mahomedanism and Paganism will convince us of this truth. The law or institute of marriage, as it is regarded by the Christian dispensation, is, most obviously, the result of some other dictate than that of human instinct.

To what, then, is this contract referable? Is it simply the result of legislative wisdom, just as are the other civil restrictions of government? To this it may be replied, that civilization hath not necessarily introduced it. Or is it the result of some *moral* impulse, just as honesty, or filial obedience, or truth or abstinence from murder? To this it may be replied, that during former dispensations of even revealed religion, polygamy was tolerated by the Almighty. So that taking it in every respect, the law of marriage, as it exists in Christendom, can adduce for its vindication, neither the *necessary* elements of civilization, nor the dictate of universal moral impulse.

We thus arrive at a first position, that if our present institute of marriage has any essential claim upon our observation, it must flow from some *superhuman* authority.

We therefore proceed to consider,

II. Its author.

It has been already assumed that our standard of authority is

revelation. What says it upon this topic? Let us refer to the 19th chapter of Matthew from 3rd to 6th verse.

"The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

This declares that God is the author of this relation: "God joineth together." For the purpose of instituting marriage the Divine Being as *directly* and as *miraculously* interposed as he did in man's creation—"At the beginning God made them male and female." There was but *one* pair. Had there been an inequality in the number of the individuals of each sex, then there might have been the presumption, that man's *voluntary* arrangement was to be the law. Exactly as the institution of monarchy or republicanism is asserted to be a purely *civil* preference, so would have been the union of one of a sex with one or more of the other sex. But the Divine Being has conceded to no man, and no set of men, this civil freedom. It is not submitted to their debate—their feeling. It is a divine command.

Let us consider,

III. ITS SANCTIONS. Marriage is not a *moral* duty, otherwise every human being would be under an obligation to marry—in the same sense as every human being is under obligation to be honest, to be chaste. It therefore is either a civil or a religiously modified duty. If it is a civil duty, the civil authority has a sole right to institute and repeal it. An act of parliament may consummate, and an act of parliament may as capriciously divorce. Can it do so agreeably with the authority of Revelation? Of course, whatever is the offspring of civil ordination owes its parent a filial obedience. Can civil power wield this machine of social happiness and order as she may deem to be suitable to her own temporal expediency? Can she authorize Roman youths to seize Sabine women—or in connivance at the sycophancy of Pharisaism, can she tolerate capricious divorcement? Can she, as Miss Martineau argues, dissolve the tie the moment the support and education of its progeny are secured? Can she sever it because of a husband's improvidency and gambling?—She cannot. "Who-soever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery." The unanimous voice of the three estates of our land cannot gratuitously nullify a marriage contract, any more than they could repeal the institution of

the sabbath. And why? Because God is the witness and confirmer of the ceremony. He has assigned it its limitations. We apprehend, therefore, that we have fully proved that marriage is not primarily a civil contract.

We now proceed to consider the objections which we have already specified as advanced against our position.

1. The first is, that because the ends proposed by marriage are natural, temporal, not religious, that therefore it is not a religious ordinance, such as baptism or the eucharist.

It would be idle in us to attempt to prove that marriage has any direct *spiritual* purposes in its institution. It cannot be ranked as a sacrament, like baptism or the Lord's Supper. It is no means of grace whereby the soul is fitted for the world to come. Nevertheless, we ask, is it not a *religious* ordinance? Hath God appointed nothing with religious sanctions but what pertains to a future world? Is there no *religious* obligation to avoid theft, and murder, and scandal? But these are *civil* actions. The moral law as announced in revelation has the additional force of being a religious institute likewise. And just so is it with marriage. Though it pertains only to this life, it has all the consecration of a religious appointment.

But indeed we query if we have not made too full a concession. The passage so often quoted asserts, that for this cause "a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." That is, he shall transfer a certain order of duty, a proportion of affectionate attention of support. But this partial transfer of filial obligation—obligation enjoined and perpetuated by Heaven—who can limit or modify save Heaven itself? There is something too solemn, too serious, in the contract we are considering, and so awfully modifying our relation to a point of the moral law, that none but the Divine Being can authorize its assumption.

The second objection is,

2. That because it has no religious ceremonial appointed by law, not even such as distinguished the Mosaic feasts or the Christian sacraments, that therefore it is not a religious *rite*.

This is a most unfair objection. We do not contend that marriage is a sacrament, like baptism or the eucharist. And, as to the absence of a ceremonial, it may be well for us somewhat more minutely to examine the allegation. We might, but we will not, insist upon the introduction of a religious ceremony in the marriage of Boaz with Ruth. We might, but we will not, urge the common voice of Nature, which in every economy, Patriarchal, Jewish, Pagan, hath declared the propriety of a religious ceremony. That no ordinance can be of divine institution un-

less accompanied with a specified ceremonial, is a very untenable position. Take, for instance, the "hallowing the Sabbath-day." No one would assert that this was not a divine ordinance. And yet the whole of these instructions, which God has given us, are *interdicts* as to what we shall NOT do. Here is no command what we shall do—what order of services we should perform—what distinctive hours of worship observe—what prayers prefer.

The third objection—that because it is not an universal duty it is destitute of the chief attribute in moral obligation, and that, therefore, being neither religious nor sacramental, nor a moral, it must be a civil institution—is laughably illogical. It only deserves this reply: And do these three classifications include every species of institute?

Our readers will not have thought our discussion of this argument unnecessary, if they have pondered on the incalculable mischief likely to arise from Miss Martineau's bold strictures. May a gracious Heaven avert the unsocial, self-willed, libidinous consequences which must ensue upon our people adopting the godless theory—that a command of the Almighty is only a human agreement—and that the caprice of passion or the trials of poverty may annul its imposition!

But we close.—We feel that we have been severe; but truth to principle, to moral taste, to our country, to our fellow man, to our God, is infinitely more valuable than a sickly courtesy. To all who value the order of society, the gentleness and purity of woman, the integrity of the Christian faith—we, in the name of these high virtues, solemnly denounce these volumes.

ART. V.—*The principal Objections against the Doctrine of the Trinity, and a portion of the Evidence on which that Doctrine is received by the Catholic Church, reviewed, in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1837, at the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, M.A. Canon of Salisbury.* By the Rev. Thomas S. L. Vogan, M.A. of St. Edmund Hall; Vicar of Potter Heigham, and Curate of Weston Longville, Norfolk. Oxford: Parker. 1837.

WE are not at all surprised that the great doctrine of the Trinity should again be made the subject of the Bampton Lectures. In the whole compass of Christian theology there is no other topic so wide and so momentous. As the doctrine of the Trinity is admitted, or denied, the whole religion of the Gospel, viewed as a scheme or dispensation of God's merciful providence, is essentially and

altogether different. Moreover, any adequate and comprehensive inquiry into the doctrine must embrace a philosophical or metaphysical argument as to its antecedent possibility, or impossibility, reasonableness or absurdity; a scriptural argument as to the positive declarations of it, whether direct or implied, to be found in the Bible; and an historical argument as to the faith and profession of the primitive believers. There will also occur preliminary or collateral discussions on *Inspiration*, on the *Canon of Scripture*, on the *principles of Interpretation*, on *alleged corruptions and interpolations in the books of the New Testament*: and on countless points, equally subtle and important, of *philology and verbal criticism*. He, who is really fit for the treatment of such a matter, must bring with him the qualifications of the philosopher, of the divine, of the scholar, and likewise of the man of sound, practised, and well-balanced judgment, which can assert, firmly and unflinchingly, the tenets of Christian orthodoxy, without being betrayed into statements which are untenable, and even fatal.

Mr. Vogan has not been wanting to the magnitude and difficulty of his task. His volume is a very useful contribution to the elucidation and decision of the question. His positions are cautiously, though not timidly, assumed: and his style is clear and sensible, often rising to expressiveness and force. That he has thrown any original light upon the controversy, we will not say. In the case of a doctrine so often and so searchingly investigated, this was hardly to be expected; perhaps, it was hardly to be desired. This work is rather a serviceable digest, than a new and peculiar train of reasoning; and its value will not be diminished on that account in the eyes of any person who is sufficiently acquainted with the past and present state of the inquiry.

Neither can we say that the subject is exhausted in his hands. In no hands, perhaps, could it be exhausted, or could the view taken of it be quite full and complete, without the occupation of more space than could be allowed to eight discourses of any moderate length. Mr. Vogan has devoted the first and second lectures to the metaphysical part of the question. The lectures, from the third to the seventh inclusive, to the scriptural part; and the eighth or remaining lecture to the historical part. In each of these departments, good, and, in general, ample information may be gathered: and the author has likewise appended some learned notes, which are satisfactory, without being prolix.

We might express a doubt whether Mr. Vogan is not more intimately conversant with the ancient, than with the actual posture and aspect of the dispute: and whether he has studied the latest writings of the Unitarians, or, as he calls them, after Mr. Faber,

by a more proper distinction, the *Uni-Personalists*, which have been published, either in England, or on the Continent, or in the United States of America. Neither—and for this reason, perhaps, has he given an account of the different *phases* of Unitarianism, or of its gradual tendency and approximation to mere deism, from the Arianism of the fourth century to the present creed of Mr. Norton or Mr. Fox. Yet no portion of the inquiry appears to us either more interesting or more instructive than these progressive declensions from the apostolic faith, though both the instruction and the interest must be oftentimes of a painful kind.

Nevertheless, what Mr. Vogan undertook to do, he has done well: and, for ourselves, we must now be content to subjoin one or two extracts from his volume, without pretending to traverse the whole theme, or to accomplish in a single article, what, in his eight sermons, the Bampton Lecturer has not attempted.

Dr. Vogan thus asserts *Trinitarianism* as opposed to *Tritheism*.

“Nothing can be more certain from Scripture, interpreted according to the ordinary rules of language, than that there is but one God; and this it ought never to be forgotten, is the very foundation of our doctrine. By the very same rules of language, we learn the following truths also: namely, first, that there are three, whom we are to believe in as God, because the highest names and perfections of God are attributed to them: secondly, that these three are all Persons, because they are said to do that which none but intelligent agents or persons can do; and this is sufficient authority for applying the word, persons, to them: thirdly, that they are distinct, not merely in relation to us, as our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, but, in relation to each other, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and this is sufficient authority for calling them distinct persons. But to call them separate persons, were, either to divide the Godhead into separate parts; and so, none of the persons would be perfect God, for the part is not equal to the whole: or to make three separate and perfect Gods, and so make Scripture expressly contradict itself.”—pp. 25, 26.

Again,

“That the Trinity in Unity is mysterious, we readily admit; maintaining it to be, at the same time, sufficiently intelligible, so far as necessary, for all practical purposes. We affirm from the nature of the case, that it must be mysterious: and have shown, that the same reasons which would make this a ground of valid exception to our doctrine, would also introduce universal scepticism and disbelief.

“From its admitted and necessary mysteriousness it next follows, that the co-existence of three persons in one Divine nature, as taught by our doctrine, cannot be proved to be impossible or contradictory. But against those who deny its mysteriousness, and persist in the objections of impossibility and contradiction, it has been shown, that the foundation

on which these objections are built, will not support them : that, on the contrary, as far as, with our imperfect knowledge and capacity, we may reason on such a subject, the existence of a plurality of persons in the Godhead in a general view, may from analogy, and from the most accurate notions of what is necessary to constitute a person, be presumed to be possible : that in a more particular view, such a Trinity and Unity as our doctrine teaches, is possible ; since it sets forth the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as no otherwise persons, than is consistent with their perfect unity of being ; and yet as no otherwise united, than is consistent with the distinct personality of each : and that, specifically, the Unity of the Godhead, as it is to be learned from natural and revealed religion is not repugnant to, but is consistent with, the Trinity of persons.

“ This, then, is the advantageous ground on which we now stand : the Trinity in Unity is mysterious, but is not therefore to be disbelieved : it is not impossible, and therefore may be believed on competent evidence attesting and corroborating the fact : the Unity is not opposed to the Trinity, and therefore the Unity of the Godhead is such as our doctrine represents it to be. Moreover again, the Trinity in Unity is not impossible, neither is the one opposed to the other ; and therefore all those interpretations of the evidence, which depend on the assumption of these objections, are refuted in the mass, and disposed of without further trouble.”—p. 115—17.

He then proceeds to a review of the particular evidence ; and on the subjects of the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, the Hypostatic Union in the Person of Jesus Christ, and the personality of the Holy Spirit, he collects and exhibits the *Scriptural* testimony with much discretion, cogency, and skill. With regard to the *patristical* testimony, he pretends to do little more than abridge Dr. Burton and Mr. Faber : but his summary of ancient heresies is often striking from its conciseness. With regard, for instance, to the “ *Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ*,” Mr. Vogan remarks, in defending the Athanasian Creed,

“ Various are the errors which have been propagated on this subject. By some, as the Cerinthians, Ebionites, Paulianists, Arians, Photinians, and Macedonians, the perfect Godhead of our Saviour ; by others, his perfect manhood ; was denied.

“ The Patripassians, followers of Praxeas and Noetus, held, that the Father himself descended into the virgin, and suffered on the cross for us : while the Sabellians, to avoid the charge of Patripassianism, taught that the Son was not the Father personally, but an energy, unsubstantial emanation, or a certain portion of the divine nature, united to man. The Docetæ or Phantasiastæ taught that his body was only an appearance or apparition, not real and substantial. The Arians and Apollinarians divided man into body, animal soul, and mind or intellect,—*σῶμα*, *ψυχὴ*, and *νοῦς* : and the former held that Christ had nothing of man but the body, in which the place of the animal soul and the intellect was supplied by the Logos or Word, whom they maintained to be a

created spirit : while the Apollinarians taught that Christ had both the body and the animal soul of man, which two he yet brought down from heaven ; that his body was not real, composed of flesh and blood, but uncreated and heavenly ; and that the only begotten, whose Godhead they maintained against the Arians, supplied the place of the human mind ; and both Arians and Apollinarians, with the Eutychians,—who indeed confessed two distinct natures originally in Christ,—taught a coagulation, commixture, or absorption of the one nature in or into the other ; insomuch that either God became passible, or Christ suffered only in appearance. And, lastly, the Nestorians maintained, that our blessed Saviour was God and man, in two distinct persons, but with one aspect ; that the union between the Son of God with the Son of man took place in the very moment of the virgin's conception, and was never to cease ; and that this union was not one either of nature or of person, but only of will and affection.

“ Against these various and destructive forms of heresy, the part of the creed before us was directed : and whosoever will take the trouble of comparing it in detail with the sketch which I have given above, will see how directly and fully it confronts each different heresy, and therein also, it may be asserted, every possible form which heresy can assume respecting the person of Christ.”—p. 366—9.

On the whole, these Lectures are not unworthy to belong to so distinguished a series, and to be bound up with those which have preceded them from the same pulpit. Many, perhaps, will complain that there is nothing spirit-stirring or soul-kindling about them. But the Rev. John Bampton intimated that the discourses preached in consequence of his bequest should be “ *Divinity Lecture Sermons*.” From the institution, then, of the founder, even more than from the nature of the audience, the Bampton Lectures have been, as they were intended to be, sober and argumentative treatises on points of Christian theology, rather than hortatory injunctions on the more familiar parts of Christian duty. In this plan, there are many advantages and some drawbacks : and we should be glad, if we had room, to compare the two styles of preaching, which are now, we believe, almost contending for mastery in the universities. Each has its peculiar usefulness ; but, in general cases, more useful, we think, than either would be something between the didactic, if not dry, exposition of the one style, and the rhetorical flourishes of the other ; or rather something which should unite the more valuable characteristics of both ; the sound and learned divinity which Mr. Vogan has furnished us from Oxford, and the ardent eloquence which has been so warmly welcomed from the lips of Mr. Melvill, Mr. Dale, and other popular preachers at Cambridge.

ART. VI.—1. *The Christian Church, as it stands distinguished from Popery and Puritanism.* By the Rev. Thomas Griffith, A.M., Minister of Ram's Chapel, Homerton. London: James Burns. 1837.

2. *The Christian Ministry, and the Establishment of Christianity; two Discourses on Public Occasions, with illustrative Notes and an Appendix.* By the Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite, M.A., of Trinity College, Precentor's Vicar of the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin. London: James Duncan. 1835.

3. *On the Holy Catholic Church. Parochial Lectures.* By William J. Irons, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford; and Curate of St. Mary's, Newington, Surrey. London: J. G. and F. Rivington. 1837.

IN our last Number some remarks, founded on the character of the publications of the day, were made upon the prominence which political events have given to a particular view of our Anglican Church:—that view of it, we mean, which regards its own internal constitution, apart from the fact of its meeting with protection or interference from the State in whose territory it is planted. Did these remarks, or the elucidation which followed them of this distinction between the essential properties of the Church and its accidents, stand in need of any further illustration, ample materials for it might be found in the volumes, the titles of which stand at the head of the present Article. But as this is not the case, we shall employ them chiefly as an exemplification of the strange contrariety of opinion which now exists among us as to what really are these essential properties, this internal constitution of the Church. And perhaps we shall be permitted to infer from hence that there must be some indistinctness in the theoretical outline, some incompleteness in the practical details of the object itself, concerning which such opposite conceptions are formed. Surely, so much is plain from the very fact of the difference, without entering into the question which side is right and which wrong. The opinions of honest and intelligent men (as are the writers before us) could not diverge so widely about a system—we will not say actively energizing before their eyes, for external constraint might suspend its functions, but—which has *ever* fully and practically existed, which has *ever* been brought to bear upon men on a large scale, and been employed to fashion, control, and regulate, their habits of thought and action. And, if this be so, let it not be imputed to those who attempt to recall us to a sense of our wants in one department, and in another to classify and systematize the uncounted stores of our theological

treasure-house, that they have needlessly or importunately undertaken this office. Let it be proved that their mode of executing it is erroneous or inadequate; this is of course a proper field for inquiry and discussion. But it would be miserable, indeed, were the Church to find herself loosed from her bonds, and free to exert those powers which are indefeasibly hers, while their force and direction, extent and boundaries, remained ill-defined or ill-understood by the very persons to whom their exercise is committed. Independently, however, of the testimony to this point which these volumes afford, it must be sufficiently obvious to any thoughtful mind, that were she at this moment to be thrown by unforeseen events upon her own resources, that event would at the same time disclose their partial and imperfect development. Turn which way we will, various unsettled questions present themselves. What, for instance, in the matter of government, would be the proper course as regards Convocation? Ought it to be revived, or would its proper functions, which chiefly regarded temporal matters, such as the self-taxation of the Clergy, cease together with the Establishment, and the undivided spiritual legislation for the Church naturally revert to those to whom the Apostles appear to have committed it? Or, again, (which is much the same point in another light,) has the second order of Clergy any right to a voice in the government of each diocese, or is the bishop's jurisdiction therein absolute and uncontrolled? Similar instances might be adduced in matters of ritual, discipline, or in what belongs more strictly to the science of theology itself. And this, not merely because the matter is in abeyance through external causes, such as the Statute of Præmunire, which invades the sacred elective rights of the chapters, or the degradation of spiritual censures into a routine stage of certain legal proceedings, but because there are still points which themselves require adjustment, and which in the hands of those, who (like ourselves) pay regard to the precedents of antiquity, will with little difficulty admit of it. Nor is it a practically satisfactory answer (which some might interpose here) that, for us who neither profess to be members of a *new Church*, nor to have the gift of infallibility deposited among us, the very fact of any point being virtually determined by antiquity, ipso facto concludes it for us likewise. It is, indeed, true, as we humbly hope and believe, that Anglicanism is a representative, however unworthily, of primitive Catholicity. Still it is so, not simply and absolutely, but under certain modifications, and with reference to past events and other existing systems. And, therefore, both its followers and its opponents have a just claim upon it to speak out, to show how it contrives to maintain unimpaired primitive verity without partici-

pating in later corruptions; in short, to draw the line between truth and falsehood, and to prove that it can be Catholic, yet not popish, Protestant, yet not heretical. We must not, therefore, seek to place ourselves exactly in the same position which the early Christians held; not (as some presumptuously say) because we are wiser or better than they, but simply because it is unreal and unpractical, nay, impossible, to shut our eyes and ears to the history and experiences of Christendom; as visionary as it would be for an individual to seek to unsay and undo all the actions of his life, and to become the same being he was in his early years, however purer and higher his former state might have been.

So much has been suggested to us by the contrariety of the views contained in the above-mentioned volumes, when compared together; our intention now is to confine ourselves to an examination of that particular view which is propounded by Mr. Griffith. His object, as stated in a modestly-written preface, is to throw out some "leading ideas" and "governing principles" respecting the Christian Church, and accordingly he proceeds in his first six chapters to speak of its idea and characteristics, its authority in matters of ceremony and faith, and the proper limitation of that authority. Its "general idea" he considers to be that of a "spiritual brotherhood," arguing as follows:—

"For, taking the idea of a thing as that conception of it which is furnished us by a knowledge of its *ultimate aim*, we find this ultimate aim for which Christ called together his Disciples, and which he wished to form the one grand object of their joint-endavours, to be the constituting of a brotherhood or community of persons united by their common reference to one head—their common profession of one principle—and their common consecration to one end."

Then he quotes our Lord's words in John, x. 14, 16, and in His parting prayer, John, xvii. 20, 21, and proceeds:—

"This then constitutes the idea, or general notion of the Church of Christ, that on account of a certain common principle and object, all who acknowledge that principle and are dedicated to the realizing of that object, whether individuals or distinct communities of men, are considered as making up one brotherhood,—the brotherhood of Christendom."

Now reserving to ourselves the right of objecting by-and-by to the principle which is implied in theorizing upon this part of the subject at all, we will here take Mr. Griffith's own ground, and join issue with him upon his assertion, that the formation of a "spiritual brotherhood," "a community of thought and feeling," is the one primary purpose for which the Church was set up. Most true, indeed, it is, for Scripture tells us so, that *Christian unity* (why should we seek out new phrases to dress

old truths in?) was *one* great end and object of the Church. But we are told as plainly of *other* ends and objects; e. g. we learn from St. Paul, that the Church is the "pillar and ground of the truth," from which text, taken by itself, we might fairly infer that her sole office was to preserve and hand down a certain definite body of doctrines, irrespectively of any moral influence upon the minds of men. Again, we are told, in several passages, that the Church is intended to be an instrument of salvation, and means of edifying individual Christians, and so forth. What right then have we to name one of these revealed purposes to the exclusion of the others, nay, what right have we even to fix upon one as primary and essential, and place the rest in subordination to it? And if we had any such right, why might we not just as well employ it in asserting, that to preserve the purity of the faith, or to promote the salvation of mankind, was *the* object of the Church, and that unity was merely valuable as an instrument thereto. Or, again, would it not manifestly be a nearer approximation to the truth to say, that these ends were all but subservient and ministerial to God's glory; for this would be pretty much the same as confessing that the subject ended in a mystery, and that all our knowledge of it was partial and unsystematic.

Before we pass onwards, and quit this topic concerning "final causes," we will take the opportunity of remarking on a fallacy into which Mr. Griffith's fondness for them appears to have led him. His third chapter is on "the imperfection of all actual Churches," one of the "final causes" of which phenomenon he considers to be, that it is "essential to the maintenance of the paramount authority of the word of God." Now, after what we have lately said, we shall not be suspected of an intention to gainsay Mr. Griffith's *fact*, but we must entirely dissent from his conclusion, that were it otherwise,—did the Church, either universally or in any of its branches, realize its ideal perfection, the "Bible would be suspended, the written word of God unnecessary, the ultimate court of appeal suppressed."—pp. 72, 73. And in order to justify our dissent we will not insist upon a distinction, which, as far as his words go, might fairly be raised between moral perfection and intellectual infallibility, and thence show that an indefinite advance in the former by no means involves of necessity an approximation to the latter. But we will suppose the case, which was probably in his view, of the visible Church so far realizing her august destiny as to become and continue indefectible, that is, virtually infallible, in all points, however minute, of faith and practice. Now, what, according to Mr. Griffith, would be the consequence of this? "Just in proportion as it" (infallibility) "is claimed, or is imagined by any individual, or Church,

or general council of the Church, the word of God becomes despoiled of its prerogative, neglected, and superseded."—pp. 76, 77. That is to say, in proportion as the Divine purpose is fulfilled, the Divine Word is dishonoured. Really such a position carries with it its own refutation. However, let us test its soundness by generalizing it, and considering its applicability to any other subject. Would the law of England, for instance, be "despoiled of its prerogative, neglected or superseded," if the twelve judges possessed the gift of infallibly expounding and declaring it? Or, what will Mr. Griffith say to the case of either of the three Creeds; he, as well as ourselves, must believe that the Church has been enabled *indefectibly* to declare the doctrines which form the subject-matter of these Creeds. Does he consider that the teaching and authority of Scripture in those doctrines is thereby superseded; must he not admit to us that, on the contrary, it is illustrated and enforced? The fact is, that "the maintenance of the paramount authority of Scripture" is in no wise affected by infallibility as such, but depends upon the ulterior question, whether a Church, being, or professing to be, infallible, sets herself up against Scripture, or whether she contents herself with the office of guarding and interpreting Scripture truth by means of this her gift. What are the guarantees for the legitimate use of such an infallibility, what the requisite conditions of its very existence, are matters for distinct consideration, and we shall touch upon them by-and-by. At present its existence and proper application are the very points assumed as the basis of our discussion,—that discussion being, whether an unerring exposition of a law diminishes or enhances the authority of the law itself. We maintain, that it is vindicated in exact proportion to the extent and degree of the expositor's exemption from error, and that its real purport is frustrated so far as it is liable to be drawn aside by individual prejudices and caprice. And, if this be so, on whose system does the imputation fall of dethroning the Bible from its supremacy; on the assertors of an interpreter wholly or in part unerring, or on those who hold that each man is to form his judgment of its meaning by the light of his own reason? We have no wish or need to avail ourselves of any such imputation; the question, after all, must rest upon its own merits; if a rightful and unerring interpreter exists, thither we are plainly bound to refer, if not, we must do as well as we can for ourselves. But if there is any force in the argument from consequences,—and we are far from saying that it is safe to trust to the validity of a logical demonstration in the face of them,—then we claim that the weight of this presumption should be placed on our side, not on Mr. Griffith's.

We will next take Mr. Griffith's view of the "authority of the Church in matters of faith," and this is so simple and explicit that we think we may state it in our own words without running any risk of misrepresenting him. This office of the Church then (over and above her guardianship of the Bible as a *book*) he considers to be twofold. First, she introduces her members to a knowledge of Scripture, assists their researches, and guides them to a right appreciation of its contents. Next, in case of an incipient discrepancy between their conclusions and her own, she has a claim upon them not to decide hastily, but to pay that deference to her, as the representative of Christians at large, which is justly due from individual to general opinion. Now, this view of the matter has at least the merit of being (as we have said) explicit and straight-forward, it places the Church on just the same footing towards her members as that on which all human societies stand to theirs, and invests her with the self-same privileges which all of them possess. There is not one artist or mechanic in a thousand who has not received similar instruction in the rudiments of his calling. Nor is there more than a thousandth lawyer or physician who would not feel bound to distrust his own judgment when it ran counter to the general voice of the profession to which he belonged. Why, therefore, should not that be admitted in religion which is held good in other sciences? So says Mr. Griffith, and we are glad to be agreed so far; but he would say that this is the sum of the matter, whereas we assert that there is a peculiarity in the character of the Christian Church which invests her teaching with an authority entirely distinct in kind from that possessed by any other society:—an authority springing not from the superior dignity of the truths taught, but from the superior prerogative of the instructress.

But before we discuss this subject, we wish to disentangle it from a preliminary difficulty. People are in the habit of treating the right of private judgment and Church authority in matters of religion, as if they were antagonist principles, each claiming to rule over the same territory, and contending within its limits for the mastery. And in order to prove that, whatever deference may be due to authority, the ultimate decision must ever rest with the individual judgment, they talk loudly of man's responsibility, the obligation which lies upon him to use his reason, and so forth. Now, we are most of us so intimately conscious that we *are* responsible beings,—responsible for all our acts, and, therefore, for our acts of judgment, that such topics naturally weigh much with us, and it is, therefore, the more important to show that, though true, they are quite irrelevant to the purpose for which they are used. Men have (in one sense) a right to speculate and doubt on

any point whatever; yet, no one considers this abstract right to be infringed, because there are things in history and philosophy so well settled that no rational man dreams of disputing them. Now, why may there not be a parallel to this in the case of religion; why may not the Church be possessed of means of proof which enable her to challenge the assent of her members to certain religious truths, with a cogency of the same kind as that to which the historian or philosopher yields his assent in secular matters. And, if this be the case, will it not appear that the question is—not whether Church authority or individual judgment ought to prevail, but—simply, whether there are any and what truths so supported? From those that are so, the individual judgment will at once retire as superseded, while it will exercise itself on other points, not by virtue of any abstract right, but simply because having no complete external informant we cannot do without it. It appears, therefore, that we may have rights as *men*, which as *Christians* we have surrendered, or rather which, in the very act of becoming believers, we have exercised once for all. This distinction, obvious as soon as stated, is neglected in the chapter before us, as well as elsewhere, and it is inattention to it which has led Mr. Griffith (p. 142) to employ, in favour of his view of Church authority, a quotation from a modern work which obviously relates to our general responsibility as moral beings, and not at all to the claims of the Church on our belief.

And now we may recur to the question—What is that peculiarity of the Christian Church which renders her authority thus singular and pre-eminent, to which we reply as follows:—The Church declares the doctrines of religion thus authoritatively, because she has the divine promise that she shall do so unerringly and inflexibly. This is the simple and essential account of the matter, which it is right ever to keep steadily in view, in the midst of the intricacies and perplexity in which error and controversy have involved it. But those errors have imposed upon us the duty of more exactly defining the sense in which we Anglicans maintain this primitive truth, and of vindicating it from the consequences which have unfairly been attributed to it. It may be asked, then, do you hold that this promise was made to the Church absolutely and unconditionally? The Romanist would answer in the affirmative; we, on the contrary, reply, that we consider that, like all other divine promises, it was given conditionally, and that the condition to be observed on the Church's part, in order to the full enjoyment of her privilege, was, as we are reminded by a late writer, the preservation of unity. That her violation of this condition has impaired her gift; not for-

feited it entirely, but suspended it in all those particulars wherein the unity of the faith has been broken. But when that unity is preserved, so also is the divine blessing which was promised to it; and therefore the Church Catholic has at this hour, were other obstacles removed, the means of pronouncing as infallibly upon those great points wherein all her members are agreed, *e.g.* the incarnation or atonement, as she might have had upon other points besides these, if the condition affecting them had been kept likewise. Again, it may be asked, do you consider that this gift was intended to be exercised by the Church, or one or more of her chief officers as her representatives, by virtue of some self-dependent faculty, transcending the need of any recourse to external facts or to human assistance? Here, too, the Romanist must, we conceive, answer in the affirmative. Anglican divines, on the other hand, hold that this is not the case, that the Church was intended to have recourse to such aid, and that it has been provided for her by means of the distinctive character of *revealed* truth. All *secular* knowledge is more or less empirical; truth, in science or politics, is elaborated by toilsome processes, its rudiments are small and feeble, and its progress is mixed with error and imperfection. Religious truth, on the contrary, is the "faith *once for all* delivered to the saints," the noble *deposit* entrusted to their custody. Therefore it requires not curious research, nor intellectual subtlety, but only fidelity in its transmitters, and thus is capable of proof as a matter of *testimony*,—that proof becoming conclusive in proportion to the catholicity of the testimony. Now the truth of that doctrine which has been received from the beginning, in every country, and by all, the Church has ever considered as completely established; and this is accounted a recognized axiom by Vincent* of Lerins, early in the fifth century. Accordingly, by this test, so long as it existed, she regulated her decisions; not presuming upon her promise, and pronouncing her decrees carelessly and partially, but anxiously collecting the suffrages of her bishops; that by her faithfulness she might merit that divine assistance which was pledged to her. And if it be objected here that there is an inconsistency in supposing that human means can properly be employed for an object already guaranteed by a supernatural grace, we would ask in return, does not this very same difficulty run through the whole of the divine dealings with us? does it not present itself, if we attempt to reconcile the doctrine of election with man's free-will and moral responsibility, or the validity

* That Anglican divines have constantly adopted Vincent's rule is satisfactorily proved by the copious extracts from their works collected in the *Tracts for the Times*, No. 78.

of Church censure and absolution with what we know to be the divine rule of punishment and pardon? Would it not be as much to the purpose to argue in this last instance, if the sinner is a true penitent, ministerial absolution is superfluous; if he is not, it is invalid; as to say here, if the Church has a divine gift of declaring truth, why need she employ an instrumental method of ascertaining it? Surely the analogy to the general dispensations of Providence, observable in this particular, affords no slight presumption in its favour. And this presumption is, to our view, considerably strengthened by the remarkable fact, that the same cause which withdrew from the Church (so far as it is withdrawn) the divine sanction to her decrees, also rendered the test, whereby she had regulated them, to the same extent inapplicable. For as soon as unity in the Church Catholic became impaired, so soon did it become more difficult to ascertain what doctrine had been held always, every where, and by all. Various influences stained and troubled the clear calm stream of apostolical tradition: bishops, assembled in council in the East, bore a different testimony from their brethren in the West: motives of fear, anger, or jealousy, obscured their judgment; this or that party within the Church, this or that political bias without it, preponderated, and drew their decisions aside. No one can glance at the history of the later councils ever so cursorily, without detecting the operation of all these disturbing forces, and perceiving how greatly the value of the testimony borne by them has consequently been diminished. But when this discord, which had long jarred and agitated the interior fabric of the Church, burst forth, and her members became actually separated from each other, the unanimity of her testimony became not merely disturbed, but suspended. And as long as her present divisions continue, it is impossible that an œcumenical council, the formal mode whereby it has been wont to be ascertained, should be so much as convened.

Having now stated our view of the ground on which Church authority rests, it remains to speak of a point which has virtually been anticipated, but which Mr. Griffith's sixth chapter invites us to examine more explicitly; what is the limitation of that authority? Why Mr. *Griffith* should have entered into this question we are, we confess, at a loss to understand. For, as he concedes to the Church no final or absolute authority whatever, but merely a presumptive authority—"that moral influence which ought to be conceded to the opinion and example of those who are likely to be competent judges of a subject" (p. 136)—any other limitation would seem well nigh superfluous. Nor can we quite see, by the way, how he reconciles this view of the authority of the

Church with that taken in the twentieth Article, though it appears (p. 136), that he himself considers them consistent. The words, "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith," do not, indeed, when taken alone, expressly affirm that this authority is final, and not merely presumptive, but the Article proceeds to state, that as the Church "ought not to *decree* any thing against the same (Scripture), so besides the same ought it not to *enforce* anything to be believed for necessity of salvation." From whence the obvious inference is, that under these conditions the Church *has* authority to *decree* and to *enforce*; words which surely are as indicative of *final* and *absolute* authority as words well can be. But those whose theory on the subject is more agreeable to that of the Article, and therefore, it is to be hoped, nearer to the truth, are not relieved from explaining the limits of that final and absolute authority which the Reformers have thus attributed to the Church. Most painful truly it is for those who reverence her as the instrumental dispenser of their greatest blessings, and who would fain surrender themselves to a generous and unsuspecting confidence, to have thus to scrutinize and define the limits of a gift which they would gladly believe to be co-extensive with the substance of the Faith itself. But it is a duty which events have cast upon them, and it cannot, neither ought it to be, declined. It will be proper, however, first to examine the validity of the grounds whereon Mr. Griffith limits the authority (such as it is) which he ascribes to the Church; and this, if it were only that he states them to be drawn from the 20th and 21st Articles. After citing these, he proceeds:—

"In these two Articles then, all claims that may be made, whether for the Church at large, or for General Councils, as the organs of its judgment on any particular occasion, to *absolute authority* in matters of faith, are met by these two principles. First, the fallibility of human judgment in things pertaining to God. And, secondly, the consequent necessity that all its decisions upon religious truth be supported and confirmed by the divine authority of the word of God."

And, in order to render his first principle applicable to the Church, he says, a little further on,

"If no single Christian, however gifted, is infallible, no *assemblage* of Christians, however numerous, in a General Council, can render their *joint* deliberations infallible.

Now, before we consider what countenance this argument receives from the Article, let us perpend its intrinsic value. That a society cannot collectively possess any moral or intellectual quality, which each and every of its members is devoid of, may be very true, but how is this relevant to the case of a super-

natural promise which in its very terms is made, not to the individual members of a body, but to the body itself? Let us take another Divine promise, which Mr. Griffith will of course allow to us was made to the Church, viz. that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against Her. Does this extend the certainty of exemption from failure to any one individual Christian? Surely not; yet this does not destroy the reality of the promise to the Church. Where, then, is the antecedent impossibility of her being infallible in the same way as she is admitted to be indefectible?

But let us next see whether the 21st Article, on General Councils, supports Mr. Griffith's proposition any better than his own argument. Now, on what ground is the infallibility of the Church Catholic asserted by any one to be derived upon General Councils? Plainly on this, that they are her adequate representatives, and faithfully report her testimony. So far, therefore, as they fail to fulfil these conditions, (and we have pointed out several modes in which this may be the case,) there is no guarantee whatever for the truth of their decrees, and hence (as the Article justly remarks), they "may err and sometimes have erred." But in order to prove Mr. Griffith's point, it should have said, "The voice of the Church Catholic may be erroneous, when fully and faithfully represented by a General Council." This, however, it has not said, and therefore, without risk of contradicting it, we may profess ourselves Dr. Hammond's disciples, when he declares, "Though I make it no matter of faith, because delivered neither by Scripture nor Apostolic Tradition, yet I shall number it among the *piè credibilia*, that no General Council, truly such, duly assembled, freely celebrated, and universally received, either hath erred, or ever shall err, in matters of faith."—(*Works*, i. 551.) We now come to the second limit which Mr. Griffith propounds for Church authority, the necessity of the accordance of its decrees with the Scriptures. Now most true it is, that the Church can have no *real* authority contrariant to Scripture; indeed, it is a contradiction in terms to suppose that He from whom all her authority is derived, should have given it so as to frustrate his own word; she "*ought not*," therefore, "to decree any thing against the same." But our present question is—not what is the duty of the Church in the abstract, but—what is a safe, sufficient, and practical test that she has not transgressed it. Now if Mr. Griffith proposes, as such a test, the accordance of her decrees with Scripture, he would have done well to have informed us further, by what means he would have that accordance ascertained. Probably he would say this must be decided by each individual for himself; but then this deprives the Church of that *final* authority which the 20th Article, as

we have shown, ascribes to her. Others, again, may hold that the Church of the day must herself settle it; for our part, however, knowing the grievous errors which have from time to time prevailed, and professed to ground themselves upon Scripture, we are too good Protestants to listen to such a position for a moment. What then are the due practical limits of the Church's authoritative decrees? Surely it is plain that they must be co-extensive, not merely with what *may* be true, but with what she has the fullest testimony and guarantee *is* true. And where can this be found except in the case of those doctrines whose reception has the three requisites of universality, antiquity, and consent.

Thus, then, it appears, that what was provided for the Church as a criterion of the truth of her doctrines, has likewise become the limit of their authoritative promulgation. And if the Romanist here retorts upon us the objection we just now made ourselves, and asks, how is the presence of these conditions to be ascertained? we readily admit that there is some difficulty in the application of this test; and we hold that the very facility of his test and that of the Ultra-Protestant is a presumption against their truth, for the universal consequence of past error is to involve those who come after in perplexity. But we deny that the difficulty is more than a preliminary one, or that it is at all of the same kind as really attends Mr. Griffith's test. The catholicity of any doctrine is no matter of opinion, but of fact, and capable of proof like other facts. In order thereto it may indeed require learning, knowledge of antiquity, and other qualities; so do other proofs, but they are considered satisfactory nevertheless, and, as Bishop Butler tells us, circuitry in the process of proof does not affect the certainty of the conclusion. We will only add, that such limitation of church authority is no cause for self-gratulation, but our most grievous loss. For it arises from a corresponding curtailment of Catholic verities themselves; and if certainty of knowledge is desirable on other subjects, it must be infinitely more so on that which so nearly concerns us.

And here we will bring our review of Mr. Griffith's theory of Church Authority to a close; there is another point connected with it which he dismisses very shortly—what the Church may require to be believed “for necessity of salvation?” This, it will be observed, we have left entirely untouched in our previous discussion, and it is too large and momentous a subject for us to enter on at present.

But we have a few words to say on Mr. Griffith's seventh and last chapter, which is entitled, “Standing of the Church before God,” and treats in four sections, of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping of Images and Reliques, and Invocation of Saints. The

phrase which forms the title of this chapter he employs to designate the nature of the "satisfaction made by Christ for His Church," and it is with special "reference to their bearing on this fundamental point," that he treats, as he tells us, at p. 201, of the Romish errors above enumerated. His complaint against them accordingly is, that they interfere with the completeness of that satisfaction; and his remarks, so far as they are addressed to the exposure of the unsound and dangerous character of these errors in their detail, are striking and valuable. But owing to a confusion between the completeness of this satisfaction in itself, and the terms upon which it is imparted to individuals, his arguments against their principle unfortunately prove a great deal too much, and, if true, would overthrow not them only, but the Catholic doctrine of which they are the spurious outgrowth. And this has led him (pp. 199 and 220, notes) to express great alarm at some sentiments in modern Anglican divines expressive of the arduousness and difficulty of true repentance, and of the uncertainty whether, in any particular instance, it has been sufficient to obtain forgiveness. Now we are not going to enter upon this subject, partly from its sacredness rendering it inappropriate to these pages, and partly because the authors alluded to are fully able to defend their own views. But this we must say, that whether they are right or wrong, Mr. Griffith's argument does not prove them to be the latter, unless it proves also that no one who has once been brought within the pale of salvation, (as all have who have received holy baptism), can run any subsequent risk of being excluded from it, for to this length does it inevitably extend. Of course we do not mean to fasten the maintenance of such wild Antinomianism on Mr. Griffith himself, who doubtless would repudiate it as much as ourselves, but only to show that he has disqualified himself from censuring the views of others upon the *mode* and *nature* of true repentance, until he can vindicate his own system from the charge of overthrowing the *necessity* of repentance for sins after baptism *altogether*.

But what falls more especially within our present scope to animadvert upon is not so much that Mr. Griffith's objections in fact apply as well to the pure Catholic doctrine of repentance developed in acts of mortification and charity, sorrow and devotion, as to the Romish corruption of this doctrine, but rather upon the *connection* in which he regards the subject itself, viz. as affecting the standing of the *Church* before God. This appears to us to go to the very bottom of the difference which, we are sorry to say, exists between him and ourselves, and to afford a kind of clue to his whole theory. The Romanists, who, with ourselves, daily profess a belief in the *Holy Catholic Church*, never for a moment imagine that their purgatory and pardons are requi-

site to *her* complete acceptance. On the other hand, they rightly regard her as being already fully possessed of the salvation which has been purchased for her, and as the divinely appointed dispenser of it to others.

Now what is it that has led Mr. Griffith into this misapprehension? is it not the same cause which has all along been the foundation of our disagreement—this erroneous conception of the Church itself? This he seems to consider as a society, divinely constituted indeed, and with a divine object, yet in itself human and earthly, holy only in proportion to the holiness of its individual members, efficacious in proportion to the moral influence of its doctrines on the mind; but invested with no intrinsic and supernatural graces, nor indued with any sacramental power of dispensing them to her children. He does not seem at all to realize the great truth, that the kingdom of heaven is already set up on earth, and that this kingdom is the Christian Church; that the gifts of justice and holiness are already fully deposited with her, and that by virtue of these, she is herself holy; that not only are the sacraments (the pre-eminent channels of these gifts) in her keeping, but that her whole frame-work and essence is one great sacrament or mystery. It is this inadequate conception of the divine character of the Church which has made him feel at liberty to philosophize upon what he terms its “idea;” to point out what is primary and essential therein, and what subordinate; to argue as if our knowledge concerning it was complete, and therefore could be systematized. It is the same cause which has led him to that view of Church authority which places it on a level with the authority of mere human societies, which considers that authority as vested in the ministers of the Church; not by virtue of Apostolic descent,* but “as representations of the general will, and organs of the general voice,” (p. 102); which, lastly, regards the holy sacraments as “figurative signs and ceremonies for the imagination and the heart.” (p. 50.) The defect in this last particular is too painful to be long dwelt upon, but the connexion between low and rationalistic views of the Church herself, and of the ordinances which she administers, is so immediate, and there are such evils, of a still graver character, beyond, impending over those who are not able, by a happy inconsistency, to rescue

* We would refer those who hesitate to admit this fundamental truth—we rejoice to say that their number daily decreases—to Mr. Crosthwaite's first discourse, which contains a forcible statement of the divine claims of the Christian ministry. The notes and appendix, which show great learning and research, produce the testimony of the earlier reformed writers on the point. It is peculiarly gratifying to find such an able advocate of right opinions in a Church, whose special vocation it is to reduce the Roman schism which robs her of so large a number of her people. Her Apostolic descent and orthodox formularies will not of themselves effect this. Catholicity must be exhibited to them in her teaching, discipline, and practice; it must be seen to be the living and actuating principle of the body to which they are invited to return.

themselves from the consequences to which their system legitimately tends, that we shall quote at length the following striking passage in the lectures of Mr. Irons.*

“ Let us now pass from what St. Paul calls the ‘ doctrine of the laying on of hands,’ to consider, briefly, that to which it naturally leads us,—the doctrine of the Sacraments. Let us observe the application of the principle of the Rationalists to these holy mysteries, and to that which gives them all their value,—the doctrine of the Atonement. And here, again, especially remark, that the principle adopted by the moralist and spiritualist is substantially the same. The moral rationalist complains that he cannot comprehend the doctrine of atonement, * * * he cannot ‘ see,’ therefore he will not ‘ believe,’ and loses the assured blessedness of those ‘ who see not, and yet believe.’ * * * On the other hand, the spiritual rationalist argues in the same manner concerning those means whereby the benefits of the atonement are applied to us. He tells us, that he cannot bring himself to believe what he ventures to term so ‘ carnal’ a doctrine as baptismal regeneration. It would make a ‘ carnal ordinance,’ (for such he assumes it to be) essential to salvation ; and he cannot see the connexion between the water of baptism and the grace of the Spirit. * * * Now it is evident, that in both these cases the same principle is adopted. The moralist and the spiritualist ‘ rationalize’ alike. * * * Each is resolved, in his own way, to comprehend ‘ God’s’ system, or to construct one for him. And I cannot make much distinction, on this point, between the two classes ; for various as the rationalists may be, in some respects, they all proceed on the same principle ; and though the extreme moralist, alone, carries the principle out, still wherever that principle exists at all, it infects the whole system. The man, whose heart refuses to submit to the ‘ obedience of Faith,’ if he had but boldness and consistency of thought would end in Socinianism. Spiritualism (as its whole history proves) naturally conducts to moralism. The spiritualism of Zuingli and Calvin, on the continent, has terminated in the moralism of the modern rationalists.”—p. 124, *et seq.*

Such then, whether we look to its external history, or to the natural sequence of its reasonings, appears to be the progress of the *school* of opinion, to which this passage alludes : first, it rejects the mysterious power of the Church and her ministers ; next, the efficacy of the sacraments, committed to their charge ; and lastly, the sacred facts from whence that efficacy is derived. We hope we need not disclaim any intention to fix the maintenance of this *whole* system upon *individuals*, and we have not the slightest wish to impute that *partial* maintenance of it, which is, alas ! too evident, to any disinclination to believe revealed truths, merely because they are mysterious. On the contrary, we willingly believe that if the Catholic doctrine of the Church and

* There is a simple eloquence and an earnestness of feeling in these lectures, which is peculiarly impressive, and would render them practically beneficial to a large class of readers, could they be republished in a cheap form.

the Sacraments had been presented to people's minds, with the same habitual and fanatical force with which that of the Atonement has been presented, they would have embraced them as heartily. Unhappily, however, this has not been the case; the only paramount and efficacious mode whereby these doctrines can be preached is, by the fact of there being a visible Church, in the unfettered exercise of her spiritual powers, ruling and energizing in the midst of us. Many causes, too delicate and painful to enumerate particularly, have prevented our own branch of the Church Catholic from exercising that complete influence on society, which her divine commission contemplates. Sometimes state jealousy, at others internal division and weakness, or her own forgetfulness of her high privileges, have interfered. And the consequences of this have varied according to the characters of those who have been affected by the deficiency. Among serious men, many of a cold and prudent temperament have settled down into a notion of the Church being a valuable institution for instructing men in their moral and religious duties, and repressing error in doctrine, and any heats of enthusiasm in practice. Others again, of greater zeal and earnestness, have been led to disconnect from each other the ideas of the Church and Religion, and to attempt to advance the latter by independent and unauthorised exertions. While, as to society in general, one of the advantages which it may be conceived was intended to arise from the foundation of a visible Church—that of obliging us not only to acknowledge religion in the abstract, but to admit its regulation and guidance, under some definite and living form, into every department of our affairs—seems to be in great measure forfeited. The tendency of the day is to exclude the only divinely appointed organ of religion from as many subjects as possible; politics, education and legislation are held to need no more than a vague recognition of a kind of abstract Christianity, and those who protest against this are slighted as rigid and theoretical, or excite irritation and disgust, as throwing insurmountable obstacles in the way of any scheme of practical improvement. Indeed, the fear might not be wholly groundless, that if the Church's privileges were restored to her unimpaired, our tempers might be too rebellious to tolerate their exercise. But we will indulge no gloomy apprehensions; and moreover, whatever may seem in prospect, it is our wisdom, as Englishmen (not to speak of our higher duties as Churchmen), to contend earnestly for the restoration of these privileges. For we can have no reasonable hope of a blessing upon our schemes of benevolence, however munificent, or our religious associations, however zealous, until they are based on a recognition of her divine authority over them.

ART. VII.—1. *Edinburgh Review*, No. CVI. Art. VI. “Universities of England, Oxford.”—No. CVIII. Art. IX. “English Universities, Oxford.”—No. CXXI. Art. X. “Admission of Dissenters to the Universities.”—No. CXXII. Art. IX. “The Universities and the Dissenters.”

2. *A Historical Account of the University of Cambridge and its Colleges, in a Letter to the Earl of Radnor.* By Benjamin Dann Walsh, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Ridgway, 1837.

It having seemed fit to the wisdom of the great oracle of “the modern Athens” to devote four considerable articles to the subject of the English Universities, or rather, of the University of Oxford, we feel that no apology is necessary for putting those learned lucubrations at the head of a second article on the subject in our humbler pages. It is, indeed, no more than is due to the northern censor that it should be supposed, (at all events till the contrary should appear,) that those several articles were something more than a repetition of the same thrice-told tale, and that what took so much time and space to lay before the deeply-ignorant and long-misled, and hard-to-be-enlightened public, cannot be taken in at once by the sagacity of our readers, though they have indeed the advantage of living so much later in “the age of reform,” than the “auspicious crisis” when the Reviewer entered upon his labours. What encouragement the experience of the last six years, which have elapsed since the Reviewer betook himself to his task of “scholastic reform,”—and by “*scholastic reform*” is not to be understood the reform of schools, but the re-forming of them on the model of “the scholastic ages,”—remains still to be seen. We leave it to the decision of that “fourth age of scholasticism,” of which the “Member of Convocation,” whose pamphlets we noticed in our last number, fitly styled his antagonists the “revivers.” All we will say at present is, that if the fact of the English constitution having been “the envy of surrounding nations” has seemed, (as the language of the *Edinburgh Review* would almost seem to imply,) a reason for engaging in its reform, by parity of reasoning, the “contempt” which, we are told, our schools and universities have “scarcely avoided” in the eyes of those same surrounding nations, may perhaps be regarded as a reason why we should abstain from meddling with them. This seems to us, if we may be permitted to say so, passable logic; at least what will pass muster, till the time come when the Reviewer’s fond hopes are to be fulfilled, in the “ultimate convalescence” of that

neglected science "under a reformed system," and it be no longer the fate of the unhappy students of the university of Duns Scotus himself, that, if some patron of the long-lost "metaphysic psychology" appear among them, he is found guilty of errors in which he "exceeds all other logicians," only to be "surpassed by those" of some other, who has fallen into blunders still "more inconceivable." In such a state of things, certainly, it becomes us to feel some hesitation as to the conclusiveness of any thing that may "seem" an argument, or to have on it "the likeness of" premises and conclusion. So great, indeed, is our scepticism on this point, and at the same time so absolute, as appears to us, the necessity of seeming to have something like an argument, that, if our readers will permit us, we will avow at once that we feel much "disposed," with the "Member of Convocation," "to imitate Thraso," and call that a "demonstration" which the Reviewer, with the fearlessness of his accustomed "quis dubitavit," would pronounce to be nothing on our parts but mere "assertion."

In our former article we endeavoured to sketch the history of the attack on our universities, Oxford in particular, since the opening of the campaign in June, 1851. A new ground was then taken up against the university system, as at present existing; viz., that of *illegality*. The cry of "the *statutory* constitution," "the system *de jure*," &c. was then raised, and has been echoed from that time, in different quarters, with different degrees of loudness, but with tolerably faithful adherence to the same note. The University of Oxford first, as "of all academical institutions at once the most imperfect and the most perfectible," was to be compared with "the standard of its own code of statutes;" and then there would be an end to difference of opinion with regard to the expediency of change, and the kind of change required. The university, "as established in law, and non-existent in fact," was to be put side by side with the university "established in fact, but non-existent in law;" and the brand of "illegality" and "perjury," staring us in the face on the forehead of the latter, was to make her disappear from the indignant eyes of men, like the image of Vice in the vision of Hercules. It was found, however, that, though Hercules himself was there, and had given his judgment pretty decisively, still the ugly form somehow did not vanish: the marks of infamy did not look quite so glaring as they had done at first, and though the hero assumed the tone of contempt, and called the unseen worker of the mischief "a curious psychological monstrosity" and a "moral *lusus naturæ*," and set to work again, with "ample room and verge enough, the characters of hell to

trace," and to set up again the fair ideal form of a university dedicated to the genius of his favourite "metaphysic psychology," still it would not stand. The attempt, however, as we showed, was renewed with somewhat less of open daring, and somewhat more of concealed artifice, than before. The charge of "illegality" was written in a new character; and somewhat darker colours were employed, to make amends for the deficiency of strength with which the brand was applied. However, powerful as was the wand of the magician, and deeply as he was skilled in his art, all seemed unavailing. He knew, indeed, it needed "no wizard to expose the folly of waiting for the reformation of the English universities, from the very parties interested in their corruption," and accordingly "a reforming ministry and a reformed parliament," were to be roused to undertake the work of "a general scholastic reform; and the great Dr. Parr was called in to bear testimony "that the 'English universities stood in need of a thorough reformation,' only, that as seminaries of the Church, it was the wisest thing" (he thought) "for parliament to let them alone, and not raise a nest of hornets about their ears;"—yet suddenly the Reviewer seemed

"like one that treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted ;"

Dr. Parr was found paying "an eloquent tribute of praise and admiration to the University of Oxford," particularly in regard to "the superiority of the tutorial over the old professorial system," maintaining, against all charges of departure from statutory constitution, system *de jure*, &c., that "when the present condition of academical affairs is compared with that of which we read in the last (the seventeenth) century, and those which preceded it, APPEARANCES are much changed, but THE SUBSTANCE remains unimpaired;" and pointing to a host of distinguished academics in his day, and saying that "in such men we have a cloud of witnesses, when we are pleading for THE EXCELLENCY OF OUR STRENGTH, and THE JOY OF OUR GLORY." And since "surrounding nations" had been appealed to, by the expression of the "contempt," or whatever short of it, our schools and universities had "hardly escaped," to urge on our legislators to the work of reform, witnesses, well qualified to speak, had been called in to bear testimony to "the superiority of our English over foreign universities," last, but not least, Dr. Parr himself, in words too much to our purpose not to be given as they stand at the conclusion of the "Member of Convocation's" second and unanswered pamphlet. "Be the imperfections of our seminaries what they may, I am acquainted with no other situations where young men can be so largely stored with principles that may enable them to

detect the fallacy, and to escape the contamination of those metaphysical novelties, which are said to have gained a wide and dangerous ascendancy on the continent. After the recent downfall, and amidst the rapid decay, of similar institutions in foreign countries, OUR UNIVERSITIES are *the main pillars, not only of the learning, and perhaps the science, but of the virtue and piety (whether seen or unseen) which yet remain among us.*" Thus ended the first attempt, which was made in the opening of "the age of reform," to restore the "statutory constitution" of the University of Oxford. Alas! that "the strong but disinterested wish to co-operate in restoring this noble university to its natural pre-eminence, by relieving it from the vampire oppression under which it had pined so long in almost lifeless exhaustion" (p. 479), should have been met by words so cold as those of Seneca, "*Æquo animo audienda esse imperitorum convicia, et ad honesta vadenti contemnendum esse istum contemptum.*"

From the view of the question as it stood between the Edinburgh Reviewer and his antagonist, the "Member of Convocation," in 1831, we proceeded to show the progress of the controversy since, or rather the repetition of the old story, set forth again, and applied to the bill brought into parliament in 1834, for the admission of dissenters into the Universities. We traced the still further progress of attack on the universities as carried on in the last session of parliament. In the proposition "for appointing Commissioners to inquire respecting the Statutes and Administration of the different Colleges and Halls at Oxford and Cambridge," the noble Chancellor of the University of Oxford traced, as we saw, the same hostility which had produced, in 1834, the bill for the admission of Dissenters, and in 1835, that for the abolition of subscription to the Articles. He treated it as an attempt to accomplish, by indirect means, that which had twice been tried by direct; viz., "*to overturn the system on which the two universities now stood.*" He viewed it as "neither more nor less than a bill of pains and penalties against the two universities." And the inquiry respecting *statutes*, as well as the whole line of the debate seemed to show a disposition to take up the line of attack marked out by the Edinburgh Review, such as to make it expedient that it should be clearly understood how the case really stands as to the question of the "statutory constitution," the "systems *de jure* and *de facto*," the charges of "illegality" and "perjury," *et id genus omne*.

In our former article, tracing the process of impeachment and defence as carried on through the last few years, we considered the Universities simply as bodies chartered and incorporated by the state, inquiring for what *ends* they were thus chartered and incor-

porated, and whether those ends were fulfilled. This, we contended, and still contend, is the simple question with which the legislature and the country are concerned. This was the ground on which "the legality of the present academical system of the University of Oxford" was "asserted" and "re-asserted" against the Edinburgh Review by the "Member of Convocation." The system is not *illegal*, because it labours for the end proposed to it by law, and that, too, by legitimate means. The *end*, as defined by the act of incorporation, is "the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth," and "to give greater force and strength for the better increase of learning, and the further suppressing of vice." The *means* of accomplishing this end have been left to the powers of internal self-legislation, which the University has exercised time out of mind, and which have been recognized as inherent in it, and been preserved to it, among the privileges which have been guarded by the charters of successive kings, and, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the act of the national legislature. And it is satisfactory to find that, in the adaptation of means to the great end in view, the Universities of England have so far succeeded in commending themselves to the Christian feeling and judgment of the nation, that the attempt to interfere with the system of instruction which they had established within their walls, called forth at once a strong expression of confidence in them, and an earnest prayer to parliament that they might be allowed to hold on their course unmolested. Even in the last session, the noble premier was found ready to admit, notwithstanding all that he had said of "the great improvement in the system of education" pursued in certain new universities, that, nevertheless, "the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge possessed the merit of having established in England an excellent system of education, which was, in point of fact, the envy and admiration of the world." So much for the contempt which the Edinburgh Review told us, some few years ago, our neighbours felt for our schools and universities. There is, however, but small consolation in the admission: for if "our constitution, the envy of surrounding nations," yet needed a thorough reform, it will soon be the time, as we have seen the Reviewer has already told us, for the reform, on scholastic principles, of the "excellent system of education" which is admitted to be "the envy and admiration of the world." And when this good work is entered upon, it will profit us very little, though, under the *third* and *fourth* heads of the "quadripartite" diatribe on which the Edinburgh Review has entered, (the said third and fourth heads being still in "reserve for a separate discussion,") it should appear, that there is "much of

good, much worthy of imitation by other universities, in the present spirit and present economy of Oxford," and though the Reviewer should be never so "happy to acknowledge this," and never so much "endeavour to demonstrate" it, it will profit us very little, if, under the *first* and *second* heads, which have been already so fully unfolded, it is supposed to have been proved that "the actual mechanism of education organized in these seminaries is indeed not, as the deluded public suppose, "a time-honoured and essential part of their being, established upon statute, endowed by the national legislature with exclusive privileges, and inviolable as a vested right," but, indeed, something altogether "new as it is inexpedient, not only accidental to the University, but radically subversive of its constitution, without legal sanction, nay, in violation of positive law, arrogating the privileges exclusively conceded to another system, which it has superseded, and so far from being defensible from those it profits, as a right, that it is a flagrant usurpation, obtained through perjury, and only tolerated through neglect." We have seen already quite enough of the spirit of reform, and of the way in which it moves towards its ends, to be well aware that, when once "progress is determined towards a state of" supposed "*right*," it is a matter of comparatively very small importance what "differences of opinion," may exist "in regard to the kind of change expedient," or indeed "in regard to the expediency of a change at all." Once get the cry of "*illegality*," "*breach of trust*," "*violation of the statutory constitution*," &c., fairly set afloat, and the thing is done. And with regard to our Universities, and the system pursued in them, it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the minds of their defenders, that it has been proclaimed by those who have so liberally volunteered their services in the work of reform, that "it is not in demonstrating the *imperfection* of the present system that they principally ground a hope of its improvement;" but that "it is in demonstrating its "*illegality*."

We have been, therefore, the more anxious to show,—and the importance of the subject must be our apology if we have seemed unnecessarily to repeat and recapitulate, or to have entered tediously into details,—that the pretended demonstration of illegality has totally failed; and that its failure has been concealed only by a somewhat dishonest evasion. The University was incorporated for certain *ends*: the *means* by which those ends were to be accomplished were left to itself from time to time to determine. The simple question for parliament and for the nation is, have the ends proposed in the incorporation of the Universities been kept in view? No; says the Edinburgh Reviewer, looking back upon his previous labours, "We showed, in the first place,

that a great breach of trust had been committed. We showed, in the second place, *by whom* the breach of trust had been committed. In the third place, we exposed the interested *motives* and the paltry *means* which determined, and the *circumstances* which rendered possible, the universal frustration of the constitutive statutes, and consequent suspension of the University; for a University only exists as a privileged instrument of public education. In the fourth place, we proved that the collegial heads themselves are fully conscious, that the change from the *statutory* to the *illegal* system, is at once greatly for their private advantage, and greatly for the disadvantage of the university and nation."—*Edinb. Rev.* No. cxxii. pp. 428, 429.

Leaving out of sight, for the present, the question of the supposed "motives," and "means," and "circumstances," by which this grievous change has been brought about, as well as the supposed consciousness of guilt in "the collegial heads," let us look to the simple question of the charge brought against them when judgment was finally pronounced against them from the tribunal of the Edinburgh Review for January, 1835. There has been, it seems, a flagrant "breach of trust:" an "universal frustration of the constitutive statutes, and consequent suspension of the University."

With regard to the "breach of trust," of which the University is accused in regard to the nation, we have contended that it is to the charter of incorporation that we are to look in order to determine what is the trust which the nation has committed to the University, and whether the University has indeed been faithless to that trust. The Reviewer rests his charge upon the body of statutes, "the constitutive statutes," as he is pleased to term them: these, he says, have been frustrated; and there is a "consequent suspension of the University." "For," he adds, "a university only exists as a privileged instrument of public education." Granting, for a moment, this definition; granting that our universities had no existence, till, by act of parliament, they became "privileged instruments of public education,"—a concession entirely unwarranted by historical fact,—yet, granting all this for a moment, for argument's sake, does it follow that, because there exists "a privileged instrument of public education," therefore there must of necessity be a body of "constitutive statutes" also, any departure from which, or even their entire frustration, must needs bring with it a "suspension of the university?" May not one of the privileges with which such an "instrument of public education" has been invested, be the power of making statutes for itself, and introducing essential change, if need be, from time to time, "universal frustration," perhaps, of what may seem the

most fundamental statutes to those who look on from without, or regard "appearances" only, and not "the substance?" Now this is the very case with our universities. The Reviewer put at the head of his first article on the subject, "The Oxford University Calendar for 1829," as well as the "Addenda ad Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis:" he might have read in the first page of that small volume, (the first page, at least, after the calendar of "University Ceremonies," and the list of "University Officers,") the following brief account of the "University of Oxford."

"The University of Oxford is a corporate body, known for ages by the style or title of '*The Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford*;' a title confirmed by the legislature itself in the reign of Elizabeth. Its ancient privileges have been recognized and augmented by a long succession of royal charters from the earliest periods; and these charters themselves have been sanctioned by parliament; for, in an act, intituled '*An Act for the Incorporation of the two Universities*,' it is expressly declared, that all letters-patent of preceding sovereigns, granted to the University of Oxford, 'shall be good, effectual, and available in law, according to the forms, words, sentences, and true meaning of every of the same letters-patent, as amply, fully, and largely, as if the same letters-patent were recited verbatim' in the act itself. It has always been governed by statutes of its own making; for many centuries, indeed, by a confused chaos of laws, without order or arrangement; but, since the chancellorship of Archbishop Laud, by a digested code, under the appellation of '*Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis*,' which, being compiled at that time by special delegates, was solemnly ratified in Convocation, and which remains still in force, except upon points where the exigencies of more modern times have pointed out the necessity of amendment, or the wisdom of abrogation."

If this account be admitted, (and the Reviewer does not anywhere call it in question,) it appears that the University of Oxford existed long before it was "a privileged instrument of public education;" if, indeed, by being "privileged" is meant the being incorporated by parliament, or the having its ancient privileges, as granted or secured by successive kings of England, sanctioned and recognized also by the national legislature. It appears, still further, that "the University has always been governed by statutes of its own making;" it was an independent self-legislating body, which the national legislature thus recognized as an already existing and already privileged instrument of religious education; not a body defined by the possession of a certain code of statutes, which fixed its constitution, and ascertained its identity. Still further, in the place of any such body of "constitutive statutes," we find the records of Convocation in the time of Queen

Elizabeth presenting a "confused chaos of laws, without order or arrangement," the result of the self-legislation of these self-same "Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars," for successive ages. There has been, indeed, it appears, "since the chancellorship of Archbishop Laud, a digested code known by the name of '*Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis*:'" but this code is long posterior to the Act of Incorporation; and, it seems, on the very face of things, absurd to set this up as that body of "constitutive statutes," the frustration of which, if it could be proved, were immediately to be regarded as a virtual "suspension of the University." For the purpose of the Reviewer's argument, one would have thought that there had been forthcoming, or, at least, that he would have made some sort of attempt to bring to light, a code of statutes enacted for the University by Queen Elizabeth's parliament, or, if not made for it, at least made binding upon it; or, if not this, at all events, existing at the time, and recognized in some way as giving to the University its definite and distinguishing character. But, instead of this, we find nothing but a "confused chaos;" parliament, meanwhile, enacting simply, by its authority,—

"That the Right Honourable Robert, Earl of Leicester, now Chancellor of the said University of Oxford, and his successors for ever, and the Masters and Scholars of the same University of Oxford for the time being, shall be incorporate, and have a perpetual succession in fact, deed, and name, in the name of *The Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford*; and that the same Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of the same University, for the time being from henceforth, by the name of *The Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford*, and by none other name or names, shall be called and named for evermore;" and confirming "the ancient privileges, liberties, and franchises, heretofore granted, ratified, and confirmed, by the Queen's Highness, and her most noble progenitors."

In this state of things, to talk of "constitutive statutes," is an absurdity exceeded only by its perverseness of mischief. The absurdity, however, becomes the more glaring when we find that it is the plan of the Reviewer, after setting forth the code of statutes, digested in the chancellorship of Laud, as the standard with which the University is to be compared, in order to prove it guilty of "breach of trust," "suspension" of its own existence, &c. &c., on the other hand, in the course of the argument, to prove that every code of statutes is itself to be a momentous revolution, by which the University was silently annihilated. The discovery that this new constitution has been so grievously departed from, suggests the idea that it is within the verge of possibility that the University, by some felicity of error, much as two

negatives destroy one another, may in some points have returned to its original character, as it was when it was incorporated by parliament, and before the enactment of the Laudian code. At all events, it is worth while making the inquiry, as a matter of fact, so far as we can trace it in the records that yet remain to us, what was the actual constitution of the University, at the time of its incorporation? It is indeed, a matter of merely curious historical inquiry; the question between the universities and the nation in nowise depends upon it: for as we have said before, but must repeat again, the simple question for the nation in regard to the universities, is the fulfilment or nonfulfilment of the trust which it has committed to them, viz. "the maintenance of good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth." However, as a mere matter of historical inquiry, it may be worth while to turn over a few pages of the records of university lore, which the Edinburgh Review would fain be thought to have brought to light from the darkness of "chaos and old night" itself. History indeed, as in these days we all know well enough, is but an old almanac; but the Oxford University Calendar for 1829 was no better, when the Edinburgh Review put it at the head of its learned lucubrations in 1831; and we have taken care to get hold of the last Oxford Calendar, which was more than our diligent visitor, so far in the distant north, could do by his readers. With the help, therefore, of this, and Anthony à Wood's Annals, and the stores of the Edinburgh Review, we propose to inquire whether, by any possibility, the *de facto* system at the time when the University of Oxford was incorporated by parliament, bore any kind of resemblance to that which is now established there; whether there be any traces, in that age, of those distinguishing features of collegial system and tutorial instruction, which so offend the eyes of the Edinburgh Reviewer at the present day.

If, then, from the opening of the Oxford Calendar, we turn to the pages of Anthony à Wood, we find that the "Robert, Earl of Leicester," whose name occurs in the Act of Incorporation, as above quoted from the Oxford Calendar, is the selfsame personage who, as the annalist informs us, "in those years in which he held his chancellorship, altered almost the whole government of the University." Leicester was chancellor from 1564 to 1588; the Act of Incorporation was passed in 1571. And, by the admission of the Reviewer himself, the course of "usurpation" and "illegality" which was established by Laud, was begun by Leicester. In setting about "to explain how a revolution so im-

* Hist. and Antiq., Anno 1569, vol. ii. p. 167.

probable in itself, and so disastrous in its effects," as that of which he complains, was, "by the accident of circumstances, and the influence of private interest, accomplished"—an explanation which, according to the Reviewer, "only requires an acquaintance with the history of the two Universities"—he undertakes to show, "1st. How the students, once distributed in numerous small societies through the halls, were at length collected into a few large communities within the colleges; 2nd. How in the colleges, thus the penfolds of the academical flock, the fellows frustrated the common right of graduates to the office of tutor; and 3rd. How the fellow-tutors supplanted the professors, how the colleges superseded the University." Having traced the progress of the "circumstances which occasioned the ruin of the halls, and the dissolution of the cloisters and colleges of the monastic orders in Oxford," and which, "not only gave to the secular colleges which all remained, a preponderant weight in the University, for the juncture, but allowed them so to extend their circuit, and to increase their numbers, that they were subsequently enabled to comprehend within their walls nearly the whole of the academical population," the Reviewer thus proceeds with his tale;

"These circumstances explain in what manner the halls declined; it remains to tell, why, in the most crowded state of the University, not one has been subsequently restored. Before the era of their downfall, the establishment of a hall was easy. It required only that a few scholars should hire a house, find caution for a year's rent, and choose for a Principal a graduate of respectable character. The chancellor, or his deputy, could not refuse to sanction the establishment. An act of usurpation abolished this facility. The general right of nomination to the principality, and consequently to the institution of halls, was, through the absolute potency he had, procured by the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University about 1570; and it is now by statute vested in his successors.* In surrendering this privilege to the Chancellor, the colleges were not blind to their peculiar interest. From his situation, that magistrate was sure to be guided by their heads; no hall has since arisen to interfere with their monopoly; and the collegial interest thus left without a counterpoise and concentrated in a few hands, was soon able to establish an absolute supremacy in the University."—*Ed. Rev. June, 1831, p. 412.*

So that in 1571, when the Act of Incorporation was passed, the "collegial" monopoly was already set up! The ancient system had received its fatal blow, not, it appears, from the selfish policy of the heads of colleges, but, on the very showing of the Reviewer himself, from a variety of circumstances, far beyond

* Wood's *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. lib. ii. p. 339*; *Hist. and Antiq. of Coll. and Halls, p. 653*; *Statuta Aularia, sect. v.*

their control. "Among others," as enumerated by him, were "the plagues by which was so frequently desolated—the civil wars of York and Lancaster—the rise of other rival universities in Great Britain and on the Continent, and finally the sinking consideration of the scholastic philosophy." And, following upon these, "the character which the Reformation assumed in England, co-operated," he tells us, "still more powerfully to the same result.

"Of itself, the schism in religion must necessarily have diminished the resort of students to the University, by banishing those who did not acquiesce in the new opinions there inculcated by law; while among the reformed themselves, there arose an influential party, who viewed the academical exercises as sophistical, and many who even regarded degrees as anti-christian. But in England the reformation incidentally operated in a more peculiar manner. Unlike its fate in other countries, this religious revolution was absolutely governed by the fancies of the royal despot for the time; and so uncertain was the caprice of Henry, so contradictory the policy of his three immediate successors, that for a long time it was difficult to know what was the religion by law established for the current year; far less possible to calculate, with assurance, on what would be the statutory orthodoxy for the ensuing. At the same time, the dissolution of the monastic orders dried up one great source of academical prosperity; while the confiscation of monastic property, which was generally regarded as only a foretaste of what awaited the endowments of the universities, and the superfluous revenues of the clergy, rendered literature and the Church, during this crisis, uninviting professions either for an ambitious, or (if disinclined to martyrdom) for a conscientious man. The effect was but too apparent; for many years the universities were almost literally deserted. The halls, whose existence solely depended for their support on the confluence of students, thus fell, and none, it is probable, *would have survived the crisis*, had not several chanced to be the property of certain colleges, which had thus an interest in their support. The halls of St. Alban, St. Edmund, St. Mary, New Inn, Magdalen, severally belonged to Merton, Queen's, Oriel, New, and Magdalen Colleges; and Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College; Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College; and Hert Hall, subsequently Hertford College, owned their salvation to their dependence on the foundations of Christ Church, St. John's, Exeter."—pp. 409—411.

The nomination to the "principality" of these halls, now become virtually part of the colleges, was surrendered, it appears, by these colleges to the Chancellor. Of course, in doing this, "the colleges," as the Reviewer informs us, "were not blind to their peculiar interest;" for what body of men, what ecclesiastical body especially, ever did anything but with such a view? Still we do not quite see why the heads of colleges should not have retained the nomination in their own hands. "Qui facit per-

alium, facit per se," it is said. It seems equally true "qui non facit per alium, non facit per se;" and the colleges might surely quite as easily have secured their monopoly, by keeping the nomination to the halls in their own hands, and taking care never to nominate to them, as by surrendering the nomination to the chancellor, "however sure" they might think he was "to be guided" by them. "The absolute potency he had" might not impossibly have interfered with that "absolute supremacy" which they might so easily have retained in their own hands. Be this however as it may, one thing is clear, that the old system of halls had thus died, as it would seem, a natural death before the time when the University received its charter from the nation.

But let us proceed with the Reviewer to the two remaining points of his attack, and see "2. How in the colleges thus the penfolds of the academical flock, the fellows frustrated the common right of graduates to the office of tutor; and 3. How the fellow tutors supplanted the professors—how the colleges superseded the University. This third step in the revolution which, from its more important character," says the Reviewer, "we consider last, was however accomplishing simultaneously with the second, of which it was, in fact, almost a condition," (p. 413, note). This, it appears, was to be the master-piece of "collegial" iniquity.

"Could the professorial system on which the University rested be abolished, the tutorial system would remain the one organ of academical instruction; could the University be silently annihilated, the colleges would succeed to its name, its privileges, and its place. This momentous revolution was consummated. We do not affirm that the end was ever clearly proposed, or a line of policy for its attainment ever systematically followed out. But circumstances concurred, and that instinct of self-interest which actuates *bodies* of men with the certainty of a natural law, determined, in the course of generations, a result such as no sagacity would have anticipated as possible. After the accomplishment, however, a retrospect of its causes shows the events to have been natural, if not necessary."—p. 413.

In entering upon this retrospect, the Reviewer thus proceeds:—

"The subversion of the University is to be traced to that very code of laws on which its constitution was finally established. The academical body is composed of graduates and under-graduates in the four faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine; and the government of the University was of old exclusively committed to the masters and doctors assembled in congregation and convocation; heads of houses and college-fellows shared in the academical government only as they were full graduates. The statutes ratified under the chancellorship of Laud, and by which the legal constitution of the University is still determined,

changed this republican polity into an oligarchical. The legislation and the supreme government were still left with the masters and doctors, and the character of fellow remained always unprivileged by law. But the heads of the houses, if not now first raised to the rank of a public body, were now first clothed with an authority such as rendered them henceforward the principal—in fact the sole administrators of the University weal. And whereas in foreign universities, the university governed the colleges—in Oxford the colleges were enthroned the governors of the University. The vice-chancellor, (now also necessarily a college head), the heads of houses, and the two proctors, were constituted into a body, and the members constrained to regular attendance on an ordinary weekly meeting Thus no proposal could be submitted to the houses of congregation or convocation, unless it had been *previously discussed and sanctioned by the 'Hebdomadal Meeting ;'* and through this preliminary negative the most absolute control was accorded to the heads of houses over the proceedings of the University A body constituted and authorized like the Hebdomadal Meeting, could only be rationally expected to discharge its trust, if its members were subjected to a direct and concentrated responsibility, and if their public duties were identical with their private interests. The Hebdomadal Meeting acted under neither of these conditions. In regard to the first, this body was placed under the review of no superior authority either for what it did, or for what it did not perform ; and the responsibility to public opinion was distributed among too many to have any influence on their collective acts. 'Corporations never blush.' In regard to the second, so far were the interests and duties of the heads from being coincident, that they were diametrically opposed. Their public obligations bound them to maintain and improve the system of university education, of which the *professors* were the organs ; but this system their private advantage, both as individuals and as representing the collegial interest, prompted them to deteriorate and undermine."—pp. 413—415.

In looking, however, to the first foundations of this "oligarchical polity," it is curious to find ourselves carried back again to the chancellorship of Leicester. It was he, it appears, who laid the ground-work of that system which, by the Laudian code, "was established as the "legal constitution of the University." The Reviewer himself informs us of this fact in a note.

"Anciently the right of previous discussion and approval belonged to the House of Congregation. The omnipotent Earl of Leicester, to confirm his hold over the University, and in spite of considerable opposition, constrained the masters to surrender this function to a more limited and manageable body, composed of the vice-chancellor, *doctors*, heads, (for the first time recognized as a public body ?) and proctors.—(*Wood, anno 1569.*)"—p. 413.

Anthony à Wood, to whom the Reviewer here refers as his authority, gives a somewhat different impression of the matter. No friend to the Puritan chancellor, of whom he says that "he

altered almost the whole government of the University in some things for the better, but in most for the worse," he still speaks of it as "a thing *applauded by most men*,"

"the reforming the confused and imperfect way of celebrating convocations, in which by a later order were the matters belonging to great congregations to be acted. For, he putting the doctors and heads upon the business, delegates were thereupon designed to confer about it, 27 June [1569]. After some debate in the matter and orders framed, they were communicated to the chancellor, to be by him approved. At length, after consideration had about them, he returned an answer not before the 17 of May following, and then told them, 1. That the said orders were by *some few* impugned *without any sufficient cause alleged*; 2. That no man could not but think it reasonable that before the convocation the vice-chancellor, doctors, heads, and proctors, should consult of such things as are fittest to be moved therein; 3. That as he could not mislike of that order that was so commended to him, so did he judge it to be such that could not be prejudicial to any one, nor give just cause to any one to repine against it, &c. &c. So that the said orders being passed and remitted into the statutes, all the change that followed was this, that whereas things were deliberated in a black congregation (so called, I presume, because the black part of the masters' hoods was to appear on their shoulders, and nothing else), before they were passed in a great congregation, now it was upon the abolishing of the said congregations all matters were to be consulted in a meeting of the vice-chancellor, doctors, heads of houses, and proctors, before they could pass in convocations."

Now, whatever opinion we may have of the character of "the omnipotent Earl of Leicester," or whatever motives we may think fit to impute to him, it is difficult to find the traces of the "considerable opposition," "in spite of" which, according to the Reviewer, he perpetrated his schemes of tyranny; or of his having "constrained the masters to surrender" their privileges. A delegacy, we find, was regularly appointed, as in 1513 and 1556;* and the specific measures proposed for reforming the inconvenience which had been felt, seem to have originated with the delegates, and not with the chancellor. With the general character of Leicester's administration of his office we are not now concerned, else we might remark that of its earlier years, at least, Anthony à Wood gives a different impression from that which we should derive from the representations of the Reviewer. Our main concern is with the date of the changes which he introduced, considered simply in relation to the date of the act of parliament by which the University was incorporated. He was elected chan-

* In 1556 we find, Cardinal Pole being appointed chancellor, sent a book of statutes to be used till certain delegates were appointed by convocation.—*Legality, &c. asserted*, p. 61.

cellor in the year 1564, in the annals of which year, we are told, that "the University being now, as several years before, defective of good and orderly government, care was taken about it. The public statutes of the University also were revised, explained and amended, and all matters relating to learning reformed and corrected. Such means were now and the year after used by the care of the new chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, that nothing was wanting to the recovery of the University, now and of late fallen into great decay." In the Annals of 1566, we read that "the University being pretty well recruited and settled with good government, (howbeit not replenished with learned men for the reasons before expressed), it pleased Queen Elizabeth to visit it in her progress taken this year." But it was not till five years later (1571), that, we are told, "it pleased the queen and parliament now sitting, to incorporate the University of Oxford, and make it a body politic by itself." And thus the chancellor whose name occurs in the Act of Incorporation which makes "the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford" a body corporate in law, is none other than the "all-powerful statesman," whose "personal ambition," by an "act of usurpation," had thus far established the monopoly of the collegial interest. Such, then, is the University of Oxford incorporated by the act of the 13th Eliz. Whatever may have been the constitution of the body "known by the name of the chancellor, masters and scholars of the University of Oxford" in earlier ages, and whatever may be the provisions of the subsequent Laudian code, the body which is incorporated by that act of parliament resembles thus nearly, in its essential features, that which the Edinburgh Review has set itself so industriously to brand with the stigma of "usurpation," "illegality," and "breach of trust."

Thus much for the "collegial" system, and the "oligarchical polity," to which, according to the Edinburgh Review, the subversion of the University is to be traced. We gave, in our former article, a hasty sketch of the steps by which the heads of "the collegial interest," once elevated to their "new and unconstitutional pre-eminence," and determined by "that instinct of self-interest which," we are told, "actuates *bodies* of men with the certainty of a natural law," were carried on along the downward course, until "the privileges by law accorded to the *University* of Oxford, as the authorized organ of national education, were, by its perfidious governors, furtively transferred to the unauthorized absurdities of their *college* discipline." We may now proceed to inquire what was the system, in regard to this "college discipline" and tutorial instruction, as it existed in the University incorporated by law, before the "momentous revolution"

of the Laudian Code. For this purpose it will be necessary to notice the account which is given by the Reviewer of the place which the tutor held in what is set forth as the original *de jure* system. After describing the professorial system as traced in the Laudian code, the Reviewer proceeds:—

“ But besides the public and principal means of instruction afforded by the professors and other regents in the University, the student was subjected, during the first four years of his academical life, to the subsidiary and private discipline of a tutor in the hall or college to which he belonged. This regulation was rendered peculiarly expedient by circumstances which no longer exist. Prior to the period of the Laudian digest, it was customary to enter the University at a very early age; and the student of those times, when he attained the rank of master, was frequently not older than the student of the present when he matriculates. It was of course found useful to place these academical boys under the special guardianship of a tutor during the earlier years of their residence in the University. With this, however, as a mere private concern, the University did not interfere; and we doubt whether, before the Chancellorship of Leicester, any attempt was made to regulate, by academical authority, the character of those who might officiate in that capacity, or before the Chancellorship of Laud, to render imperative the entering under a tutor at all, and a tutor resident in the same house with the pupil. (Comp. Wood’s Annals, anno 1581; and Corp. Stat. tit. iii. § 2.) Be this, however, as it may, the tutorial office was viewed as one of very subordinate importance in the statutory system. To commence tutor, it was only necessary for a student to have the lowest degree in arts, and that his learning, his moral and religious character, should be approved of by the head of the house in which he resided, or in the event of controversy on this point, by the Vice-Chancellor. All that was expected of him was to ‘ imbue his pupils with good principles, and institute them in approved authors; but, above all, in the rudiments of religion, and in the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles; and that he should do all that in him lay to render them conformable to the Church of England.’ ‘ It is also his duty to confine his pupils within statutory regulations in matters of external appearance, such as their clothes, boots, and hair; which, if the pupils are found to transgress, the tutor for the first, second, and third offence shall forfeit six and eight pence, and for the fourth, shall be interdicted from his tutorial function by the Vice-Chancellor.’ (Tit. iii. § 2.) Who could have anticipated from this statute what the tutor was ultimately to become?”—pp. 392, 393.

Such, if we are to take the representation of the Edinburgh Review, was the “collegial” and tutorial system in the good old times. But before we make any comment upon it, we must first give our readers the benefit of a collation of various readings in the versions of June, 1831, and October, 1834. In the latter article, the Reviewer qualifies considerably the statement which

he had made in the former, respecting the age of the "academical boys" of whom he speaks. In the place of the statement that "the student of those times, when he obtained the rank of master, was frequently not older than the student of the present when he matriculates"—a statement which would imply a difference of nearly *seven* years in age, as not unfrequent—he tells us that the undergraduates were "then generally *four* years younger than at present." This makes some difference in the question of the tutorial office. Further, in June, 1831, the Reviewer talked of the student's having been "subjected, during the four first years of his academical life, to the subsidiary and private discipline of a tutor in the hall or college to which he belonged." In October, 1834, he had made the discovery that "it does not appear, from the statutes, that *the tutor must be of the same house with the pupil.*" This point the Reviewer evidently thinks important, for he has printed it in italics. He probably thought it important, as showing, as he fancied, the gradual encroachments of the "collegial" system; while in reality it tells the other way, proving, as it does, that the tutorial office was an essential part of the system of university education, and not merely a piece of household discipline over a number of "academical boys." Again, in June, 1831, the Reviewer expressed his "doubt whether, before the chancellorship of Laud, any attempt was made to render imperative the entering under a tutor at all, or a tutor resident in the same house with the pupil;"—"which is not even now required," adds the Reviewer in October, 1834, not seeming, all the while, in the least to perceive, or, at all events, willing to admit, that this discovery in any way affects his original remark, or the conclusion which he would derive from it. And yet surely it *does* most materially affect it. It proves that the tutorial office is an essential element, not merely of the collegial, but of the strictly university system. But to let all this pass, and to return to the picture of college tutorship "prior to the period of the Laudian digest." Doubtless it is a very complete and plausible theory; but unfortunately there are facts against it. There is a very curious document preserved in the Appendix to Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, which supplies valuable evidence as to the relation which at that time subsisted between the University and the Colleges, and the importance that was attached to the "college discipline." The paper seems, as his biographer supposes, to have been from the pen of the archbishop himself; and if so, in all probability was drawn up during the chancellorship of Leicester, and consequently about the time that the University was incorporated. The archbishop was consecrated in 1562, and died in 1575.

The paper is entitled, "The Maner how the Church of England is administered and governed, drawn up by the Archbishop." After setting forth that "the Church of England is divided into two Provinces, Canterbury and York," enumerating the dioceses contained under each, and describing the general order of the Church and its services, it thus proceeds:—

"Touching the UNIVERSITIES.

"Moreover this Realm of England hath two Universities { Cambridge
and
Oxford,

And the maner is not to live in these as within Houses that be *Inns*, or a Receipt for common guests, *as is the custom of some Universities*: but *they live in Colledges, under most grave and severe Disciplin*; even such as the famous learned man Erasmus, of Rotterodame, being here among us fourtie years past, was bold to preferre before the very Rules of the Monks.

"In Cambridge be XIV Colledges; these by name that follow:

"Trinity Colledge, &c.

"In Oxford likewise there be Colledges, some greater, some smaller, to the number of XXIV. The names whereof be as followeth,

"The Cathedral Church of Christ; wherein also is a great Company of Students.

"Magdalene Colledge, &c.

"The Colledges of both the Universities be not only very fair and goodly built thorough th' exceeding liberality of the Kings in old time, and, of late days, of bishops and of noblemen; but they be also endowed with marvellous large livings and revenews.

"In Trinity Colledge at Cambridge, and in Christ's Colledge at Oxford, both which were founded by King Henry the Eighth of most famous memory, are at the least found four hundred scholars. And the like number well neer is to be seen in certain other Colledges, as in the King's Colledge, and S. John's Colledge at Cambridge: In Magdalen Colledge and New Colledge of Oxford. Besides the rest, which we now pas over.

"Every one of the Colledges have their Professors of the Tongues and of the Liberal Sciences (as they call them) which do trade up Youth privately within their Halls; to th' end they may afterward be able to go furth thence into the Common Schools as to open disputation, as it were into plain battail, there to try themselves.

"In the Common Schools of both the Universities, there are found at the King's charge, and that very largely, Five Professors and Readers, that is to say,

<p>"The Reader of Divinity, The Reader of the Civil Law, The Reader of Physick,</p>	}	<p>The Reader of the Hebrew Tongue, and The Reader of the Greek Tongue.</p>
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"And for the other Professors; as of Philosophy, of Logick, of Rhetorick, and of the Mathematics, the Universities themselves do allow stipends unto them. And these Professors have the Ruling of the Dis-

putations and other School exercises, which be daily used in the Common Schools. Amongst whom, they that by the same disputations and exercises are thought to be come to any ripeness in knowledge, are wont, according to the use in other Universities, solemnly to take degrees, every one in the same science and faculty which he professeth.

“ We thought good to annex these things, to th’ end we might confute and confound those that spread abroad rumours how that with us nothing is done in order . . . that there is no Religion at all, no Ecclesiastical discipline observed, no regard had of the salvation of men’s souls; but that all is done quite out of order and seditiously . . . Whereas in very trouth we seek nothing els but that that God, above al, most good, may have still his honor truly and perfectly reserved unto him; . . . that that most holy and godly form of discipline, which was formerly used amongst them, may be called home again; . . . that there may from tyme to tyme arise up out of the Universities *learned and good Ministers and others meet to serve the Commonwealth*; . . . And albeit we are not yet able to obtain this . . . fully and perfectly . . . nevertheless this is it whereunto we have regard; hither do we tend; to this mark do we direct our pain and travail; and that hitherto (thro’ God his most gracious favor) not without good success and plenteous increase. Which thing may easily appear to every Body, if either we be compared with our own selves, in what manner of case we have ben but few Years since, or else be compared with our false Accusers, or rather our malicious Slanderers.

“ The Lord defend his Church; Govern it with his Holy Spirit, and Bless the same with al prosperous Felicity. Amen.”*

We might, if it were for our immediate purpose, appeal to the testimony which is borne by this valuable document to that view of the end and aim of all university institutions, for which we have now to contend against the narrow and technical notions of Edinburgh reviewers. We refer to the paper as an evidence on a point of fact. It describes a system in actual operation; and we would ask the simple question, is that system such as the Edinburgh Review describes it? is it not rather, in its main features, that which is now established among us? It draws a broad line of distinction between the English and other universities; it describes Oxford and Cambridge as bodies composed of a number of separate colleges; it speaks of the collegiate discipline as the very excellence and boast of the system; it delineates a regular course of college instruction under lecturers and professors, not merely a casual superintendence of private tutors, and represents the university professors as presiding, much in the same way that the masters of the schools and the public examiners at present preside over the public exercises which were to be the test of fitness for degrees. Such was the system which those who then watched over our Church and its schools of religious learning were then labouring to perfect; with the one great *end* in view which Churchmen and Statesmen alike, in those days,

* Strype’s Life of Parker, Appendix, book ii. No. xxxii.

regarded as that to which all such institutions should be subservient; adopting *means* for the attainment of this object, which to this day have commended themselves to the wisdom of those who have felt the deepest interest in the "maintenance of a good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth." The body, which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth received from parliament the privileges of a corporate body, under the name of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of the University of Oxford, appears, in all its leading features, to be what the same University is at the present day; a body consisting of a number of separate collegiate foundations, carrying on severally within their walls a system of tutorial instruction and discipline, in subordination, and with a view to the exercises of the public schools; the heads of the colleges, moreover, together with the doctors and the proctors, forming a board at which business was prepared for the deliberations of Convocation.

These details, however, interesting and satisfactory as they are, it must once more be repeated, are entirely superfluous, since the power of making such changes in the academical system, as may seem fitted more effectually to promote "the virtuous education of youth," are fully vested in the university, or rather preserved to it, by its Charter of Incorporation.

We will now compare with the view of the "collegial and tutorial" system, which we seem to derive from the records of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the picture which the Edinburgh Review has drawn of the "professorial," which it is represented as having so unwarrantably supplanted:—

"When the Corpus Statutorum was ratified, there existed two opposite influences in the university, either of which might have pretended to the chief magistracy—the *heads of houses* and the *professors*. The establishment of the Hebdomadal Meeting, by Laud, gave the former a decisive advantage, which they were not slack in employing against their rivals. In their individual capacity, the heads, samples of the same brand with the fellows, from whom and by whom they were elected, owed in general their elevation to accidental circumstances; and their influence, or rather that of their situation, was confined to the members of their private communities. The professors, the *élite* of the university, and even not unfrequently called for their celebrity from other schools and countries, were professedly chosen exclusively from merit, and their position enabled them to establish, by ability and zeal, a paramount ascendancy over the whole academical youth. As men in general of merely ordinary acquirements—holding in their collegial capacity only an accidental character in the university—and elevated simply in quality of that character by an act of arbitrary power to an unconstitutional pre-eminence, the heads were, not unnaturally, jealous of the contrast exhibited to themselves by a body like the professors, who, as the prin-

cial organs, deserved to constitute in Oxford, what in other universities they actually did, its representatives and governors. Their only hope was in the weakness of their rivals. It was easily perceived, that in proportion as the professorial system of instruction was improved, the influence of the professorial body would be increased; and the heads were conscious, that if that system were ever organized as it ought to be, it would not longer be possible for them to maintain their own factitious and absurd omnipotence in the academical polity."—p. 415.

This is doubtless a very philosophical view of human nature, at least of those specimens of it which may be supposed to fall under the immediate notice of a Reviewer—of human nature, when a mean and narrowminded literary jealousy has driven out of the heart every high and generous feeling. And it also supplies a very good *theoretic* history of the university from 1636 to 1721; for, some reason or other, it is not easy to determine exactly what, this latter period is fixed upon as the "crisis when the collegial interest was accomplishing its victory." But let us look once more to *fact*, and see what, in 1636, were the respective forces of the two rival bodies. Of the five regius professors, two were heads of colleges, two were fellows, and the fifth, the Hebrew professor, was now, through Laud's influence, established as a canon of Christ Church. The Margaret professor of divinity was also a canon of Christ Church. The four remaining public professors, (of natural philosophy, geometry, ancient history, and Laudian Arabic,) were all fellows of colleges. The moral philosophy lecturer was elected by the vice-chancellor and proctors, and three heads of houses; and the other lecturers were chosen by the heads and fellows of colleges. Such were "the *élite* of the university" in 1636, the antagonist body to that of the heads and fellows of colleges! "Professedly chosen exclusively for merit," it seems they were all chosen from members on the foundation of colleges! Among the heads of houses at this time, the "men of merely ordinary acquirements," were Dr. John Prideaux, Dr. Thomas Jackson, Dr. Brian Duppa, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Dr. John Parkhurst, Dr. Christopher Potter, and Dr. Acceptus Frewen. And the same predominance of heads and fellows of colleges appears in the list of professors, if we go back to their earliest appointment. Of the forty-one regius professors who had filled the five chairs established by Henry VIII., twelve had been heads of houses, twenty-two had been fellows; and of the remaining seven, three, it would appear, were independent members of the university, and three were foreigners; of these Peter Martyr was one. Of fourteen Margaret professors, five had been heads of houses, eight on the foundation of colleges, and two only independent members. These were the contending forces, the "ri-

vals," "not unnaturally jealous of the contrast exhibited to themselves by a body like"—themselves.

Τίς τ' ἄρ' σφῶς θείων ἐριδὶ ξυνέηκε μάχῃσθαι ;

But these were times of civil dissension,—times, at least, when troubles were on the very eve of breaking out. We remember somewhere in Anthony à Wood, a couplet which records it as the lesson of "old experience," that battles among the students at Oxford were sure signs of civil war at hand for England. No wonder that civil war raged so fiercely so soon after, when things ran so high at Oxford in the struggle between the "two opposite influences," brought so unhappily into such close collision in the breasts of the same men. It used to be said of John Lilburn, the regicide, that if he could find no one else to quarrel with, John would pick a quarrel with Lilburn, and Lilburn with John. Were it not for his principles being so much at variance with those that were then predominant at Oxford, one would have thought that he must have been brought up in its schools, by some of "the *élite* of the university."

Singularly, however, as the "position" of these professors in the university "enabled them to establish, by ability and zeal, a paramount ascendancy over the whole academical youth," they seem sadly to have thrown away their advantages. In 1581, we find the Earl of Leicester making his complaint, as follows:—

"Whereas, the profession of the tongues and sciences is not only most necessary for the advancement of good learning in your university, and training up young students in the same, but also that there are large stipends allowed for the professors thereof; yet I understand that some of them have not been, for the space of *some whole years together*, read, to the great hindrance of the students, and the slander of the University; I wish you, for the redress hereof, to see the penaltie exacted, as by my letters heretofore I have exacted."

The next year again we find him writing—

"Your exercises in learning, which carry indeed the face and estate of the university in *publique* (for the private of colleges and halls I meddle not with, nor hear much evil of them), consist (as I take it) especially upon the readers, hearers, disputers, who are all so generally found fault with, that whom to excuse or accuse above the others, I know not. The readers of Greek and Hebrew are plainly said to read seldom or never. The physick, law, and divinity readers, few times; and very negligently when they do read. The Lady Margaret's lecture is read in like sort. The school lectures worse, and almost only *pro formá*, to no purpose. The hearers at most lectures few, at some none. The disputers in divinity seldome called to dispute, and the disputations superficially passed over when they are had. In law and physick, for

seldom and negligent handling, much worse. In philosophic and logick, nothing like to that they have been heretofore. So to know the universitie by the face, the wonted beautye of it is so decayed, that they say it were somewhat an hard matter."

But to whom did the chancellor look for the reform of the professorial body? "He telleth the *vice-chancellor* and *heads of houses*, that if they will effect the matter, they shall find him very ready in his assisting of them. Upon this a convocation was called, wherein those matters being discussed, certain delegates, as I conceive," says the annalist, "were appointed to consider of the business." In 1584, however, we find Leicester complaining again, "that neither lectures nor disputations are almost in any tolerable sort observed." In 1589 Sir Christopher Hatton, then Chancellor, urges the enforcement of the statutes respecting public lectures and disputations. The next year he writes again, complaining of the neglect of "her Majesties readers of divinity, law, physick, Hebrew, and Greek;" "the Lady Margaret's reader, through sum infirmitie, nott reading at all;" and the law reader being absent, "and he that is deputed for him applyeth himself aboute hys owne business in London and elsewhere, and doth not discharge that duty as the statutes do requyre: the ordinary disputations in all faculties meanwhile greatly neglected." [This charge the Vice-Chancellor denied.] In 1594 Lord Buckhurst, Chancellor, urges reform in the lectures founded by the Queen's progenitors, as also in the disputations and exercises. Archbishop Bancroft, in 1608, presses the same point. With these facts the Reviewer was perfectly well acquainted, for he refers to them in a note two pages later (p. 417), where he remarks, "How well disposed the salaried readers always were to convert their chairs into sinecures, may be seen in Wood, A.D. 1581, 1582, 1584, 1589, 1594, 1596, 1608," &c. The passage to which the note refers is intended by the Reviewer to apply to the times subsequent to the enactment of the *Corpus Statutorum*; unfortunately, it so happens, that it does, in reality, apply to the times preceding. The passage is this:—"It is evident that *the heads* were here the key-stone of the arch. If they relaxed in their censorship, the professors, finding it no longer necessary to lecture regularly, and no longer certain of a regular audience, would, ere long, desist from lecturing at all." "In Oxford," then, at this period, "as originally at all universities, salaried teachers or professors were bound to deliver their prelections gratis. But it was *always* found," and therefore it may be supposed, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, "that, under this arrangement, *the professor did as little as possible*, and the student undervalued what cost him nothing." But mean-

while, what becomes of the “zeal” and the “paramount ascendancy” of the professorial body? What becomes of the “improved and improvable system of professorial education, which the tutorial extinguished?” (p. 406.) Where is the goodly array of those “professors, the élite of the university,” the illustrious foreigners “called, for their celebrity, from other schools and countries,” and “the whole academical youth,” once ranged so proudly in close ranks under their banners, following them in the hour of their “paramount ascendancy?” We cannot help thinking of the great names enumerated in a certain review of other forces in other times:—

Οἷος Ἀμίστρης, ἡδ' Ἀρταφρένης,
Καὶ Μεγαβάζης, ἡδ' Ἀστιάσπης,

* * *

Σῆνται, στρατιᾶς πολλῆς ἔφοροι

* * *

Φοβεροὶ μὲν ἰδεῖν, δεινοὶ δὲ μάχην

* * *

Πῶ δὲ σοὶ φίλων ὄχλος,

Πῶ δὲ σοὶ παραστάται;

Οἷος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,

Σέσας, Πέλαγων,

Καὶ Δοτάμας, ἡδ' Ἀγδαβάτας,

Ψάμις, Σεσιस्कάνης τ'

Ἀγβάτανα λιπῶν;

* * *

Οἶ, οἶ, οἶ.

So much for the professorial system, and the general character of university education previous to the “momentous revolution” of 1636. But before we leave this part of the subject, we must take the liberty of making a few remarks upon the account which the Reviewer gives of the tutorial part of the system as it then existed. “Prior to the period of the Laudian digest,” he says, as we have seen, that “it was customary to enter the University at a very early age,” and that, accordingly, “it was of course found useful to place these academical boys under the special guardianship of a tutor. With this, however, as a mere private concern, the University did not interfere.” Now we will beg permission to ask, where is the proof of this assertion? for some kind of proof, we think, ought to have been alleged for it. “We doubt,” the Reviewer goes on to say, “whether, before the chancellorship of Leicester, any attempt was made to regulate by academical authority the character of those who might officiate in that capacity, or, before the chancellorship of Laud, to render imperative the entering under a tutor at all.” All this is

very possible, and the "doubts" of the Reviewer *may* be well-founded; but this is a different thing from asserting the negative; and the expression with which he proceeds, "be this, however, as it may," is not calculated to increase the disposition of his readers to repose, with unhesitating confidence, in his unproved assertions. Doubtless there was great irregularity, great want of discipline, in the period preceding the chancellorship of Leicester, so great that the enemies of the Church of England took occasion, as we have seen, to malign her, as though within her walls "nothing" were done "in order," "no ecclesiastical discipline observed," but all were "done quite out of order and seditiously." In the year of Leicester's election (1564), "the University being now, as several years before, defective of good and orderly government," we find, among the instances of "care taken about it," that "order was taken that a matriculation-book should be provided, wherein scholars and privileged men should be entered, and what each person should pay at the time of his matriculation. According to which order a book was provided, the old one being lost or conveyed away in the late times of reformation." This order is curious, not only as supplying what would seem the germ of the matriculation statute, which now gives so much offence to the reformers of our university system, but also as proving that, in the ancient discipline of the University, something more was necessary than that a student should enter his name upon the matricula, or roll, of some principal of a hall or hostel. We have, in fact, independent evidence, that the regulation which stands at the head of the statute-book, and which the defenders of our present system maintain as that which constitutes "one of the greatest merits of our Universities, and the marked distinction between them and those of foreign countries"—the regulation, that every member of the University entered on its matricula, must be also a member of some college or hall,—was part of the ancient system. So early, at least, as the "commencement of the fifteenth century," as the Edinburgh Reviewer himself has informed us, "it appears to have become established law, that all scholars should be members of some college, hall, or entry, under a responsible head (Wood, a. 1408);" and while, "in the foreign universities, it was never incumbent on any beside the students of the faculty of arts, to be under collegial or bursal superintendence, in the English universities, the graduates and undergraduates of every faculty were equally required to be members of a privileged house" (p. 408). And if, in these houses, considering the early age of the students, it was indeed, as we are told it was, "of course," found useful to place these academical boys under the special guardianship of a

tutor, it seems not improbable that the University may have concerned itself with this, among other points of that "most exact discipline," which so peculiarly distinguished our system from that of foreign universities. At least, some definite evidence ought to have been produced for the statement that, at the period referred to, the appointment of a tutor was "a mere private concern," with which "the University did not interfere." This statement of the Reviewer's, however, becomes, as is wont in the transmission of facts or hypotheses, still more definite and precise in Mr. Malden's repetition of it. Having given the Reviewer's account, above quoted, of the state of things at the beginning of the fifteenth century, he goes on to say:—

"In common with this subject, we may remark a point which will seem strange to those who know only the actual state of the University. Entrance at a college or hall did not imply entrance under any particular tutor. Young students—and many in those days were mere boys—were placed by their friends under the care of tutors; but these were private tutors; and the University did not interfere with the private arrangement. It was not till the time when Leicester was chancellor, that the University undertook to regulate who might be tutors; and it was not till the chancellorship of Laud, that it was made necessary to enter under a tutor resident in the same college or hall with the pupil. Laud, therefore, may be considered as the author of the system of college tuition."*—p. 86.

In this passage, quite unintentionally, we are convinced, (for Mr. Malden is implicitly following his guide, the Edinburgh Review,) the tutor appears in a somewhat different light,—as a person to whose care the students were committed, not by the head of the house in which they lodged, but by their friends. Meanwhile, the Reviewer's "doubt," whether, before the chancellorship of Leicester, any attempt was made to regulate by academical authority the character of those who might officiate in the capacity of tutors, has become the direct assertion, that it was not till that time that the University "undertook" such regulation. But had Mr. Malden consulted No. CXXI. of the Edinburgh Review, as well as No. CVI., to which he refers in his list of authorities, and from which he quotes throughout, he would have found that "it does not appear from the statutes"—no, not even from the "Laudian code" itself—"that *the tutor must be of the same house with the pupil*;" and, therefore, that it is not very easy to say in what sense Laud may be considered as the author of the system of college tuition."

One thing, certainly, is beyond all "doubt," that in the time

* "Edinb. Rev. p. 392, comparing Wood, A. D. 1581, and Corp. Stat. t. iii. s. 2."

of Leicester's chancellorship, the tutor was much more than a sort of usher set over a number of "academical boys," by the head of the house in which they lodged, to keep order among them, as "a mere private concern" of domestic discipline, or to superintend their studies and conduct, as a "private arrangement" of their friends. The "attempt" which was made in Leicester's chancellorship (1581), "to regulate by academical authority the character of those who might officiate in the capacity" of tutors, originated in the neglect of the orders already made (in 1564) "for the advancement of religion and learning," of which neglect complaints had been sent up by members of the University to their Chancellor. Through the neglect of the order of matriculation, he represents in his letters to the University, "many Papists be *brought up by corrupt tutors*, neither yielding to God, nor to her Majestie, or your Universitie, theare bounden duty." The fault of this he lays to "the negligence and carelesness of many *Hedds*;" and proceeds to suggest the following measures for its correction: "Forasmuch as sundry parents, being themselves Recusants, or known or suspected Papists, have sent their sunns to the Universitye, and daily do and are desirous to have their sunns by all likelihood *trained up in the same religion*, and for that purpose have, as it may appeare, certain select *tutors* among you, of whome at the least they hope well to have their children *instructed* after their owne desire, I have thought good also to wish, that by order of Convocation, it may be likewise established, that no *tutor* be allowed hereafter, but such as be of *sound religion*, and that under the hand of the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, and three doctors of divinitie, and three bachelors of divinitie, or three preachers, for that purpose assembled all together, where it shall please the Vice-Chancellor. And if it happen that there be not three doctors or bachelors of divinity in the towne, then the Vice-Chancellor to take six preachers, or for defect of them, six masters of arts, professed students of divinitie," &c. This and other proposals were read in Convocation, delegates were nominated by the Vice-Chancellor to consider of them, and then this among other decrees was framed from them: "That all private *tutors or readers* hereafter shall be allowed by the consent of the Vice-Chancellor, the head of the same house whereof he or they shall be, and also the consent of two doctors or bachelors of divinity, or two preachers, at the least." In these orders we find mention made of "tutors" as persons whose office already existed, and was completely in the university system. To them, it seems, was publicly and officially committed by the University the duty of *training, bringing up, and instructing* the youth in religion; and

therefore it was that the University felt itself bound, as it would seem, to take care that every one who held so important a trust should be a man "of sound religion." The "attempt," accordingly, "to regulate who might be tutors," is made quite as though it were no new interference with the internal arrangements of the house in which the student was an inmate, but rather as though the "tutor" filled an important and primary place, in the eye of the University, in regard to the education of the youth committed to her care. Nor can we, with these documents before us, regard the tutorial discipline as a "regulation rendered peculiarly expedient by circumstances which no longer exist." It may be true, that our students now come up to the University, generally speaking, at a more advanced age; but yet not at an age to have outgrown religious instruction, or to make it indifferent whether their tutors are men of "sound religion."

But we have still further evidence of the relation in which the tutorial office and the collegiate system stood, at this period, to the University and its public professors. In 1578 Anthony à Wood tells us,—

"That a special care should be had for the quelling and abolishing heretical pravity (now accounted Popery . . .) which, as 'twas pretended, did yet remain in the University, several doctors and others were, on the 20 Dec. following, authorized, in convocation, to correct and amplify the statute against it. Soon after they presented their labours to Convocation, which were at length accepted, with an explanation of some additions thereunto for the benefit of the youth, and the informing them in true religion.

"For the extirpating of all heresy" (we translate the decree) "and informing the youth in true piety, we order and determine, that these books shall be lectured in, the larger Catechism of Alexander Nowell, in Latin and Greek, or the Catechism of John Calvin, &c.

"This province of lecturing and interpreting we commit *privately to tutors*, publicly to some catechist in every college and hall to be appointed by the Heads.

"And in order that this decree may be observed diligently and without violation, let an examination be held in the several houses (*domi*) by the catechist, or even the Heads; in the University every term by a pro-vice-chancellor, in the presence of the readers in divinity, who shall require of the students, summoned before them, an account of the progress they have made."

Here we have precisely the same system as that which we have already traced in Archbishop Parker's sketch. The private tutors are directed what manuals to use, with a view to "inform" the pupils committed to their care "in true piety;" and the students, thus instructed, are to come before the public professors for ter-

minimal examination. In addition to this, every Head is to institute a catechetical lecture in his own college; and the catechist, or the Head himself, is to hold an examination in the college. In this decree it is interesting to trace another step towards the formation of the statute respecting the office of the tutor (tit. iii. ;) for among the formularies thus specially recommended, as the text-books of religious instruction, are the Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562.

It would seem that, at this period, the system of collegiate instruction, as well as discipline, was found practically more effectual than the professorial. In 1582 Leicester writes to complain of "disorders not muttered of, nor secretly informed here and there in corners, but openly cried out uppon continually and almost in every case." This letter we have already quoted.

"Your exercises in learning," he says, "which carry indeed the face and estate of the Universitie in publique (for *the private of colledges* and halls I meddle not with, *nor heare much evill of them*) consist (as I take it) especially upon the readers, hearers, disputers, who are all so generally found fault with, that whome to excuse or accuse above the others, I know not The schoole lectures worse, and almost only pro formâ, to no purpose. The hearers at most lectures few, at some none So to know the Universitie by the face, the wonted beauty of it is so decayed, that they say it were a hard matter."

Orders were made from time to time to correct abuses, and restore the public lectures and disputations, but still it is evident that the ancient system was outgrown, and that those who looked beyond "appearances" were well satisfied with that which was taking its place. As early as 1607, Isaac Wake, the public orator of the University, in his "*Rex Platonicus*," bears witness to an order of things closely resembling that which now excites the wrath of the *Edinburgh Review*, and strenuously defends the University against the objections which might be brought against it from theoretic views, and from the system of other universities. We give the passage as quoted by the "Member of Convocation" in his first pamphlet.

"If strangers from foreign countries should give it as their opinion, that the places of our public lectures have not the embellishment of a large concourse of students, and that, in this particular, they are surpassed by the attendance given at other universities, let it be their good pleasure to hear the reply to their observation; the thing, so far from being any discredit to the University, forms a part of that glory in which she is *known to surpass* other academic institutions. for in foreign countries, students for the most part depend upon the public professors for their knowledge; but with us, there are as many universities as colleges, and students are detained within their college walls, taking

instruction from their tutors in private, and with much greater advantage to themselves than any they could derive from public readings. We are therefore very ready to bear the rebuke, that our public readers are but poorly attended; our youth, during those hours, are engaged in still more profitable pursuits."

Evidence more conclusive we could not well have as to the peculiar character of the system of education pursued in the University of Oxford, as it existed at the period immediately following upon its restoration from the ruins of the sixteenth century, and the ratification of its ancient privileges by the national legislature. It was then distinguished from foreign universities by those peculiarities which are still prominent in its system; and these peculiarities, then as now, matter of reproach as they seemed to its enemies, were, by its friends and defenders, regarded as its peculiar glory.

We have thus far confined our view to the University of Oxford, as having been selected by the Edinburgh Review as the first and most hopeful subject of reform. In his first article, however, the Reviewer took care to inform his readers that "the Cambridge Caput, first instituted by the Elizabethan statutes, forms a curious pendant to the Oxford hebdomadal meeting; and, in general, the history of the two universities is a history of the same illegal revolution, accomplished by the same influence, under circumstances similar, but not the same." (p. 414, note). This history Mr. Malden, himself a member of the University of Cambridge, undertook to set forth more fully. Having described in the words of the Edinburgh Reviewer, "the revolution which has taken place at Oxford,"—how "the University is in abeyance; how it is not even pretended that Oxford now supplies more than the preliminary of an academical education; and how even this is not afforded by the University, but abandoned to the Colleges and Halls"—Mr. Malden proceeds to state, that "this description is true, in a great measure, of Cambridge also;" although "there," he adds, "the collapse of the University has not been so death-like. The picture," he tells us, "would have been more like some few years ago; but recently a spirit of life and activity has been roused in the University." (p. 126.) Notwithstanding this, however, it appears that "the examination of candidates" for certain honours "is the only function which is fulfilled by the University;" that it "does not, by its proper organs, professors or other public lecturers, afford the instruction by which students are prepared to encounter these examinations;" that "this office, the office for which the University was originally established, it has almost entirely resigned; and the business of education is devolved upon the tutors of the several colleges." (p. 133.) How

great a deviation this is, in his opinion, from the original constitution of the universities, he thus more fully explains,—

“ It seems to have been always the duty of the college tutor to instruct his pupils; but in former times this instruction was merely subservient to the public teaching of the professors of the University. The professor carried forward his hearers in a general and regular course; the tutor explained the particular difficulties which occurred to individuals; his tuition, in short, was domestic and private. How little it was intended that this domestic tuition should be vicarious of the public instruction of the professors, may be seen from the statute which strictly forbids any domestic or college lectures being given at the same hours as the public lectures of the University.”—p. 134.

This is a very clear and precise account of the system of the “University proper,” in its early days; only we should be glad to have been supplied with the evidence on which it rests. The document already quoted from Strype’s *Life of Archbishop Parker*, is a contemporary statement of *facts*; and those facts are any thing but in accordance with Mr. Malden’s statement. We find there described a system in which, as in the present state of things, “the regular education is supposed to be given by the college tutors and lecturers,” and “the University performs the function of examiner;” the only difference being that “in the examinations for the first degree in arts,” as well as in the higher faculties, it was the duty of the professors exclusively to “examine by virtue of their office.” There is not a trace, in that paper, of a system of public teaching, carried on by the professors of the University, to which the lectures of the college tutor were “merely subservient.” Nor is there much evidence of such a system to be derived from the mere fact of the provision, in one of the statutes, that college lectures should not be given at the same hours as the public lectures of the University. This statute is perfectly intelligible on the hypothesis, that the public lectures here referred to, were, in fact, the public examinations of the University, at which, it would appear, it was thought desirable that the student should be able to attend. Indeed, if the private lectures of the college tutor were merely subservient and preparatory to those of the public professor, merely explaining “the particular difficulties which occurred to individuals,” in their reading for the “general and regular course” of the public professor, it does not seem, at first sight, so likely that such a statute would be required. We suppose, however, that we must conclude it to have been passed during some great struggle between the rival bodies. All this we will suppose; but at the same time we must humbly contend that something, more tangible than has been offered in the way of historical evidence, ought to be pro-

duced, before the reformers of our Universities, or their restorers as they would fain represent themselves, can properly talk of "the business of instruction" being "*resumed* by the public organs of the University." (Malden, p. 136.)

However, there is no lack of historical evidence on this question; and we will no longer delay introducing our readers to Mr. Walsh's "Historical Account of the University of Cambridge and its Colleges; in a Letter to the Earl of Radnor." As a specimen of the style of this production, it may be sufficient, perhaps, to copy out the first few lines of the Table of Contents:—

	Page
"General ignorance on the subject: its causes	1
Objections to a Commission of Enquiry	
1st. The <i>mustn't</i> argument	3
2nd. The <i>needn't</i> argument	5"
&c. &c.	

or the note appended to the first page, in proof of the ignorance shown in the debate on the second reading of Lord Radnor's Bill last session, in consequence of which Mr. Walsh "was led to think that a plain and temperate statement of *facts* might not be without its use."

"To go no further than the speeches in favour of the Bill, it was alleged, of Trinity College alone, that poverty was the *principal* statutable requisite for obtaining a fellowship; that the senior fellows had unjustly appropriated double fellowships to themselves: and that the junior fellows netted upwards of £300 per annum, which is just half as much again as I myself ever had the luck to receive."

To proceed, however, to Mr. Walsh's "statement of *facts*;" and, in examining them, we think it will be best to treat of them in the order of subjects marked out in the Edinburgh Review, in regard to the University of Oxford, in order that we may see how far the same great illegalities have been committed at Cambridge as at Oxford. In regard to Oxford, our readers will recollect that the Reviewer undertook to show, "1. How the students, once distributed in numerous small societies through the halls, were at length collected into a few large communities within the colleges. 2. How in the colleges, thus the penfolds of the academical flock, the fellows frustrated the common right of graduates to the office of tutor; and 3. How the fellow tutors supplanted the professors—how the Colleges superseded the University." Following the Reviewer through these several points, in reference to the time when they unfolded themselves, we found considerable reason for thinking that the "revolution, so improbable in itself, and so disastrous in its effects," was indeed accomplished before the time when the University was incorporated

by the nation; and that the academical constitution to which those privileges were granted, is, in all its essential features, that under which has grown up a system of education, which, our rulers are compelled to own, is "in point of fact the envy and admiration of the world." We will now look to the University of Cambridge, and see what evidence we can collect as to the date at which *its* "illegal revolution" was "accomplished," according to the statement of the Reviewer, "by the same influence, under circumstances similar, but not the same," with those which led to the "suspension," so long ago, of the University of Oxford. After the details into which we have been led by the argument of the Reviewer, in reference to that University, our examination of the "statement of facts" in regard to the University of Cambridge shall be very brief.

In the first place, then, as to the question of "hostels," "halls," and "colleges;" it appears that "*about the time of Elizabeth, the colleges, in which the halls had now merged,* gradually supplanted the hostels, and got possession of the *exclusive* privilege of admitting students, though, as far as I can find," says Mr. Walsh, "there never was any express enactment to that effect." (p. 16.) It appears that "in 1557 a new arrangement," in regard to the election of proctors," by which the hostels were entirely excluded, was made by the Senate, and confirmed by the royal visitors in 1559. Soon after this they appear to have decayed very fast, owing partly to the deprivation of their ancient privileges, partly to the change of system then introduced, and partly to the increased accommodation afforded to students by Colleges which had risen on their ruins. The last notices that I find of them," says Mr. Walsh, "occur in a grace passed in 1587, and in the charter of James I. granted A.D. 1603, which confers upon the University the privilege of sending two members to parliament 'to make known the true state of the said University, and of every college, hall, and hostel there,' &c. Some years before this," it is added, "the heads of colleges had by various means obtained such extraordinary powers that we cannot wonder at the rival establishments *disappearing* under their influence." (page 19.)

Such was the state of the University of Cambridge, in regard to halls and colleges, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

We will now proceed to inquire into the "extraordinary powers," which, it seems, the heads of colleges had "some years before this" obtained, and to which we are to be referred as sufficiently accounting for the disappearance, under their influence, "of the rival establishments."

And here again, it appears, by a remarkable coincidence with

the case of the University of Oxford, "the subversion of the University" of Cambridge also "is to be traced to that very code of laws on which its constitution was finally established." The Cambridge Caput, first instituted by the Elizabethan statutes, forms, as we have already seen, in the judgment of the Edinburgh Reviewer, "a curious pendant to the Oxford Hebdomadal Meeting," finally established by the Laudian code, but having its germ in the deliberative assembly formed by Leicester, in which, according to the *query* of the Edinburgh Review, the heads of houses "were for the first time recognized as a public body." But in order to understand the history of the "illegal revolution" at Cambridge, it will be necessary first to make a few extracts from the "Account of the Cambridge Statute Book," with which, having refuted the two preliminary objections to a commission of inquiry, viz. "the mustn't argument" and "the needn't argument," as Mr. Walsh with so much elegance of expression styles them, he proceeds "to the investigation of the *University* of Cambridge at various periods, omitting for the present any notice of the history of its *colleges*." The documents, he informs us, upon which most of his facts depend, are contained in "the Statutes of the University of Cambridge," printed by authority of the University in 1785.

"They form a quarto volume of six hundred pages, and consist, amongst other matter, of 1st, the ancient code, which is composed of a digested body of laws passed by the senate at various periods, but some of them bearing evident marks of great antiquity . . . 2dly, a new and very elaborate code, compiled by the royal commission which visited the University in the reign of Edw. VI. A.D. 1549 . . . 3dly, the same code, with a few alterations and additions, as it issued from the hands of another commission which visited the University in Queen Elizabeth's reign, A.D. 1559 . . . 4thly, the same code with some most important alterations and additions, completely subverting the ancient academical constitution . . . This insidious composition was issued by Elizabeth in 1570. To make use of Mr. Farish's words, 'it completely revolutionized the whole order of things, by transferring a more than ordinary influence over all our deliberative proceedings into the hands of the masters of colleges.'"—pp. 8—10.

Mr. Walsh here interrupts his enumeration of the contents of the statute-book to give the history of the promulgation of this code, "so singularly interesting," it appears, "so replete with intrigue and cunning, that we are impelled," says Mr. Walsh, "to enter still farther into its detail." This detail, however, duly gone through, and it having been shown how "the design of giving laws to the University was hatched in the brooding mind of Whitgift, the master of Trinity College, than whom no

man was ever more versed in the art of hypocritical duplicity;" how "it was Whitgift, who first applied to Lord Burleigh for a code of statutes, for the prudent but ambitious purpose 'of curbing some of the younger sort of fellows and scholars that were disobedient to the Heads,'" and how it was Whitgift that, with the assistance of some of "the ancient and chief Heads," first compiled them, and submitted them to Cecil for his approbation; and how "their sole and avowed object in this application was the acquisition of power," &c.; we come to the important fact, that "this third code is the one by which the University is professedly governed at this day."

Besides this code, to "resume" with Mr. Walsh the contents of the statute-book, there are, "5thly, interpretations of the statutes by the heads of colleges, who assume this power by virtue of a law in the third Tudor code, 'that if any doubt or ambiguity should arise respecting the statutes, it should be explained and determined by the chancellor and the majority of the heads of colleges'* . . . The interpretations extend from 1571 to 1776. 6thly. Statutes or graces of the senate, as they are called, in which body from the most ancient times the legislative power was vested . . . These extend from 1573 to 1784 . . . 7thly. Decrees of the heads of colleges who had usurped the legislative power of the senate . . . These decrees extend from 1552 to 1769 . . . 8thly. In an appendix, an imperfect code given to the University in the reign of Queen Mary by Cardinal Pole, to be used until a better one could be framed . . . A.D. 1557."—pp. 11—13.

From all this it is satisfactorily proved, that the "illegal" revolution had been effected before the incorporation of the University by Queen Elizabeth. Great therefore as that revolution may have been, "completely," as it may have "subverted the ancient academical constitution," and "revolutionized the whole order of things;" "illegal" as such a proceeding may have been, in regard to the rights of independent legislation which had immemorially belonged to the senate—into these points we do not enter—still thus much is clear, that if in this, as in the sister University, a "republican polity" has been "changed into an oligarchical" (*Edin. Rev.* p. 413), it was before the incorporation of the University by parliament. The code of laws "by which the University is professedly governed at this day," was issued by Elizabeth in 1570; and then it was, when the new order of things was established, that the University received from parliament the confirmation of its ancient privileges. It is absurdity, therefore, to talk of "the unauthorized seminaries by which the University has been replaced, and which have contrived, under covert of its

* Stat. p. 271.

name, to step into possession of its public privileges.”—(*Edin. Rev.* p. 394, June, 1831.)

But we will follow Mr. Walsh from his account of the “University prior to, and distinct from the colleges,” &c. to his description of “the senate,” “the caput and their veto,” and the “encroachments of the heads of colleges upon the senate.”

“We have every reason to think that the modern College of Tribunes, denominated the Caput, *without the consent of each of whom no measure can even be brought forward in the senate*, did not exist till the middle of the sixteenth century. This seems quite clear from four separate laws of the old code, all of which treat of the method of passing graces.* If such an institution had really prevailed at an ancient period, we should certainly expect to find some mention of it here. But it is no such thing. Now as none of these statutes are dated, we may fairly presume that the dates of them were unknown at the time when the old code was compiled, and that they contain the ancient constitution of the senate in an unadulterated form. It appears from them, that an assembly could not be held, unless the chancellor, vice-chancellor, or some doctor deputed by one of the two, officiated as president. But it by no means follows (indeed there is every reason to suppose the contrary) that this president was invested with a negative on their proceedings . . . We find no such privilege granted to any man, or set of men, in the elaborate statutes issued by King Edward VI. in 1549. But in the code compiled by Cardinal Pole, A.D. 1557, we meet at length with a regulation, ‘that at every congregation those and no others are to be on the caput, who at the beginning of the year are deputed to be the caput : *and that any one of them is to have a negative voice.*’† . . . It appears, therefore, that we owe the original sketch of the modern caput to the ingenuity of the cardinal. The next, in point of time after the cardinal’s code, is that of Queen Elizabeth, issued in 1559. It says nothing whatever of a caput, nor of a ‘veto’ entrusted to any body of men : nor is there any mention made of the subject in the additional regulations issued by Lord Burleigh, and confirmed by the senate in 1562.‡ It is in the third Tudor code only by which the University is, or rather supposes that it is, now governed, that this important innovation in the ancient free constitution of the University is developed.

“The result of the 41st chapter of that artful compilation is, that the heads of houses, and practically the vice-chancellor, have the full and entire power of electing five persons annually, *each of whom has the full and entire power of negating any measure that it may be proposed to bring before the senate, even if every single member of the senate but himself intended and wished to vote for it.* In other words, the legislative power is taken out of the hands of the University, and placed in those of certain individuals belonging to the colleges. It is needless to add, that the ‘veto’ of the Caput has remained in full vigour to the present day.”—pp. 29—31.

* Old Code, sect. 1, 2, 6, 63.

† Stat. p. 566.

‡ Stat. pp. 216—222.

It appears, then, that "this important innovation," or "momentous revolution," in the language of the *Edinburgh Review*, was completed in the Elizabethan statutes already referred to, enacted in 1570: and, consequently, as was said before, previous to the act of incorporation of the University. We will just remark in passing, that it was an unfortunate time for the liberties of the subject, when "the ingenuity of the Cardinal," "the brooding mind of Whitgift," and the "absolute potency" of Leicester—*Συνώμοσαν γὰρ ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὶν*—Papist, Church-of-England-man, and Puritan, were leagued in so unnatural an alliance against "the ancient free constitution" of either university.

"For why? their minds
Framed sagest plans of discipline."

Mr. Walsh informs his readers, when he invites them to address themselves, with him, to the investigation of the state of the University of Cambridge, at various periods, "that, at the same time, it may be taken as a general rule, that any abuse to be found at the University of *Cambridge*, has its parallel existing at the University of *Oxford* in a still more aggravated form."—(p. 7.) But there are exceptions, we know, to every general rule; and we think, in this matter of the *Caput*, "the ingenuity of the Cardinal," and "the brooding mind" of the Master of Trinity, with his friends "of the ancient and chief heads," with "the prerogative of the crown, and the authority of the tyrannical Elizabeth" to boot, outdid the "absolute potency" of "the puritanical Leicester," and the "Arminian heads" of the next generation (*Edinb. Review*, p. 416), Laud's "very humble servants." (*Ibid.* p. 413, note.) For, at Oxford, as we have seen in the *Edinburgh Review*, "no proposal could be submitted to the houses of congregation or convocation, unless it had been *previously discussed and sanctioned by the 'Hebdomadal Meeting;*' and through this preliminary negative, the most absolute control was accorded to the heads of houses over the proceedings of the University." "And, as if this preliminary negative were not enough," the Reviewer goes on to say, in a note, "there was conceded by the same statutes, to the single college head who holds for the time the office of vice-chancellor, an absolute veto upon all proceedings in the houses of congregation and convocation themselves." But something more absolute than this "most absolute control" over the proceedings of the University was devised for Oxford's still more unhappy sister. "In Cambridge," says the Reviewer, "a preliminary veto is enjoyed by *every* member of the *Caput*."—(p. 414, note.) This surely was the triumph of "illegality."

It remains for us now only to follow Mr. Walsh from his view of the "encroachments of the heads of colleges upon the senate," and the "consequent necessity of constitutional reform," to the question of "university lectures," &c. He thus enters upon this part of his subject.

"Let us now consider the past and present state of the University of Cambridge, viewed as a society for the diffusion of literary and scientific knowledge." — We will not stay to comment upon this new view of our Universities, or we would have suggested that, if our universities are to be regarded as properly societies for the diffusion of knowledge, we should have thought that it would have been better to style them societies "for the diffusion of useful knowledge." This title sounds less strange to our ears: though we are still more familiar with that of "schools and seminaries of religious and useful learning," or of "schools and seminaries of sound learning and religious education." We would not seem to stickle unreasonably for terms; but we suspect that the question between the "diffusion of knowledge," of whatever kind, on the one hand, and on the other, "sound learning," and the "virtuous" and "religious education" of youth, is very much concerned in the controversy between the "professorial" and "tutorial" systems. But we will not dwell upon this, but go on to Mr. Walsh's "statement of facts." He thus contrasts the two rival systems.

"The most ancient method of furnishing students with instruction was, by compelling them to attend at university lectures; the modern method is by compelling them to attend at college lectures. We have nothing to do at present with the latter, and will therefore proceed at once to discuss the former scheme of education.

"At the earliest academic era, of which we have authentic accounts, every M. A., before he was finally created, made oath * 'that he would continue his regency at least for a year,' i. e. that he would read and explain the text-books in his faculty (*ordinariè legere*), and take the direction (*regentiam*) of a hostel,† which last particular was afterwards not exacted when the colleges became more numerous. This was called his *necessary* regency: he might, if he pleased, continue it longer. . . . This seems to have been the ancient state of things in the university; the first innovation upon which was the annual election of three regent masters to deliver, 'for the future,' public lectures, one in rhetoric, to students of the first and second year; one in logic, to the third year, and the other on philosophy, to the fourth year and the bachelors,‡ to whom a fourth was afterwards added, to lecture in what was then called mathematics.§ Each of these had a fixed salary of 4*l.* a year, paid by the masters of colleges and principals of hostels,|| in lieu of the tuition-

* Stat. p. 64, s. 134.

† Stat. p. 36, s. 67.

‡ Stat. p. 46, s. 87.

§ Stat. p. 65, s. 136.

|| Stat. p. 65, and p. 104.

money formerly contributed by his pupils. . . . The new system seems very soon to have supplanted the old one. We find a statute passed in 1537, complaining very bitterly of the neglect of the ancient custom of new-made M. A.'s 'paying diligent attention to disputations and lectures for the first year, and not laying aside either of these laborious duties except when the year was completed;' and also re-enacting the old law, with the addition that the disputations should be continued to the end of the second year,* and the privilege of voting as a regent being prolonged till the expiration of that time. Shortly afterwards, the duty of lecturing seems to have become obsolete, and the regency to have reckoned by the period for which the disputations were enjoined. In Edward VIth's code (A. D. 1549), it was ordered 'that all M. A.'s, at their creation, shall swear to retain their regency for three years, and observe the course of disputations for the whole period.† Although this code enters into very minute details respecting the exercises of the different graduates, yet nothing is said in it on the subject of public lecturing as part of the functions of every regent M. A. Cardinal Pole, however, (A. D. 1557), apparently re-introduced the ancient system. Queen Elizabeth, in her first code, repealed King Edward's regulation word for word;‡ but, in her second, without saying any thing upon the duty of publicly lecturing, she declares that all M. A.'s, at their creation, shall swear to retain their regency for five years, and observe the course of disputations for this whole period, after which time they shall be non-regents.' . . . The disputations (or disses, as they were commonly called, even in letters addressed to royalty,) dragged on a lingering existence for nearly two centuries (as we shall afterwards find), but have now been, deservedly, consigned to that wallet of Old Father Time

' In which he puts alms for oblivion.'

" Thus we see how the regency in arts at first involved the duty of giving lectures; how this was afterwards commuted for the performance of occasional disputations in the schools; and how these also have at length fallen entirely into disuse."—pp. 57—61.

This passage contains some important *facts*, coinciding, in some points, remarkably with the paper already quoted from Strype's Life of Parker. In the first place, we have here the four "Professors of Philosophy, Logique, Rhetorick, and the Mathematics," there referred to: and the "stipends" there spoken of as allowed them by the University, it here appears were paid "by the masters of colleges and principals of hostels." It appears, moreover, that as early as 1537, or "shortly afterwards, the duty of lecturing seems to have become obsolete, and the period of regency to have been reckoned by the period for which the *disputations* were enjoined;" that Edward VIth's code (1549) speaks only of M. A.'s retaining their regency, and observing "the course of *disputations*," and that

* Stat. p. 116, see also p. 120.

† Stat. p. 163.

‡ Stat. p. 567.

although it “ enters into very minute details respecting the *exercises* of the different graduates, yet *nothing is said in it on the subject of public lecturing* as part of the functions of every regent M.A.,” and that Queen Elizabeth’s first code (1559) “ repeats King Edward’s regulation word for word;” but that “ in her second (1570), *without saying any thing about the duty of public lecturing*, she speaks only, as before, of M. A.’s retaining their regency, and observing *the course of disputations*.” Thus then, at the time when the Universities were chartered, “ occasional disputations ” had already come into the place of “ the regular course of lectures.” If, then, it be asked what was the duty of the University “ professors ” at that time, the answer which the statutes supply is that which is given in Archbishop Parker’s document. “ These professors have *the ruling of the disputations* and other *school exercises*, which be daily used in the common schools.” We cannot help thinking that this description gives a very intelligible meaning to the term “ regency,” without having recourse to the “ hostel,” of which, according to Mr. Walsh’s explanation of the term, the M. A., in early times, swore that he would “ take the direction (*regentiam*).” As to the duty of “ lecturing,” of which we hear so much, Mr. Walsh himself has sufficiently explained what this consisted in.

“ Bachelors of Arts, Law, Medicine, and Divinity, were all bound by the ancient statutes to read publicly the text-books in their respective faculties, without venturing to deliver any comments on them (*cursorie legere*);* the great dearth of MSS. before, and of books for some time after, the invention of printing, and the comparative poverty of the students that frequented the University in those early days, rendered this a very salutary regulation, and there can be little doubt but that it is here we must seek for its origin. In a chapter respecting the *collecta* or tutorage to be paid to the Lecturer in Civil Law, it was ordered that each student, *if he had a book*, was to pay 3s. per term when the Digest, or 2s. when the Codex was lectured upon; *but if he had no book*, he was to make a composition, or the matter was to be referred to the arbitration of the Chancellor, ‘ if the doctor was too burdensome in demanding, or the student too delicate or stingy in offering.’† When printed books became general, and procurable at easy prices, it was natural that the mere reading aloud what every one might study with greater effect in his own chamber, should be no longer enforced. Accordingly we find that in the case of Arts and Civil Law—the two faculties most generally cultivated at that time—the system was early relaxed,‡ and in the Tudor codes all traces of it disappear.”—pp. 66—68.

* Compare in the old Code §§ 152 and 136; 85, 93, 96, 120, &c.

† Stat. p. 73 and 156.

‡ Stat. p. 65, § 136, and grace passed in 1542, p. 121.

And what now must we say of "the University" of Cambridge in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that is to say, of "the University proper," as distinguished from its colleges, of its professorial body, its lectures, &c.? Surely we must retort upon it the quotation of the *Edinburgh Review* in regard to the system, *de facto*, in the present day in the University of Oxford. "Magni stat nominis umbra." (*Edinburgh Review*, June, 1831, p. 393.)

We are not now concerned with the comparative merits of the two systems: all that we are concerned with is a matter of historical fact, whether "the actual mechanism of education organized in these seminaries is" not, in spite of the assertions of their reformers to the contrary, "a time-honoured and essential part of their being, established upon statute, endowed by the national legislature with exclusive privileges, and inviolable as a vested right." We contend that they have not proved, as they undertook to "prove," that this system "is new, as it is inexpedient, not only accidental to the University, but radically subversive of its constitution, without legal sanction, nay, in violation of positive law, arrogating the privileges exclusively conceded to another system, which it has superseded"—(*Edinburgh Review*, June, 1831, p. 386.) In contradiction to all this, sufficient evidence, we hope, has been brought forward to prove that it was to a system, in all its essential features identical with that which is now established, that privileges were granted, or rather secured, by the nation. We have thought it worth while to examine this point, because our enemies are so confident in unproved assertions, as well as unmeasured charges; at the same time that we must beg of our readers permission to repeat, once more, that, even had greater changes been made in our system than those which our enemies lay to our charge, the power to introduce such changes is inherent in the academical legislature, and the charge of "illegality" must fall to the ground, unless it can be shown that our Universities have neglected the one great end of their incorporation,—“the maintenance of a good and godly literature, and the virtuous education of youth.”

ART. VIII.—*Christian Unity necessary for the Conversion of the World: a Sermon, preached in St. Thomas's Church, New York, Sunday Evening, June 26, 1836, before the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, constituting the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* By Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D.D. Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in Washington College, Hartford, Connecticut. New York: Osborn. 1837.

THE value of *Christian Unity* is beyond dispute; but in treating the subject two main points are to be considered:—first, in what the unity properly consists; and, secondly, how or by what means it is to be secured.

The observations made in a preceding article render it needless in our case to say much; nor does Dr. Jarvis enter into an elaborate train of reasoning on either of these topics. But a single quotation will show the power and attractiveness of his discourse as an historical inquiry.

“The four great characteristics of that unity which our Saviour requires as necessary for the conversion of the world, are summed up in the second chapter of the Acts: ‘They that gladly received the word were baptized; and they continued stedfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine, and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.’

“The first characteristic is stedfastness in the Apostles’ doctrine.

“St. Paul, in his Epistles to Timothy, requires of him to ‘take heed to THE doctrine,’ and to ‘hold fast the form of sound words;’ and one of the latest of the inspired writers speaks of contending earnestly ‘for the faith, once delivered to the saints.’ It is called one faith; and is supposed to be as much known and as fully recognized by Christians, as are ‘one God, one Lord, and one baptism.’

“The second characteristic includes an adherence to the ministers of apostolic succession.

“The word itself (*κοινωνία*) here translated fellowship, and elsewhere communion, denotes that internal union in the members of one body, which may be compared to the circulation of sap in the vegetable, or of blood in the animal kingdom. Christians are required to have communion or fellowship with the Father; with the Son; with the Holy Ghost; with the Apostles, as the sources of all ministerial authority. There is also the communion or fellowship of the prosperous with the afflicted; of those parts of the Church which are rich in the means of grace, the capacities of knowledge, and the ability to give, with those which are perishing for lack of vision. In a word, fellowship is that pervading and animating spirit which constitutes the communion of saints in the one holy catholic and apostolic Church, so that ‘whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.’

“The third and fourth characteristics need no comment. The former

is the constant and frequent reception together of the holy communion, called in the New Testament, the breaking of bread; the latter is the uniting together, at stated times and seasons, in the several acts of public worship. At every period of time, therefore, Christians are required to form one body, by continuing stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer.

"Now, if we examine by this rule the state of the Primitive Church, we shall find that all these characteristics of unity were preserved till about the middle of the fifth century.

"It is true that there were heresies even in the apostolic age. 'They went out from us,' says St. John, 'but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us.' But, in comparison with the great body of Christians, these were few and inconsiderable. They proceeded, not from any mistaken views of divine truth, but from the wild reveries of a deceitful philosophy. Their very extravagance prevented any influence over sober sense, and ardent piety. They were the effervescence of human corruption, rising like bubbles to the surface, bursting there one after another, and each in its turn disappearing for ever.

Even the most formidable of all departures from the apostolic doctrine, I mean the Arian and the Macedonian heresies, the one denying the divinity of the Son, the other, the personality of the Holy Ghost,—even these, violent and extended as they were for a season, had no permanent existence or influence. The penumbral varieties with which the Sun of Righteousness is obscured, may afford a grateful shelter to those who hate his beams, but even when darkest they are transitory. A deep sense of the enormity of sin, of the holiness of God, of the weakness of man, will always lead to the exaltation of the Saviour. The joy shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost, and the light which the same Divine Spirit sheds over the word of God, when it is read with an humble and teachable frame of mind, will produce the conviction that he is our divine teacher and comforter. On these points, therefore, the great body of professing Christians always have been, and always will be, orthodox. The Nicene Creed, confirmed by the Council of Constantinople, and professed by those of Ephesus and Chalcedon, was unanimously admitted in every part of the Christian Church, with the exception of one word which, in the bitterness of controversy, the Eastern afterwards accused the Western Church of surreptitiously introducing.

"The apostolic ministry, consisting of the three orders of bishops, priests and deacons, existed every where; and all Christians, so far from thinking of separating themselves from their fellowship, would have considered such a separation as the greatest of earthly evils. 'A Christian,' to use the words of Bishop Horne, 'furnished with proper credentials from his bishop, might travel through the world from east to west, and from north to south, and be received to communion with his brethren, in any part of the globe then known.'

"The liturgies and formularies in general use, bore so remarkable an affinity, as to induce the belief, that they could be traced even to the apostolic age.

“ I repeat it, therefore, that the Christian world, or Catholic Church, in the proper sense of that much abused term, agreed in all the essentials of Christian unity, until about the middle of the fifth century.

“ During this period of unity, the progress made by the Christian faith is, perhaps, the most surprising fact recorded in history. At the time of our Saviour's birth, the decree had gone forth that all the world should be taxed. By the word rendered in our translation ‘ the world,’ was meant the Roman empire. Its division at that time was into kingdoms, provinces, and free cities or colonies. In all these divisions, the chief cities were called metropolitan; and even a cursory inspection of the subject will show, that when the Apostles obeyed the command to ‘ go into all the world,’ their first object was, to plant a church in every one of these metropolitan cities. As an illustration of this remark it may be observed, that St. John has mentioned the seven cities of Asia in the order and dignity of their civil geography. And the fact is undeniable, that nearly all the colonial and free cities of the empire had churches during the apostolic age. If we may credit the most ancient historians, the Apostles went even beyond the bounds of the Roman empire. Not only was the Church extended through Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the principal islands of the Mediterranean, Greece, Thrace, Illyricum, and Italy, but perhaps to Spain and the British islands on the west, to Scythia on the north, and Persia and India within the Ganges on the east. ‘ He puts on wings,’ says the eloquent Chrysostom, speaking of Paul the Apostle, ‘ and traversed every land which the sun surveyed; not simply travelling through it, but rooting up the thorns of wickedness and sowing the seed of religion, expelling error and introducing truth.’ If this be hyperbolical with regard to the labours of St. Paul, it is good testimony as to the extent of the Church in the fourth century. Certainly by the middle of the fifth, the time I have mentioned, in addition to the countries already enumerated, may be named Gaul and Germany in Europe, Ethiopia, Nubia, Lybia, Mauritania, and indeed all that was known of Africa, Arabia, the greater and the lesser Armenia, the regions beyond the Caspian and the Euxine, and possibly even China itself. From the letter of Constantine to the King of Persia, preserved by Eusebius, it is evident that there must have been an immense number of Christians in that kingdom. For he speaks of the finest provinces as filled with Christians; and Sozomen mentions that Adiabene, the chief province, was almost entirely christianized. The letter of the emperor, so far from aiding the Christians, excited political jealousies in the breast of the Persian monarch. In 330 a severe persecution began, which lasted forty-three or forty-four years, and terminated only with the death of Sapor. The very circumstances of this persecution show that the Persian Church, on account of its supposed connection with the religion of the empire, was formidable for its numbers. Sozomen expressly says that Sapor forbade the fire-worshippers to exercise their fury upon common Christians. They were to select only the bishops, priests, deacons and other persons consecrated to the services of the Church. He says it would be difficult to tell how many suffered martyrdom, but that the men and women, whose names were known, amounted to sixteen

thousand. From these premises we may fairly infer that the Church in Persia was extremely flourishing; and from the review of all that has been said, the assertion will not, I trust, be deemed hazardous, that the Church was in fact more extensive at the middle of the fifth century than it ever has been since."—pp. 7—13.

Our author afterwards points out the mischiefs which have been occasioned by schisms and breaches of unity: and sums up his investigation by these words,

"Does not even this imperfect sketch present to your view, the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and the Church of England, as the least guilty of violating the unity of the Christian Church? And consequently does it not point them out as being the most likely instruments in the hands of Providence, of executing the designs of Almighty Benevolence towards a lost and perishing world? Let me then, hasten in the last place, to propose such considerations as may seem most suitable to encourage us in the great work we have undertaken."—pp. 44, 45.

Dr. Jarvis then proceeds to state those features in the position and character of the United States which peculiarly qualify its citizens for the missionary task. Yet it is gratifying to observe the kindly temper in which he speaks of Great Britain, even where he is showing that the American ought to be *a missionary church*, because America is not like England, *an externally colonizing nation*. His language is as striking as it is complimentary.

"Thirty-nine years after the downfall of Constantinople, Columbus gave a new world to Leon and Castille. The Pope, who began to reign the same year, with that prodigal generosity which gives what is not its own, divided this new world between Spain and Portugal, forbidding all other nations to intermeddle with their property.

"Had this decree been obeyed, how different would have been our lot, and how changed the history of the world!

"But a nation, of whom the Pope, when he drew his line, little thought, was rising into a mighty maritime power, and within forty-two years released itself from papal dominion. Since that time, while Spain and Portugal have sunk into secondary and uninfluential kingdoms, England has risen to be the great colonizing power—the mother of nations.

"Her dominion and her influence have been extended throughout the world. She has carried her language, her arts, her learning, her refinement, her noble and manly freedom, her morals, and above all other rich treasures, her religion, to the four corners of the earth. Who is there among my hearers, that in surveying all the blessings, civil, political, spiritual, which surround him, and contrasting them with the condition of the rude, and ignorant, and turbulent, and bigotted republics of Spanish America, does not bless God, that we, as a nation, are descended from Englishmen?

"As far as it is allowed to human foresight to penetrate into the designs

of Omnipotence, the vast dominion of England in India, New Holland, the Cape of Good Hope and America, are all destined to become the abode of millions and millions of civilized men, speaking her language, and possessing her institutions. The colonies of other nations have been subjected to her sway. The United States are the only colonies she has lost; and however painful the event which separated them from her, it can hardly be called a loss. For it has enabled her to turn her immense resources into other channels. It has converted a dependant into a nation, alike emulous of her fame and her charity. It has given her a co-adjutor in executing the plans of Almighty wisdom, and extending to the rest of mankind the rich blessings of civil liberty and religious knowledge.

"But while England and the United States are allied by the most sacred ties in the great work of doing good, there is one striking characteristic in which the two nations differ. If England is eminently a colonizing nation, we are equally remarkable for the entire absence of such a quality. We rival England in commercial enterprize, and probably surpass her in that adventurous daring which belongs to all classes of our citizens. Go where you will, and you find Americans. But you will find them as individuals, not as colonies. To colonize, is contrary to the very spirit and theory of our government. Even the little colonies of Liberia and Cape Palmas are independent. Let us then consider what bearing this remarkable difference between the two countries must have in fitting us for the great work of evangelizing the world."—pp. 38—40.

The following, again, is the testimony which Dr. Jarvis bears to the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

"Events in this world are connected in so continuous a chain, that to estimate our own revolution properly we must go back to the English revolution of 1688. By that, the great principle of religious toleration had been established. Divine Providence took that method of convincing mankind, that however desirable unity may be, it is not to be enforced by the penal sanctions of temporal power.

"Yet there was one exception to this spirit of mild forbearance. The Episcopalians of Scotland, under the odious name of Jacobites, were hunted like the partridge on the mountains. Their worship was proscribed; their bishops driven from their sees; their priests and deacons imprisoned, if they ventured to officiate even within the sanctuary of their own dwellings.* Yet the episcopacy of Scotland survived it all, and has still continued to flourish. Even in the moments of its deepest sorrow, it had the courage to assume a responsibility before which the

* For the particulars of this persecution, for so it must be termed, the reader is referred to the Rev. John Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 624 and 664—670. Posterity will hardly credit the fact, that, in the eighteenth century, a peaceable Christian minister, having in his own house an assembly of five persons beside his own family, and from scruples of conscience not praying for the king by name, was for the first offence to suffer six months' imprisonment, for a second or any subsequent offence, to be transported to some of his majesty's plantations in America for life, and in case of his return to Britain, to be imprisoned for life!!!

English Church, or rather the English policy, quailed. It became the honoured instrument of extending the apostolic succession to this country in the person of her first bishop; and within a few years it has again set the glorious and first example of sending abroad a missionary bishop, to oversee the multitudes of English residing on the continent of Europe, who are in perpetual danger of being allured to forsake the primitive faith. Of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, an English bishop of the last century remarked, that, were St. Paul on earth, he would seek for communion among them. Their Liturgy, or communion service, is in its form more perfect, and more agreeable to ancient usage, than that of the Church of England, and it served as a model for ours."—pp. 42, 43.

Yet while the Christian affections of Dr. Jarvis can thus embrace his European brotherhood, he retains all the national and patriotic feelings of an American.

"A change," he says, speaking of the Episcopalians on his side of the Atlantic, "has evidently taken place in the feelings of our Protestant brethren who have heretofore regarded us with an unfriendly aspect. I need not dwell on the causes of this change. Sufficient is it for us that it exists. Let us bless God, and hail it as a sign of that returning tenderness which under a deep sense of mutual infirmities and mutual sin may exclaim,

"—— Rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blamed enough elsewhere, but strive
In offices of love how we may lighten
Each other's burden.

"Even the intelligent and pious laity of the Roman communion will see, we have reason to hope, that our views are truly Catholic; and that we contend, not against the great principles of Catholic verity, but against the corruptions and the despotism of Rome.

"May we not then indulge the belief that the time will come, when, as a nation, Americans may go forth 'comely as Jerusalem'—being 'at unity in itself'—and therefore 'terrible as an army with banners,' against the enemies of God. We ask not for the aid of our civil government. Oh no—no. The time will come when that government will need the aid of Christians. A dear bought experience will prove that no government can be stable which has not the Gospel for its foundation.

"But if ever America is united as one Church, let its proceedings be separate from the polluting influence of worldly power or policy. The disciples of Christ are not of the world, though they are in the world; and in the language of our Divine Master, while we pray that we may be one, we pray also that God will keep us from the evil."—pp. 46—49.

A wide field for discussion might be opened by this stern reprobation of the alliance between Church and State. But our object has been to give a report, rather than a review of Dr. Jarvis's discourse. The report, too, we feel, is quite inadequate to do justice either to the talent or to the learning which is displayed; but we cannot say more. The argument, perhaps, as

it regards Christian unity, is neither very close nor very complete. But, in other respects, the sermon is eloquent and erudite. And it at least affords us an opportunity of once more expressing our deep and fervent sympathy with the Protestant Episcopal Church in America—one of the most interesting branches of the universal Church of Christ, which the whole world can exhibit;—one, which has oftentimes sent over to *our* hemisphere valuable and edifying instruction; and which has, in its own, a quite incalculable utility;—one, which is now stretching out the arms of evangelical philanthropy to the remotest quarters of the globe; which is a point of religious union between Europe and America, and which in America itself has been a beacon to save many from shipwreck, as being one, nay, almost the only, prop and centre of Christian sobriety and steadfastness, amidst the tossing fluctuations of loose, and unstable, and capricious theology.

It may be thought extraordinary, we ought to add, that in noticing a missionary sermon, we have scarcely touched on the subject of missions. An opportunity would also, we must allow, be afforded us for the discussion, by the Rev. James Hough's "*Vindication of Protestant Missions, in answer to the Aspersions of Dr. Wiseman*," on their inefficiency and failure, as compared with the religious enterprises of the Roman Catholics. Dr. Jarvis, too, has sharply animadverted, in a note, on a Dissertation published by Dr. Wiseman, while the former was at Rome, entitled "*La Sterilità delle Missioni intraprese dai Protestanti*."

We shall now, however, remain silent, not because we are indifferent to the matter, for we have evinced our keen interest in it on many former occasions; but because we are waiting for material, from which we may institute a detailed investigation of this mighty topic, in connection both with the progress of the Gospel, and with the civil policy of Empires. In the mean time, we would recommend Mr. Hough's production to the attention of our readers, as a performance, which may do something to correct mistakes, and at least help them to do away some uncomfortable impressions: and we recommend it with the more zeal, as we are told, that *any profits arising from the sale of this work are to be devoted to the Cause of Education in India, on the plan given in the second Appendix.*

ART. IX.—1. *A Sermon by Edward, Lord Bishop of Norwich, preached at his Installation, on Thursday, August the 17th, 1837.* Second Edition. London: Hatchard. 1837.

2. *Last Lecture of the Season, delivered in the Literary and Scientific Institution at Staines, on Friday, June 30th, 1837.* By the Rev. Robert Jones, D.D. M.R.S.L. Vicar of Bedford, and Vice President of the Institution. London: Hatchard. 1837.

It is manifest, from a variety of indications, from the speeches of ministers themselves, and from the hints thrown out by their acknowledged organs in the periodical press, that national education will very soon be brought forward, not merely as a prominent topic of discussion, but as a prominent feature in a system of policy. The Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, Mr. Spring Rice, the *Edinburgh Review*, and some of the government newspapers, all concur in intimating that Lord Melbourne and his colleagues are preparing a specific plan to be submitted, under their auspices, to the legislature and the country. They are inclined to put it in the front of their battle, to stake their credit upon it, almost as something by which they would stand or fall, and to claim on its account the support of the British empire.

Now, so far, we by no means think that they are unwise in their generation. As a *cheval-de-bataille* for the liberal party, we can conceive nothing better. The words "*national education*" have a captivating, a potent, almost a magic sound. They are well chosen. But still we must venture to say, that, if considerable ingenuity is displayed, so also something like a fallacy is involved, in their adoption. They would seem to imply, that the persons who use them are the exclusive patrons of *national education*. They would at least suggest the inference, that *their* enemies must be likewise the enemies of *national education*. A great point would be gained, if either of these things should be openly or tacitly admitted. And sure we are, that if conservatives and churchmen should allow them to advance this pretension with any shadow of right and reason, they would forfeit, and deserve to forfeit, the favour and the countenance of that portion of the people, whose favour and countenance must be considered as most valuable.

But how stand the facts? Is one party more entitled than the other to wear *national education* as a device, or motto, on its shield? Does *national education* belong more properly as a watch-word to conservatives than to liberals, or to liberals than to conservatives? We trow not. Nor would we willingly see a gulf of distinction and disagreement interposed, where both

parties have, or profess to have, the same illustrious and elevating object at heart. With the insignificant exception of a few, whose opinions are becoming obsolete, and whose maxims and modes of action are hurrying fast into the gloom of oblivion, *all* reflecting men are most anxious that the whole nation should be educated. And when we consider all that has been done by individuals and associations, when we look at the rapidly increasing number of schools, weekly schools and Sunday schools, schools of religion and schools of industry; when we look to the instruction which is provided for infants and for adults, from the age of one year and a half to the age of fifty or sixty, we can scarcely deem it just or fitting that any one section, or party, should assume *national education* as a scheme, or business, peculiarly their own.

The term, it appears to us, is used equivocally at least, if not incorrectly; and, knowing the power of terms, we would seek to rescue it from that misuse. There are some men who, when they talk of *national education*, mean *state education*; who, when they talk of the *education of the people*, mean *education by the government*. But the two matters are quite separate in themselves, and ought to be treated with a separate consideration. And this separate consideration, while it promotes tranquil and dispassionate inquiry, is calculated to allay, instead of irritating disputes. For it tends to show that the difference is not about the end, but about the best means of attaining the end. And surely, when Christian philanthropists are agreed that national education is an immense and inestimable good, they may consult and argue upon the methods of achieving it, without intemperance and without animosity. Surely, the calm grandeur and the philosophical sublimity of the object must be enough to lift up the minds of men above the lower and stormier regions of faction and party-spirit.

These reflections naturally lead us to the sermon lately preached by the Bishop of Norwich at his installation. We have placed it at the head of this article on account of its connection with education: but a general consideration of its contents at large would lead us too far from our immediate subject. It is, however, but justice to say, that it breathes throughout the gentle breath of charity, and is remarkable for its large candour and tolerance of spirit. That portion of it, in which his lordship details the feelings with which he enters upon the solemn responsibilities of his most important functions, is impregnated with the genuine eloquence of deep and warm emotion, and is altogether honourable to the understanding and the heart of a pious and enlightened prelate, whose personal character must extort the esteem and respect even of those who differ with some of his opinions; and who, we believe, instead of seeking the high places of

the Establishment, with an unworthy ambition or by any base and subservient compliances, has been elevated to the episcopal dignity almost against his will, and has left his attached parishioners and the humbler duties of the pastoral office with unaffected regret.—The sentences which relate to schism may give wide offence, unless they are regarded from the right point of view, and read in the same spirit with which they were written. We allude more particularly to the following observations.

“ No one who has read the New Testament can doubt but that the division of the unity of Christ’s Church is a fearful sin, but it were well to consider what it really is. Surely when our Lord declared of the man who cast out devils in Christ’s name, yet followed not with the apostles, that he who was not against Him was on His part, He told us clearly that there might be outward divisions of form, which were compatible with the truest unity of spirit—and when He declared, ‘ He that is not with Me is against Me,’ and again, ‘ not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,’ He told us clearly that there might be a perfect unity of form, with the most utter division of spirit. It is then against the spirit and not the form of division that the denunciations against schism are directed—if the heart of a man be full of love and peace, whatsoever be his outward act of division, he is not guilty of schism. Let no man then think himself free from schism, because he is in outward conformity with this or any other church. Let no man think his neighbour a schismatic, because he is not in outward conformity with this church. He is a schismatic, and he only, who creates fends and scandals, and divisions in the Church of Christ. He who is quarrelsome, and uncharitable, and unconciliating in public or in private life, in his family or in his parish, in the common occurrences of daily intercourse, or in the political and ecclesiastical questions in which it may be his duty to be involved ; whether he has left the Establishment for the mere sake of turbulence and miscalled independence, or whether he continues in the Establishment and excites animosities either against its members or the members of other Christian communities,—of whichever of these faults he is guilty, it is one and the same sin, showing itself in various forms ; the same sin which St. Paul so earnestly rebuked at Corinth ; the same sin to which every follower of Christ in this country, whether layman or clergyman, churchman or dissenter, is liable. But he who separates only because he thinks it a painful duty ; he who remains because he thinks it his duty, whatever else may be their sins, are not so far as they separate or remain, guilty of the sin of schism. Let it be our endeavour so to purify our own sanctuary, as to leave less and less ground for such internal schisms and such separations. Let us thus bring again the outcasts, and thus seek the lost. Let us maintain and set forward, each in his own circle, quietness, love, and peace.”—pp. 11, 12, 13.

Here, our opinions on the nature and constitution of *Christ’s Holy Catholic Church* will be of course, in a great degree, the

key and index to our opinions as to the *nature* of schism, and the *measure* of our opinions as to its *guilt*. But we confine ourselves here to other considerations. Bishop Stanley cites in a note some high authorities, from among the ornaments of our own Establishment, in order to show "that conscientious difference from another form of Christianity does not imply the guilt of schism." Still, although there may be no moral criminality on the side of a seceder in his separation, and although he may submit to the evil of separation for the sake of avoiding a greater evil, a deep responsibility must be involved in a course, which always generates some obvious and immediate mischief. In every separation it is felt that one party or the other must be in the wrong; and hence, in every division, there will be disputes as to the cause; and breaches of communion have a necessary tendency to produce breaches of charity. The force of these facts was fully appreciated by our reformers, although they were persuaded, at the same time, that the breach of communion was a less calamity than any longer participation in the corruptions of popery; and were compelled to a step, which, under other circumstances, they might have acknowledged to be a sin. It has, indeed, been made a question, by men in whose scheme of theology the real and visible unity of the Church is a matter of the last moment, whether, in *any sense*, our reformers committed schism. Yet in fairness, we think, it must be conceded, that, while Cranmer and his coadjutors were purifiers and restorers of the Christian Church, not schismatics, or separatists from its pale; they were, nevertheless, separatists from the then established communion of the Romish Church; because their own constant adjuration was, in the words of the Apocalypse, "*Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.*" Now, we are not disposed to deem very lightly, either on a religious or a political account, although cases occur in which there is far more than a palliation or even excuse, of any secession from the established communion of a kingdom. We at least, as churchmen, are bound, since we have the Church, and belong to the Church, to make it, as far as in us lies, an efficient Church: we are bound, since we have an *Established Church*, to make it, as far as in us lies, a truly *National Church*. And our first object, therefore, should be union among churchmen, while we exhibit kindness of spirit without fraternization with Dissenters. Nor is this view essentially different from Bishop Stanley's; for at the conclusion of his note, as it is somewhat enlarged in the second edition of the discourse, we find:—

"In what I have said on this subject, let me not for a moment be misunderstood as undervaluing the vast importance of adhering to that

great means of christianizing our institutions and our people—the Established National Church; but I felt myself bound in stating my views of schism as denounced in Scripture, to express my conviction that the essence of this sin, was not of necessity involved in separation from the Establishment, however much, as I have stated, it may be in particular cases;—with the additional hope that by so doing, I might excite in others that same spirit, which animated a Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Joseph Hall) two hundred years ago, to close the first section of his Essay, entitled ‘The Peace-maker,’ with the following beautiful expression of Christian feeling; ‘It is the duty of every son of peace, to endeavour, what in him lies, to reduce all the members of God’s Church upon earth to a blessed unity, both in judgment and affection. This is the holy labour, which I have here undertaken. The God of peace put life into it; and make it as effectual, as it is heartily meant, to the good of every Christian soul!’—pp. 13, 14.

Still, the matter being so vital to the integrity of the Establishment, we would submit, once more, as the conclusions which are forced upon us, that they who entertain exalted notions of the Apostolical succession and the trusts and privileges committed to the one visible Church, will regard all departure from its communion, every species of separatism and dissent, as at once a great sin and a great peril; that, for our own parts, we are inclined to lay more stress than the Bishop of Norwich upon the value of external union, and the identity of forms and ordinances: that, with respect to believers among themselves, unity of spirit can hardly consist with outward divisions, which almost always create some diversity of interests: while, again, these external divisions afford a theme of declamation to the infidel, when he would find objections to the truth or the certainty of the Gospel; and the Mahometan draws an argument against Christianity from the palpable divisions amongst Christians; and the Papist draws an argument against Protestantism from the palpable divisions among Protestants. It appears plain to us, therefore, that, although the types of the distemper may be more or less aggravated, more or less virulent, still, rest the fault where it may, all disunion is schism, and all schism is a most serious evil. *Primâ facie*, too, the seceding are the offending parties; and, although they may cause divisions in order to obviate mischiefs even greater than division, still they require a very strong case, before their justification can be made out. Charity is better than forms, and malignant rancour is worse than separation on matters of ceremony or discipline; but they who make another rent in the garment of Christ, they who go forth from the visible Church, and leave the religious communion recognized in their country—to put the matter on no higher ground—they, who pass out from the portals of the Establishment that they may build upon their

own private foundations, are incurring an accountability of the most awful nature, and may, unconsciously, perhaps, and without any criminal intentions, any thoughts of animosity and strife, work more harm in an hour, than in their whole subsequent lives they will be able to repair.—This, however, is a digression; and, it may be, a quite unnecessary digression; for, Dr. Stanley might say, that he assented to these remarks; that the course of his argument simply led him to insist upon the *higher* necessity of agreement in Christian spirit; and that he had no intention whatever, as his own note may attest, of representing outward conformity as a matter of indifference. The avidity, however, with which this sermon has been read, and the rapid manner in which it has passed through more than one edition, testify not merely the power of the composition, but also the keen interest which the sentiments have excited. We knew, indeed, from the first, that it would attract to itself no ordinary share of public attention. The nature of the topics, the bold explicitness with which they were treated, the very countenance of open and transparent sincerity which was visible throughout, since it would wear no mask or disguise, were sure to call out both applause and censure, admiration and detraction; as men saw an influential prelate, placed at the head of a very important diocese, leaning towards them or against them, on points so tender and delicate, and yet so agitating and so momentous, as general education, and dissent or separation from the Established Church. They, however, who may not concur in all the statements of Dr. Stanley, must read them without any of those uncomfortable suspicions, which they might excite in some other quarters; because his position in life has been always independent of the smiles or frowns of a prime minister; because, too, his opinions were taken up at a period when they were less in fashion than they are at present, and avowed, when their avowal was the most unlikely of all things to be a passport to clerical honours, and to put a mitre on his head;—and, it seems to us, judging from this sermon on our table, a happy circumstance for his lordship, that, together with an evident candour and frankness of speech, he possesses a sound and well-poised understanding, which is on its guard both against any just charge of illiberality and uncharitableness, and also against that hollow popularity, that treacherous and ensnaring praise, which must, in the end, cause far deeper annoyance to an English bishop, than even a storm and tumult of disapprobation.

Yet his lordship, if the report in the newspapers was correct, appears to have excited some apprehension, as if he had asserted a disconnection, in the nature of things, between education and

religion. But the Bishop of Norwich, it is abundantly clear, made no assertion of the kind: for he has explained the matter, by showing that he spoke, not of education in general, as separate, or even separable from religion, but of *particular* branches of education as having no direct bearing upon it. He alluded, in fact, to *industrial* schools and other departments of practical and mechanical instruction,—subjects, let us add, opening into a very interesting field of inquiry, which now, however, we have no time to pursue. Again, in answering the address of the clergy, Bishop Stanley expressly said:—

“ I consider it as an auspicious commencement of my ministration, that the honoured trust of advocating the cause of promoting Christian knowledge should have been, at your request, confided to my care, and though I may regret that it was not placed in abler hands, I am confident that one more zealous or more willing could not have been selected, convinced as I am, that the independence, and the integrity of this country, and its respectability, in the estimation of the nations of Europe, depend mainly, if not entirely, on a *sound, judicious, and general education, associated with Christian principles.*”—p. 16.

These expressions, we think, ought to have been a sufficient protection for the Bishop of Norwich. He has, however, been vehemently attacked, not only for the allegations of his discourse, but—what is hardly fair—also for the omissions. We say, hardly fair, because neither prelate nor any other clergyman of the Church, can be expected to go through the whole range of Christian theology in a single sermon on a particular occasion; and we very much doubt whether he would be wise to make the attempt.

But we must pass on, without farther criticism or quotation, from the sermon of the Bishop of Norwich:—leaving it, however, with the less regret, from a belief that the publication itself will be already in the hands of almost all our readers, who will thus be enabled to read it without prejudice or prepossession, and judge of it for themselves.

There are many other publications, relating to education, mental culture, and social improvement, which we hope to notice at some length hereafter; but we can now only select the “*last Lecture*” of Dr. Jones, Vicar of Bedford—the able, animated, and animating production of a warm-hearted and enthusiastic champion in the cause of literary and scientific institutions. He tells us, in a note,—

“ A circular, purporting to be the prospectus of a ‘ Metropolitan Society of Lecturers on Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts,’ has just reached me. Its objects are—

“ 1. To open a correspondence with the directors of Provincial Institutions.

“ 2. To facilitate the engagement of Metropolitan Lecturers at such Institutions.

“ 3. To guarantee efficient Lecturers at a fixed and moderate remuneration.

“ I do not hesitate to declare my entire approval of this society, not only for the advantages which it holds forth, but from the well known talents and respectability of its supporters, composing the provisional committee.”

The expediency of such a plan depends very much upon its management. It may do good service, if administered with discretion; but it may become a mere nuisance, if abused. There will be much advantage in a central office for communication, and an agency of general reference; but if any provisional committee is to be invested with large powers of nominating or recommending some lecturers, and so excluding others, the scheme may dwindle into narrowness and partiality, and the society become a hot-bed of dictation and favoritism.

We cannot, however, but regard the project with interest, because it forms another development of the principle of *association*. The power of this principle is yet in its infancy; but it is the cradled Hercules. It is destined, we have no doubt, to exercise a mighty influence upon the future economy and welfare of our world. There are three features connected with plans such as we have just specified, which it either is now assuming, or will very shortly assume, namely,—first, a combination for literary and scientific purposes, such as the delivery of lectures, the formation of a museum, library, &c.: secondly, centres of mutual communication, together with a report, or rather, digest and conspectus of transactions and proceedings, the instructions given, the knowledge elicited, &c.: thirdly, a *proprietary system of publication*; that is, a system, where subscribers will take shares, and the work will be put into the hands of accredited compilers, under proper superintendence, and the price will be determined by the whole expense divided among the number of shareholders. The plan has been already tried in the case of newspapers; but it is obviously more fitted for matters of fact, than for matters of opinion, and for matters relating to particular bodies and associations, than for matters of general concern: matters, in fact, which rather belong to combination than competition. It is impossible, at this period, to anticipate to what extent the principle may in such matters be pushed; or to conjecture, in the future inter-communion of nations, how many persons, in all parts of the civilized globe, may have a direct interest in the same

series of works, so that it may be produced with the most adequate remuneration to the compilers, and at the smallest cost to the subscribers.

By the way, speaking of Dr. Jones, we cannot but regret that he has not thought it worth while to mark two or three of his sentences as quotations, and specify the source from which they came. A single instance will be sufficient to explain our meaning, although we might add one or two others not quite so obvious. We had said in our number for April 1837, at pages 502, 503,

“At any rate human knowledge is not to be stopped or impeded. We can no more arrest its progress by our impotent cavils, than we can roll back the flowing tide with the palms of our hands * * * As if faith and knowledge were as rival banners, under which enemies were to be enlisted, madly representing an antipathy, where there is, in fact, the closest agreement, namely, between the two revelations of God, the written revelation of his word, and the unwritten revelation of the universal page of nature and life; or again, between the precepts of the Bible, and the truths which the great science of social economy is eliciting day by day * * * Religion and human knowledge are joint as well as gigantic levers in the improvement of society * * * Let religion step forward and demand the homage of humanity, with the Bible in her right hand, and the volume of human knowledge in her left.”

Dr. Jones writes, as in his own name,

“Say what we will, and do what we please, the impetus cannot be stopped or impeded. We can no more arrest its march by our narrow fears and impotent cavils, than we can roll back the flowing tide of the sea with the palms of our hands. Faith and knowledge must not be considered rivals, under whose banners enemies are to be enlisted, as representing an antipathy between the two revelations of God—the written revelation of his holy word, and the unwritten page of nature—between the precepts of the Bible, and the great truths which the science of social economy is hourly eliciting. The gospel of salvation and human knowledge must be joint, as they are confessedly gigantic—levers in the moral and mental amelioration of mankind. Let us then give the Bible with our right hand, and the volume of man’s wisdom with our left.”—pp. 23, 24.

Now we are quite ready to own that our remarks have no wondrous originality to boast; but still the coincidence of expression could hardly be accidental. Again, we are far from wishing to insinuate that Dr. Jones designed to be a plagiarist and to conceal his plagiarism. Dr. Jones forwarded us his *last lecture*, and we knew from a private assurance that our article had not escaped his attention. The plain fact in all probability is, that in agreeing with our views he unconsciously adopted our lan-

guage, although his own, we doubt not, would have been far better, if he had trusted to it. The sentiments too which we avowed are become, we rejoice to say, the common property of the friends of social advancement. Still we should have been glad, we confess, if Dr. Jones had mentioned the "*British Critic*" in addressing a literary and scientific institution. And why? Not on any personal account, but for this simple reason. We have never assumed—we have carefully avoided in our own case, and regretted in the case of others—the dangerous, if not absurd, assumption, that this or any other unauthorized publication was to be regarded as the representative or organ of the Church of England. But we do wish it to be understood, as far as we may be thought to express the opinions of any part whatever of the clergy and laity of the Establishment, that Churchmen are not adverse to the promotion of human knowledge; that instead of being adverse, they are most anxious for its extension and its circulation; that they seek to diffuse it, and see it diffused, by every legitimate mode and instrument, both for itself and for its beneficial effects upon the national and individual character; both for its own sake, and for its subserviency to the cause of religious and divine truth.

It fact, it has always appeared to us one of the most wonderful and benignant dispensations in the whole economy of providence, that God has indissolubly, and, if we may so speak, *by design*, connected knowledge with religion, and religion with knowledge, making each necessary to each, and both instruments of improving and perfecting each other. God, had he so pleased, might have formed religion as a thing resting on its separate evidence, a thing which should be "*like a star, and dwell apart*;" or He might have implanted religion as an immediate sentiment, a fixed impression, an inherent unchangeable instinct of our being, as natural to us as the affection of a mother for her offspring, or even as our self-love. But God, while he has indeed intertwined it with the fibres of the conscience, has rather caused it to spring up out of the development and exercise of all our mental and moral faculties. Whatever path of study we pursue, whether we stretch our thoughts along the universe, or penetrate into ourselves and scrutinize the complex mechanism of our own constitution; in objective science or in subjective; in astronomy or geology, or anatomy, or psychology; or in the affinities and relations which all investigations bear to all; still religion comes as *one result of the whole general inquiry*. *Religion grows with knowledge*: the more we understand of the creation, the more we must fall down in adoring reverence before the infinite wisdom and power of the Creator. Thus it is with natural religion;

and it is difficult to conceive, if all research as well as all primitive tradition were taken away—that is, in other words, all inferential and all *historical knowledge*—on what basis natural religion could rest. Let us look, too, at revealed. God might have given some perpetual revelation of himself and his government visible as the sun upon the face of heaven; or might have stamped it with his special signet upon the mind and heart of every individual among all the generations of mankind. But God has ordained otherwise. He has given a revelation to *particular persons*, and to particular persons by means of *words*. These words must be transcribed, must be explained, must be transmitted from understanding to understanding, and from age to age; and must be translated from one language into many and many others. Short-sighted as we are, we can discover in such a plan apparent blemishes and inconveniences, which, as we may fondly dream, it would have been easy to obviate. But at least we can imagine no other plan by which religion could have been so inseparably united with knowledge and intellectual activity. For how much knowledge, and how varied, thus becomes indispensable to religion! And if we turn to the actual facts, how has the revival of learning, how has the general enlightenment of European nations been identified with their Christianity! In short, as in the one case, God has made *religion the direct consequence of knowledge*, in the other, he has made *knowledge the direct consequence of religion*. What, then, must be the madness of those who would dissociate either knowledge from religion, or religion from knowledge! And again, we say, what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

Beautifully has the Psalmist exclaimed of truth in its unity, as emanating from the divine mind, "*Thy truth, most mighty Lord, is on every side.*" That all the rays of good converge to the same centre, that all forms of improvement are ultimately one; and that all the streams of knowledge come together with a beautiful confluence in the purified and fertilized heart;—this has been our firm and fond conviction from the earliest period that we could think or observe. Most especially we have nourished the belief, that religion is the crown and apex of the pyramid, and that all kinds of real knowledge and enlightenment may be its subsidiary ministers. They are not themselves the seed of righteousness and everlasting life, but they may be as the manure by which the soil is prepared for the reception of that seed: they are not perhaps the temple itself, but they may be as the vestibule, through which alone the temple shall be entered. We would, therefore, recommend the study of physical science and natural philosophy; because in familiarizing the mind with the wonderful structure,

and disposition, and adaptation of the materials of the universe, it must lead it upwards to the contemplation of the great Framer and Architect, at once humbling man and exalting him, by bidding him feel his own weakness and littleness in comparison with some wise and mighty Being, whose handwriting is legible on the vast tablet of nature. We would recommend the cultivation of polite literature, the study of poetry, of music, of painting, of all works either of fine genius or creative art, because they elevate the imagination, because they soothe and soften the heart, because they stimulate the moral affections, and may conduct us through the moral to the spiritual; because they carry us beyond the sphere of the circumscribed, the selfish, the mechanical, and the perishable, into that loftier expanse of the beautiful and the sublime, of the ideal, the infinite, and the eternal, in which religion has its source. We would recommend, generally, all intellectual occupations, because they at least tend to counteract some of our basest and most grovelling propensities, because they at least tend to detach us from those low and gross pursuits which demoralize, and sensualize, and brutalize the whole man, and must at last degrade him into an inferior animal, whose godlike properties are gone, and who is no longer capable of piety and virtue.

All knowledge, in short, if it deserves the name, besides being desirable for its own sake, may, we conceive, be instrumental to the purposes of religion, without being, in itself, directly religious: but such knowledge, we must allow, on the other hand, is still to be considered as ancillary and subordinate; and the fabric of vital religion can no more be built up in the heart without the special lessons and promises of revelation, than the arch can be built without the key-stone. All this, however, has been stated more eloquently as more authoritatively, in the words of Dr. Stanley. We would only add, that, here, the conclusions of all history are one. The annals of all communities give, if they be honestly questioned, the same answer. The experience of all men, in all ages, may assure us, that there may be talent, there may be eloquence, there may be knowledge, there may be genius, without a concern for man's immortal futurity: but there can be no wisdom:—for that the feelings of holy reverence and sublime anticipations are the true nurses of all courage, and all strength; of all prudence, and all magnanimity; of all comfort and all virtue. Who would not look with more confidence to the prospects of a nation, if it should base its laws and habits, its whole system of polity and manners, on the sanctions of religion, and not listen only to the voice of secular utility? Who would not have higher thoughts of the aristocracy, and gentry, and tradesmen of a realm, if they should take the everlasting Gospel for their guide,

and not consult only the oracles of worldly expediency or worldly science? Who would not entertain better hopes of the morals and the contentment, and even the temporal well-being of the humblest family among its peasantry, if the Bible and the Prayer-Book were seen lying in their cottage, and there were not found alone within its threshold the cheap magazine and the weekly newspaper?

Nevertheless, a special revelation uttering, on certain points, its fixed and solemn oracles; and, for the rest, the faculties and energies of man, spreading and ramifying their enquiries on every side, extending to all objects, and penetrating subjectively into themselves—diving into the bowels of the earth, and ascending to the clustered worlds of stars above us,—these mighty things must be joined and harmonized, while the proper office of each is assigned and understood. Christianity has nothing to fear, and nothing to suffer from the investigation, what part religion must have, fully and exclusively to itself, in evolving the improvement of mankind, what part it may consent to share with other agencies, and what part other agencies may claim for their own. Any such examination, dispassionately and comprehensively made, might be useful to the highest degree, in dispelling prejudices, and tranquillizing alarms. One religion may be jealous of other and erroneous faiths, as one God is jealous of other and false deities: but a true religion cannot entertain a jealousy of any other form of truth; and the noblest and most healthful employment of the human powers cannot entertain a jealousy of any other employment of them, also noble and healthful in its way.

Having thus animadverted on two immediate publications, and having been at some pains to prevent misconception by the re-statement of these leading principles, we would refer our readers to the sentences with which we started, and take up again the general subject of education, as it will soon present itself to the consideration of the country.

Where Bishop Stanley speaks of the incalculable and paramount importance of education, and represents it as the fulcrum and the lever of a nation's welfare, we feel every pulse of our heart beating in unison with his lordship's emphatic language. The assertion, in fact, if the matter be accurately considered, and if we know what education means, is almost a truism. If a nation be considered as carried on through successive generations, then, its laws, its religion, its literature, its philosophy, and its habits, are all but parts of its education. But, without pushing the signification of the term to any forced or unusual latitude, still the proposition is well nigh self-evident. Humanly speaking, man is, as he is trained to be. We say, humanly speaking, because

we would not be thought to mean, that education is omnipotent to change, or to perfect, the nature of man : but simply, that almost the whole which men can do for mankind, is by means of education. In nations, as in individuals, the produce is according to the planting and the tillage ; and unless the proper seed is sown, and the proper care is taken, from the strength and richness of the soil there will only result a crop more rankly luxuriant of noxious and venomous weeds. Nay, *more* must depend upon the course of *training*, in the case of nations, than in the case of individuals ; or, at least, the consequences will be more apparent in the national character ; because, when the mass comes to be taken into the account, the diversities of individual disposition neutralize each other, and leave the general result to be more entirely affected by general causes. Not only will the national mind take its hue, for the moment, from the circumambient atmosphere, as the sea takes its colour from the clouds that sweep across it, and reflect back the images which it has received ; but the nation itself will be framed and moulded by the lessons which it imbibes. Without a right education, a people will remain, of necessity, rude, ignorant, turbulent, ferocious ; with a positively wrong education, it can only be turned to false opinions and vicious courses ; and the trite old line will hold true of a whole community, as well as of any component part,

“ Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.

A tone is imparted, which can never be quite lost ; and the early culture tells wonderfully upon the subsequent character. Education must, from its very nature, be infinitely more powerful than laws. Laws may prevent, or punish, the outbreaks of evil ; education gives a positive bias and direction to the thoughts and feelings, as well as to the conduct. Laws can, at most, check the appearance of any hideous deformity : education moulds the shapes and features, the very structure and constitution of the moral being.

For our own parts, without advising compulsory education more than compulsory religion, or thinking that millions are to be driven to schools, by the fear of pains and penalties, more than they are to be driven to Church, we have always insisted that the offer, the opportunity, of education, should be afforded to every child born in the kingdom. While we have rejoiced at its spread, and its advancing tide, we have laboured to accelerate the speed, and increase the ratio of its progression. And although, within the last twenty years, much has been and is being done, still, while the statistics of the country at large, and even more of particular districts and localities, can present an awful surplus of the

whole population over the educated population, we cannot but again press upon Christian patriots this imperative and indispensable duty. While we see filth, and debasement, and self-abandonment to guilt and misery, walking abroad in the streets and thoroughfares of our cities, in the shapes of untaught and neglected children;—while we see, whether in our busiest towns or in our remotest villages, the shocking growth of low and animal propensities, where there is nothing to counteract them; while we see the poor and wretched notion, whether of vice or virtue, which the untutored mind must entertain; while we see the inability, either to procure an honest subsistence, or to withstand the temptations of idleness and penury, which is almost inseparable from all want of instruction, and the disposition to the grossest habits of drunkenness, of profligacy, and of sensuality, which are inevitably engendered by all want of intellectual resources; in a word—while we see the utter degradation of human nature, moral and even physical, of which complete ignorance is the parent and the nurse—we shudder at the mad criminality of those persons, be they who they may. who would stand between one boy or girl, one child, male or female, in the kingdom, and the blessings of a religious and useful education. Moreover, while we have laboured that education should be universal as to its recipients, we have also maintained, that, as to its subject-matter, the range should be enlarged. We have been solicitous, that not merely the implements of knowledge, such as the capacity of reading and writing, but that the essential truths and treasures of knowledge, should be furnished. We have urged the introduction of new books and new studies, such as history, geography, and the elements of natural philosophy, into our parochial schools. We have said our good word, be its value what it might, for educational societies, for cheap and useful publications; and we have done our utmost to place knowledge within the general reach, by lessening the expence of the forms in which it is conveyed, and by rendering its communication and circulation easy and rapid. And when men have sneered at the end of Lord Brougham's efforts,—for the means we are not now considering—or at the formation of mechanics' institutes, and societies for mutual instruction;—or at a greater variety of mental food being supplied for the popular digestion;—we have been compelled to sigh at their mistaken and mischievous narrow-mindedness, and could never consider them as judicious and serviceable friends to the Church of England.

It is true, that, in recommending the multiplication of schools, and the extension of instruction, we have never put religion out of our thoughts, as the root, the foundation, the living and per-

vading principle of all ennobling and exalting knowledge. Neither have we ever shrunk from advocating the claims of the National Establishment, as the great vehicle of teaching religion, and, while teaching religion, of also introducing and fostering other kinds of information as concomitant blessings.

At this conjuncture we would most explicitly declare, once again, the views which we have taken, stating what it is that we have advocated, and what it is that we have opposed. The sentiments of Churchmen on so vital a matter ought not, we think, at such a time, to be ambiguously expressed, or fairly liable to misconstruction; lest they should seem desirous, on the one side, to sacrifice established systems, which have been long in beneficial operation, to foreign and untried theories; or, on the other side, to censure, or resent, all interposition on the part of the government. Our voice, then, is, *as it has been*, altogether for education. Our cry is, *education at all events*; if it be possible, education, sanctioned indeed and supported by the government; but still education voluntary and unfettered, carried on by the community in its own behalf, grounded upon religion, and sanctioned by the Church; or, if that course be proved to be impracticable or inefficient, *then*, education undertaken by the government, exacting and performing for the nation what it is unwilling to do for itself. Our main position is, that State-Education may be the most eligible, under the given conditions of a country or an epoch, but that it is not the best of necessity, or *in se*: and that in England, as yet uncontinentalized, it is far wiser to enlarge upon the ancient foundations, and to add to the existing edifice, than to introduce a new style of educational architecture, which the progressive improvements of society will be sure to do away.

As to State-Education, we shall not go again over the ground, which we have traversed in many former articles. We shall simply, by way of refreshing the memory of our readers, state the results to which we came.

State-Education, we argued, is a *question of degree*; and it is a question *not of universal solution*. It must be determined, not upon abstract generalities, but according to the circumstances and exigencies of time and place. State-Education must be regulated by the need of a country, and also by its ability or inability, whether physical or intellectual, to supply that need for itself. It may be required, therefore, wholly, or in part. It may be required for one generation, and not for another. It may be necessary in one part of a large empire, while in another part of that same empire it may *not* be necessary. Nations, like individuals, may require to be instructed up to a certain point by the

wisdom and authority of rulers, or teachers ; but, when that point has been attained, when they have reached a just appreciation of the value of knowledge, as well as something of prudence and experience to direct their desire for it, then, *self-education*, whether in individuals or in nations, is by far the best and most effective of all. It brings out the whole powers and capacities with a far nobler and fuller development. It acquires most knowledge ; and it most improves the instrument by which knowledge is acquired. It has both an objective and subjective pre-eminence. On a contrary plan, the highest departments of study may be prohibited and interdicted ; and where the rulers of a country are to give the tone and direction to its studies, the intellectual activity of the mass may languish, and the national mind may fold its wings.

The Prussian system, for instance, is an enlightened despotism ; but it is a despotism nevertheless. It is even a worse tyranny than chains forged for the body, for it lays shackles on the mind. A country, accustomed to freedom, and trained in habits of mental independence, could not submit to it. An intellectual is nobler, perhaps, than a military *conscription* : Prussia has both : but England could not brook either the one or the other. Besides, in the inevitable progress of society, and when the mass of the people shall be almost as enlightened as the rulers, they will never leave to the decision of the State what kind, or what portion of knowledge, is to be administered. Wherefore it is that we distrust the policy of introducing into this kingdom an expensive and cumbrous machinery, which, from the natural tendency and growth of things, must ultimately be laid aside.

When the mechanics' institutes were first formed by Dr. Birkbeck, Lord Brougham, and others, it was expressly said that the intention was merely to launch them and set them afloat, leaving them afterwards entirely to the management of the mechanics themselves ; because the great secret of all permanent success was self-government. The reasoning which was then applied to the mechanics' institutes is also applicable to the nation at large. And if the success of the government scheme of education must still be said to be problematical in Ireland, it is to be remembered, that the circumstances of England are far less favourable to the experiment, as presenting far less to prove its necessity or its expediency ; while, if State-Education, in its fullest extent, belongs rather to a despotic kingdom, where the few are much more alert and enlightened than the many, Great Britain is perhaps, of all countries in the world, the least subject to either of these conditions.

Almost all the wonders which England has achieved, have been

achieved by the self-acting energies of a free and therefore enterprising people, under the liberal superintendence, but not the officious interposition or control, of the State. This has been the case even in matters of simple, mechanical, and therefore comparatively easy execution, which it might seem obvious for the government to undertake. The canals, which have struck their liquid path through our fields and vallies, the magnificent bridges which have spanned our rivers, the railroads which are now approximating the most remote towns of the kingdom, and the steam-navigation which, eventually, may almost bring hemispheres into contact, have originated in schemes not of the State, but of individuals or associations. The delivery of letters, the whole business of the Post-Office, was in the charge of individuals, until government found that it could make a profit. Or let us take another instance. England is confessedly the great colonizing country of the globe. Yet her marvellous colonies have been the work, not so much of the British government, as of trading companies or private adventurers. We may doubt whether, in such matters, the State has done enough in the way of central supervision and general consolidation;—whether, in fact, it has surveyed them in a sufficiently comprehensive and systematic light. But these things at least show the temper and bias of the nation. And thus the mighty work of education has hitherto been chiefly performed by individuals and societies, the State sometimes aiding by loan or grant, as it assists the completion of the Thames Tunnel. Let us take care, lest the solicitude which some evince to place education in the hands of the State, should be simply to take it out of the hands of the Church; first, to supersede the clergy of the Establishment, and, eventually, to discourage the educational exertions of all the other religious communities throughout the kingdom.

The magnitude, then, too of the task, in addition to the impracticability of *compulsion*, and the possible failure of the whole plan in the case of *non-compulsion*, is another reason why we hardly think that the State can take it in hand. They who contend that national education can be entirely managed by the government have not, we imagine, considered with sufficient comprehensiveness what it is that is intended by the term. We at least mean by it the whole formation of national and individual character; the whole training of the entire population, throughout all the ranks of society, and during the most important years of life; the moral, the intellectual, the industrial, and even the physical training. For without quite agreeing with the phrenologists, that by attention to the brain and skull, or, perhaps, by the early application of proper instruments, the child's propensities

may be altered, his head may be squeezed into rational and virtuous developments, as the Chinese change the shape and size of the foot; still we sincerely believe that, by a regard paid to the health and habits and exercises of the body, much benefit may accrue to the other portions of our complex being; and, again, that not merely by any barbarous compression or depression of the forehead, or, to speak more technically, of the frontal and coronal regions, but by other absurd, though civilized, modes of straining and torturing, as well by confinement and sloth, vast injury may be done to the mental and moral constitution. But is the government seriously and directly to undertake this multifarious charge in the case of every child in her Majesty's dominions? And, if not, does not the question remain, after all, a question of *degree*? For, otherwise, can the government think of doing all, or attempting, without a complete usurpation of authority, a complete confiscation of property, and a most despotic interference with the most sacred and tender relations of social and domestic existence?

And where is the work to stop? Where is the interposition to be ended? If the plan is brought into its fullest operation, there must be compulsion to bring the children to the schools, and there must be compulsion to keep them there. For how is the business to be completed, if they are to depart, as is generally the custom in agricultural countries, at the age of 10, or 11, or 12, or even much earlier, as may be the custom of manufacturing districts? Not merely the hours of labour must be regulated,—and even as to this matter, comparatively so simple and so pressing, the government has experienced the difficulty of legislating,—but the destination of children, and the time of entering into any trade or active occupation, must, in consistency, be squared to the scheme of state-instruction; and an arbitrary system must be carried into practice throughout the realm, more calculated for the meridian of Russia than of England, more fitted for Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, than for the administration of a free country.

Yet, as all government is, to a certain extent, a restriction upon individual liberty, we might submit to these invasions, if we could really believe that commensurate blessings would attend them. But we are persuaded, on the contrary, that any universal and therefore iron scheme of State-education would be most adverse to the national progress in true knowledge and enlightenment. State-education, so conducted, must be a monstrous monopoly; and from a monstrous monopoly might degenerate into a gigantic job. The advantages of competition would be lost; the spring, the elasticity, the energy of individuals,

would be at best sadly impaired. There would be awful omissions, fatal to the harmony and completeness of education. Some subjects, such as positive religion, for instance, would be passed over in silence; other subjects, such as politics and political economy, would be put to the rack, and wrested to the particular bias of prince or party. Those principles only would be allowed to be taught which were palatable and favourable to the ruling power. Thus, in one country despotic principles would be perpetuated, because engraven more and more deeply into the popular thoughts by the chisel of arbitrary sway; and it might even happen, from the factions which were lacerating another country, that anti-conservative, anti-religious, and anti-social principles would be instilled into the rising generation by the power of the state. Even national education might be made a political engine, and converted into an instrument of party domination.

Some of these consequences would be immediately apparent; others, of course, would be invisible, and almost dormant, for a time. At first, indeed, a vast increase of knowledge might seem suddenly to spring up; a vast impetus might seem to be communicated to the universal education of the people. But ultimately, we are convinced, the case would be altogether different; and, even though the character of the interposition might be in itself mild and enlightened, the over-ruling and all-pervading influence of the government would lie, like a leaden weight, upon the play and expansion of the general intelligence. Wherefore, again and again we argue, it may be much that a government should think and act wisely and energetically for a people; but it is far better that a whole people should think and act wisely and energetically for themselves.

We much doubt, too, whether the most enlightened and improved schemes of education are likely to be adopted, if the work is conducted by the government of the country. That it would be inundated by a variety of plans and projects we have no question. But improvements in education are matters, first of philosophical inquiry, and then of practical experiment. But a government can seldom afford to try experiments. A government in a *free* country, for we would here take the hypothesis that despotism is impracticable, cannot dictate to a nation, nor can it far outstep the taste and enlightenment of the age; it must rather follow in its track. Philosophy must be the pioneer of legislation. And in theory, we think, the nation should give the tone to the government, rather than the government to the nation. The government should be the mirror and representative of the national will. And thus, on the whole, although many obvious fa-

cilities, and many immediate advantages would attend upon the scheme of education by the state, they would be more than counterbalanced, in the long run, by the difficulties and inconveniences.

But the reasons which seem to forbid, in England, one colossal and universal system of State-education, we were not to detail at any length. We were only to refer to a few of them, more by way of exposition than of argumentation. We would specify, then, the necessity of consulting the genius and the history, the past and present constitution and condition of a people; the danger of reasoning from one country to another, where the circumstances present many more features of difference than of agreement; as, for instance, from Prussia to Great Britain; the folly of transplanting exotic institutions into an uncongenial soil; the charlatanism of enforcing one general remedy, without considering whether the state of the patient is such as to bear the application; the mischief of forgetting how very much depends upon the preparedness, or unpreparedness, of a nation for receiving the system which is proposed. We may specify, again, the imminent peril of stopping, or throwing into utter confusion, a multitude of existing arrangements, of subverting or dislocating plans already at work,—more especially when, in a national Church, we have the best machinery for effecting a national education; the manifest insecurity of carrying the several streams which now from numerous fountains flow throughout the land into one mighty channel, or reservoir, which, on some sudden emergency, may be diverted and dried up; of, in short, making national education as a body with one neck, placing it at the mercy of a majority in either House of Parliament, and rendering its supplies liable to be discontinued or diminished. And do not recent events in our Colonial Church attest that this is no imaginary danger at a period of financial embarrassment, or of unwise and excessive parsimony? We may specify, too, the at least apparent injustice, if revenues, either private or corporate, are to be grasped, of seeming to begin with spoliation, to do evil in order that good may come; nor should we think that it could be an agreeable reflection with the hottest champions of education by the government, that the opposite party fixes its main reliance upon voluntary contributions, and resources already provided; but that *they* would have chief recourse to taxation by the state, or to the seizure and employment of funds, certainly not quite in accordance with their original destination.

Much, indeed, that is said on this subject appears to us but to exemplify that very favourite figure of speech which is called the *non sequitur*. That many and great improvements, for instance,

are requisite in the pedagogic art; that good normal schools may be of extreme utility; that the system of Bell and Lancaster is quite incapable of producing the wonders which were long expected from it, and predicated concerning it; and that the abstract optimism, or superior excellence, of the plan of boys teaching boys, or children teaching children, is a radical fallacy; although such a mode of tuition may, under given circumstances, be the most advisable, because the cheapest and most practicable;—all these positions may be allowed, without the conclusion, as a necessary inference, that the State is to be the universal pedagogue of the empire, or to take upon itself the enormous task of educating, or directly superintending the education of all classes and both sexes of the community. The scheme thus carried to the utmost extent of its principle is rather, we might contend, on the positions recently assumed, a disarrangement or reversal of the right order of things, which may be fatal to the real liberties and the intellectual advancement of a free, civilized, and enlightened people. With such a people, the part of a *government* may be to *represent*, and not to *train*, or *dictate*, the popular sentiments. It may be the will, or opinion, of the nation which is to determine the government, not the government which is to *form the opinions* of the nation. The very attempt, if made by the executive government, may be tyranny, whatever name, or form, it may assume; while it is a quite different matter that the nation should educate itself, partly through the means and facilities afforded by its executive government. Much more might be said; but we will not stray into any wide field of invidious observations about creating national education as a rival institution which is to supersede a national Church, or as an *instrument* to promote the views of a particular class of politicians and theorists.

Indeed we have urged, long ago, the incompatibility of a state Church, based upon one principle, with a State-education based upon another principle. And God forbid that we should live to see the Church and the State set in hostile array against each other; that is, Church-schools and State-schools planted, in opposition each to each, in every town throughout the kingdom. God forbid that we should see religion and education set up as antagonist principles, and made the war-cry of antagonist parties!

But, if we are to have either a State-Church, or a State-education, and cannot well have both together, the choice, we think, under the circumstances of the British Empire, is easily made. Nay, a State-Church we *already have*; it is interwoven with our constitution, our habits, and our history. But a State-education, such as we have been supposing, would be in this country an innovation and a derangement; and, at best, it would be madness

to sacrifice the good which we have to the good which we hope to have. Again, a Church may be adopted by the State, because the matters which it adopts are few and simple; because the main doctrines of a Church, founded on the revealed Gospel, are, in themselves, perfect and complete; not properly admitting of change or improvement, but stable as the mind of God himself. The justification of the Thirty-Nine Articles is to be found in the fixedness of religion. But education, on the contrary, cannot be comprised in a few categorical statements: it is made up of an infinite variety of ever-shifting ingredients. Education is not a stationary, but a progressive, thing: it is a theory, at present, confessedly imperfect and incomplete; and it is capable of perpetual alteration and improvement. The adoption of a specific education by the State is, therefore, an entirely different matter from the adoption of a specific creed. Godwin asks, in a quotation which we borrow at second-hand, from the first number of the *New York Review, and Quarterly Church Journal*, "Who has authority to make laws,—to exercise that tremendous faculty of prescribing to the rest of the community what they are to perform and what avoid? Legislation, as it has been usually understood, is not an affair of human competency. Law tends, no less than creeds and catechisms, to fix the mind in a stagnant condition, and to substitute a principle of permanence in the room of that increasing perfection which is the only salubrious element of the mind." Now, what is manifestly extravagant, though not altogether false, as to law, may be almost true, we think, as to State-education. And certainly State-education might tend, infinitely more than creeds and catechisms, to fix the mind in a stagnant condition.

Nor is the state of the case, as far as the Church is concerned, always rightly or exactly understood. The Church is not, as Education would be, the creature of the State. The Church did not, in the main, derive its revenues from the State. The Church did not, properly speaking, take its Articles from the State. Its doctrine and its Liturgy were determined by itself, although connected with the State, or adopted and authorized by the State. A State-Church, then, such as ours, is no precedent for a State-education such as we are supposing; and the one is far more independent than the other could ever be.

If, then, religion is a fixed, and education a progressive thing; if there is a vast and manifest difference between the knowledge which comes down to man with authority, and the knowledge to which man ascends by discovery and induction, a government must be, on that account, even less competent to compass the direct and entire management of education than of religion.

The problem, too, we say again, is one of which the solution must be modified by times and places. The State is rather to do what cannot be done without it; nor does it lose any particle of its dignity, even if it should appear to be the accessory and not the principal. When the few are far beyond the many in all that constitutes the highest improvements and excellences of human character, then, perhaps, the ministers of a nation may be alone capable of instructing the nation at large. But as wisdom and enlightenment are more equably diffused, and we approach the ultimate or philosophical state of society, there the supreme controul of a State-education would be the most oppressive and injurious of anomalies; that is, if all education was to be pared and adjusted to one particular form, or *norma*; if the State was to be the sole arbiter what subjects should be taught, what knowledge should be administered or withheld, what books should be used, and into what shape instruction should be thrown. Or, if it be contended, that the State should provide for education in certain matters, and up to a certain point, leaving the rest to the instrumentality of individuals, even this plan, with its concomitant disruptions and exclusions, is attended by many and most serious disadvantages, although preferable to more imposing and despotic projects, and, perhaps, in some cases, enforced by stringent and undeniable necessity. Our inference, on the whole, is, that the government of a country should content itself, at the utmost, to be like the general of an army,—not pretending to fight the whole battle with a single hand; but overlooking the entire field; sending aid where, and how, and in proportion as it is needed, directing succour where the danger is most pressing, the force least adequate to the exigency, and the success in most hazard of being lost.

Yet we shall not here enter into the general question, whether, according to the social compact by which men bind themselves into citizenship, the functions of government are merely preventive or protective, or how far they are active and positive. There are some who would degrade the government into merely a higher kind of administrative and punitive police, and who would maintain that it can properly regard only the political and social relations of mankind, but has very little to do with their domestic concerns, and nothing at all with their individual. Others see the impossibility of drawing any exact line of demarcation between these several relations, and argue that government is bound to interfere in all that has *any* tendency, whether to promote or to retard, to confirm or to disturb, the peace, welfare, and good order of the community. But the subject is far too vast and complicated for cursory and incidental notice. We are

content to say, that, as to the present subject, three alternatives may be supposed.' The first is, that the rulers of a kingdom should remain indifferent and unconcerned about the instruction and improvement of its population; the second is, that the government should, forcibly and directly, take the whole matter of instruction and improvement upon itself: the third is, that the state should stimulate and encourage instruction and improvement, without assuming any arbitrary or summary jurisdiction, and without dispossessing the present occupants and performers of the business. The mode in which we have stated these alternatives, may show to which of them we incline; and so, we need scarcely declare our opinion, that the intermediate plan is the most philosophical in itself, and by far the best adapted to the actual condition of this part of the empire.

We re-assert, therefore, that while we more than doubt whether the government can do all, we by no means argue that the government should do nothing. It may do a vast deal, statistically and synoptically;—by the collection of facts, and the collation of opinions. It may demand returns, and publish them. It may and it should, present, from time to time, the entire statistics of the empire, in a systematic and comprehensive, a clear and accessible form;* instead of doling out particular items as they happen to be exacted by some busy member of parliament. How various and important is the information, which the people have an interest in knowing; which only the government can furnish in a connected and authentic shape; and the communication of which appears to us as plainly a duty on the one part, as it would be a benefit on the other. If the requisite details were once given as to education, the good already accomplished would animate men to fresh exertions in the cause; and the deficiencies, once known and exhibited, might be supplied; nay, from many reasons, would help to supply themselves. Publicity is the most powerful of engines, not merely to rectify abuses, but to fill up omissions. A good *Education Report* would be invaluable.

But the government might do more: it might foster education by many immediate and active measures. It might co-operate with individual zeal and liberality. It might, and it should, afford grants of money, as localities were impoverished, or benevolent associations were over-tasked. It might receive and encourage new plans and models of instruction; and it might aid, by its countenance, and by its funds, in the establishment of new schools, and new kinds of schools, for the various classes of

* France, Belgium, and other nations on the continent, are fast out-running us in the race of statistical science. We hardly seem, as individuals, and still less as a people, to feel and appreciate its value. Even the first report published in France, under the direction of the minister of commerce and public works, ought to put us to shame.

the community:—some of which, perhaps, are still neglected, even amidst all the efforts of a strenuous and enlightened philanthropy. The direct good might be immense: and it is, moreover, unquestionable, that the establishment of new schools, or educational institutions, may be a most efficacious method of improving the old. There is no reason why we should hesitate to confess, that the formation of a metropolitan university may, in one way, have a salutary effect upon Oxford and Cambridge. The establishment, again, of King's College, and the proprietary schools in connection with it, has without doubt given a spur and fillip to the old public schools of the kingdom, in quickening their energies, and enlarging their sphere of study. And, instead of seizing the funds of the ancient grammar-schools, and converting them to fresh uses under hostile auspices, place, or talk of placing, new institutions by their side; and the most neglected and inefficient of them will soon begin to shake and resuscitate, and expand themselves: for the shock of such a battery will electrify them into life and vigour. And thus a stirring emulation will spring up, useful, perhaps, as between different sections of the community, though most injurious as between Church and State.

But these things, it may be urged, cannot be accomplished on a scale sufficiently large, or a system sufficiently complete, without some degree of centralization and unity, and without having some minister, or board of public instruction. Be it so. Right principles being ascertained, we do not see that any question which relates to the most effective machinery for bringing them to bear, need be a ground of quarrel. We have no objection to such a minister,* provided he shall not pretend to be the one universal instructor of the kingdom, or to such a board, provided its province is understood, its prerogatives are defined, and due limits are set to its authority. There are suggestions now lying before us, for a *statistical board*, for a board of public improvement, or a social improvement society, which shall have for its object to receive and collect plans of amelioration and utility,—which should publish, at its own expense, such as should seem

* The expediency of having a minister of public instruction depends, we should say, upon the powers with which he is entrusted. As an officer forming a connecting link between the government and the country, and holding a *bureau* of central communication and general intercourse; as the *visitor*, for statistical purposes, not merely of naval and military schools, with which the government is more immediately connected, but of all public seminaries and educational establishments; as a collector of educational facts, and a depository of suggestions relative to education, with a view to the supply of deficiencies, and the extension of benefits, we might hail with pleasure the appointment of such a functionary;—but *not* as the *schoolmaster-general* of the British dominions.

to merit publication; or, at least, should give a conspectus of their leading features and character; and which, generally, should be somewhat like a patent office, the depository and disseminator of schemes tending to augment the virtue, and wisdom, and happiness of mankind.

For ourselves, without pretending to decide on the practicability or expediency of any project such as this, and, certainly, without advocating the centralization to one place or one body, of all activity and all power, we are yet of opinion, that a philosophical connection, or unity, is the great want of the age. Knowledge, in its first stage, is faint and weak, and confined to a very few spots of the intellectual horizon. In its second stage it becomes multifarious, but fragmentary:—a miscellaneous, unmapped, unsorted heap, which men seize piecemeal, or in scraps. This is the stage, through which we are even now passing. Researches are extended; sciences are multiplied; but their results are still, for the most part, thrown before us, if we may venture on the comparison, like a multitude of cards, not in packs or suits, but singly and almost at random. It remains, for the third stage, that knowledge should be grouped as well as increased; that it should be regarded and pursued in its unity; and that the whole field of observation and action should be recognized and exhibited as one magnificent whole, made up of an infinite diversity of parts, all related and allied, mutually serviceable and reciprocally dependent. For this purpose, as for others, there must be both a combination of principles and a co-operation of agents:—but we pause, lest our ardour should hurry us beyond the threshold of a mighty disquisition, where we should have no time, even if we possessed the ability, to penetrate and find our way into its recesses and treasure-chambers.

We return, then, to the matter of education, which alone is our immediate business. If we were asked whether an English government ought to take any part in the work of national education, we should undoubtedly answer in the affirmative: if we were asked whether it ought to interfere wholly and exclusively, so as to paralyze other energies, or to leave no place for them, we should as undoubtedly answer in the negative. There is a middle and less ambitious path, in which it is at once safer and more profitable to tread. And if any administration should approach the subject with broad and ample, and yet well-defined and judicious views, and endeavour to settle it at once on a statesman-like and philosophical basis, embracing the abstract principles, yet knowing how to apply them to the state of the question as it exists practically among ourselves; not servilely imitating France or Prussia, or seeking to introduce parallel institutions where the

circumstances are by no means parallel; yet alive to the universal necessity and even sacredness of the object; not refusing to hold out to national education the open hand of pecuniary beneficence; yet not superseding or supplanting or despoiling, not stopping up private supplies, or making education entirely dependent on that branch of the legislature which retains the purse-strings of the nation: if any administration should do this, it may earn for itself a wreath of deserved and durable renown, which we at least shall have no inclination to withhold.

In conclusion, we have to express our earnest wish, that whatever shall be determined by the legislature when the matter is regularly introduced, may be determined for the solid, permanent, and highest benefit of the empire. The determination being made, we, in our humble sphere, instead of seeking to interpose petty impediments, shall endeavour to assist its operations for good. Political partizanship will not stand in our way; for we are persuaded, that to be a Conservative or to be a Reformer is in the proper acceptation of the terms to be the same thing; and, in one sense, as being firm believers in the progress of society, though not altogether in the perfectibility of man, we may be said even to belong to the party of the movement. Our single aim, we can conscientiously and solemnly declare, is, that the agency of the legislative principle, and of the voluntary principle, of the state and of the Church, of government, of associations, and of individuals, should all be put forth in the justest proportions, and by the most useful methods; and that the distinction should be observed between the state evincing an anxiety real, practical and influential, that the people should be educated, and the state undertaking of itself to educate the people. The subject, too, which we have been briefly examining, is one on which, from its very grandeur and comprehensiveness and complexity, reflecting and conscientious men may be expected to differ; but it is also one, we repeat, upon which, on the same account, they ought to differ without painful exhibitions of violence, or bitterness. There is besides this mutual, or rather common ground of agreement, that they may concur in hailing and promoting national education as among the noblest of human blessings; in ascertaining intellectual wants; in exciting the thirst for knowledge; and in striving that all may not only have the offer and opportunity, but also enjoy and estimate the transcendant advantages of instruction.

- ART. X.—1. *Remarks on the Ecclesiastical Condition of the United Kingdom.* By David Robinson, Esq. London: T. & W. Boone. 1837.
2. *History of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.* By Lord Mahon. Vol. II. London: Murray.
3. *An Address to the Members of the Church of England, both Lay and Clerical, on the Necessity of Placing the Government of the Church in the hands of Members of its own Communion.* By the Rev. John Warren, M.A. Chancellor of Bangor, and Rector of Graveley, Cambridgeshire; late Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. Cambridge: Stevenson. Huntingdon: Eddis. 1837.
4. *A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, April, 16th, 1837, at the Consecration of the Right Rev. Edward Lord Bishop of Salisbury.* By J. Endell Tyler, B.D. Rector of St. Giles in the Fields. Printed by Hansard.

IF any one subject can deserve, beyond all others, the attention of the legislator, the divine, the statistical inquirer, the philosophical historian, and the practical philanthropist, it is the ecclesiastical condition of the United Kingdom. And a work, adequately written, which should enter sufficiently into its details, and yet grasp and establish its fundamental principles; which, instead of being a mere bundle of piece-meal considerations, should comprehend it in its unity as a whole, and properly dispose the variety of its parts, would be amongst the noblest and most useful contributions to the literature of the age. For ourselves, this mighty investigation, in most of its principal bearings, is forced upon our notice by the very nature of our labours. But we, as reviewers, at once circumscribed by space, hurried by the necessity of a quarterly appearance, and interrupted by the pressure of many distractions, can give but broken and partial glimpses after all: we can only present here a little and there a little; and, therefore, we must be earnestly and perpetually looking out for some solid, durable and standard production, which may furnish us with an opportunity, both of cordially affording our general commendation, and of urging upon our readers the particular points about which we are most anxious.

Hence we saw, with satisfaction, the announcement of Mr. Robinson's publication in the newspapers; and when we surveyed the goodly looks of the volume, and held its imposing thickness in our hands, we proceeded to open its pages with a peculiar in-

terest. We rejoiced also to find the matter undertaken by a layman, free from any professional restrictions, and unswayed by any professional bias. Our feeling, however, on a careful perusal, has been one, we must confess, of blank and woeful disappointment.

Our expectations, probably, were extravagant. We thought rather of what we wished to see done, than of what might reasonably be anticipated. We overlooked the circumstance that Mr. Robinson only professed, in his title-page, to give "*Remarks on the Ecclesiastical Condition of the Kingdom*;" and, again, that he was as fully at liberty as ourselves to carry these remarks to any part of the subject which he chose, and to cover with them just so much of its area as might suit his fancy.

Still it may be of use to state what our expectations were from a volume in which we looked for an account of the "*Ecclesiastical Condition of the Kingdom*." As we have expressed our opinion that such a volume, if accurately and adequately composed, would be a great and important undertaking, we imagined that it would constitute a philosophical contemporaneous history of the religion of the land. We expected, among other things,

1st. The *Statistics* of Religion. We expected some statement of the relative number of Churchmen and Dissenters, compiled from the best and most authentic sources; and we should have been glad to see not merely the *numerical*, but also the *economical* and *moral* statistics; as, for instance, a comparison of the wealth, the intelligence, the moral character, the religious efforts and sacrifices, of the two parties respectively: and the ratio of their comparative increase or decrease, past, present, and prospective. Again, as we looked for a view of the case as between Churchmen and Dissenters, including the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics, so we looked also for a view of it as between the Church and the community at large, including its careless, profane, and irreligious members. We expected some measurement of the amount of Church accommodation and Church ministrations, regarded in their proportion or disproportion as means to an end; and, generally, of the extent of the ecclesiastical apparatus of the kingdom, both positively and comparatively estimated; so that we might judge whether, humanly speaking, the moving power is at all adequate to the masses which are to be put in motion; whether there is a battery of sufficient power to break down the opposing forces of infidelity, impiety, and profligacy; a sufficient machinery to teach, and guide, and moralize the population, and lead them through temporal improvement to eternal happiness.

2. Moreover, as we expected a concise view of the general posi-

tion of the Church, and the feelings of the people towards it, we expected also some systematic account of its internal condition and of the state of parties within itself; some examination of doctrines and discipline, with a notice of discordant opinions and conflicting modes of action.

3. Farther, as we must confess, we expected some distinct and specific mention of the *political*, or *national*, aspect of the Church within these realms; of the course of imperial legislation adopted in its concerns; and of its momentous relations with the government of the country.

4. Hence, too, both in its dependence on the political aspect, and likewise in its separate bearing, we expected some remarks on the *Parochial* or *Local System* of the Church; on the influences which are now tending, whether to cement or to loosen, to strengthen or to disturb it; on the new territorial divisions which recent laws are introducing, and the effects which are likely to result; and, again, on the formation and working of parochial institutions, whether religious, or charitable, or economical and provident.

5. So, also, we expected a detailed inquiry into the state of Education in connection with the Church, undertaken with reference to all the classes of society; and, again, into the relations existing between the Church of the country and the literature, science and general intelligence of the country.

6. Yet, again, we might have expected, for otherwise any observations on the ecclesiastical condition of a kingdom must be lamentably incomplete, a survey of the *Church-Societies*, and other religious Associations, not immediately connected with the Church; both regarding them together in the mass, and pursuing each separate Society through its distinctive field of operations.

7. We might, also, have hoped, that the investigation would have been carried into the foreign possessions of the British empire; the resources of religious ministration and instruction provided for our gigantic colonies: the ecclesiastical condition of the East and West Indies, of the Canadas and Newfoundland, of the Cape of Good Hope, and other African settlements, of Malta and the Ionian Isles, and the vast region opened to our zeal in South Australia.

Yet, notwithstanding these deficiencies of plan, Mr. Robinson, if he had possessed more skill in book-making, or had managed with more dexterity the arrangement and distribution of his materials, might have produced a striking work. With no scholarship, no symptoms of extensive reading of any kind, his volume has much spirit in it, and some talent. The style, if sometimes blunt and homely, is, on the whole, terse, racy, energetic and direct:

there is the mighty charm of absence of mannerism and affectation; and the writer is evidently in earnest. Still, in its present form, the book is well-nigh unreadable. It is a thick affair of four hundred and sixty-eight pages, without chapters, divisions, or compartments of any description whatsoever. Mr. Robinson starts off at speed, and rushes forward without a halt from beginning to end. So that he fairly runs us out of breath. He is like a man, who should scamper through Europe without once stopping to bait or change horses. We really cannot follow him at this rate. We are unable to traverse so much ground without a resting-place; but we long occasionally to pause, that we may just consider whereabouts we are. The author, too, may be assured, that this want of all intervals, while it is most fatiguing to the reader, is most unfavourable to himself. It gives his work the appearance of a wilderness, instead of a diversified country, surveyed and parcelled out, where we can travel from stage to stage. It seems to involve us in a tangled sameness, where we have to encounter at once the monotony of an immense plain, and the intricacies of an enormous jungle.

To select the best extracts from such a book would be, we need not say, a most troublesome, if not impracticable, operation. We can pretend to do little more than plunge into it almost at random; tolerably sure, however, that, wherever we dive, we shall bring up pretty nearly the same substance. Our citations will at least show, that Mr. Robinson is no friend to Roman Catholics or Sectarians.

“I think the foes of religion could scarcely wish its state to be worse than it is. We have indeed a dazzling surface; the outside of the cup and platter is without speck—the sepulchre is painted and adorned to a nicety. Such a flourish is made respecting schools, Bible societies, and missionaries—such lamentations are uttered over the benighted and lost condition of all other nations, that a stranger might mistake us for a race of angels. But what lies under all this? Even more than the Son of God charged on the Pharisees. Religious bodies fill the land with wrangling and warfare, not to convert sinners, but to gain booty and captives. The contest between ministers really is, to carry off the treasures and flocks of each other—to win the rich—to acquire dignity, wealth and power. The poor, separated from the clergy, are almost as much separated from Protestant dissenting ministers: the godless have no teachers.”—pp. 195, 196.

“If the government establish schools, it is in a great measure disabled for causing the Scriptures to be used, and religion to be taught, in them by the jealousies and animosities of ministers of religion. If it wish to give places of worship to the destitute, it finds an insurmountable obstacle in ministers of religion. If it seek to suppress licentious and blasphemous instruction, it meets the most bitter opponents in ministers of religion.

“ At a certain season of the year, evangelical Christians of all kinds, ministers and laymen, men, women and children, throng to London from all parts, in order, as they say, to promote the cause of religion. The same London contains, in this quarter, seventy, and in that ninety, thousand souls, destitute of the means of public worship ; more than a million of its inhabitants are in such destitution, which is one also of pastoral care. Well, those evangelical Christians are doubtlessly shocked beyond description by such a state of things, and in the way of remedy, lavish effort and money without measure ? No, they cannot deign to notice it. They discover, by very far-fetched information, that a few hundreds of Hottentots in one distant part of the globe, and a few thousand of New Zealanders in another, require missionaries—that money must be found to support the schools and ministers of India—that Bibles must be distributed in this foreign nation, and tracts in that ; but they can discover, with their own eyes, no lack at home, amidst the multitudes who stand before them and crowd the place in which they move. By sound of trumpet, they hold public meetings to compass such objects, but the pious appeal, the melting solicitation, the mention of command and bond—the generous donation, are confined to the foreign heathen ; the poor domestic heathen scarcely get a fragment. Two or three societies indeed pay some attention to the latter, but it is by street preaching, books, lay-visiting—any thing rather than the effectual means, places of worship and pastors.

“ Well, surely, if those evangelical Christians will do nothing for the destitute multitudes of their countrymen, they cannot be so far estranged from Christian feeling and human sympathy, as to do any thing against them. Let no man trust in religious profession. Here are thousands of souls in one place, tens of thousands in another, and hundreds of thousands in a third, thus destitute, and immersed in the consequent depravity. Mention the only practicable resource—let government speak of supplying their needs, and lo ! it is absolutely prohibited and incapacitated for so doing, by the dissenting part of those evangelical Christians. The Englishman is to perish from lack of the bread of life, while it is to be forced on foreigners in the most distant parts of the world against their will.”—p. 197—199.

“ Your Papist priest, rendered more daring in iniquity by the progress of civilization, rises above all his ancestors ever ventured on in the darkest ages. He deals no longer in the idle thunder of excommunicating kings ; he deposes his Majesty without notice, and mounts the throne himself by kicking down the whole fabric of law. He now disdains tardy judicial processes, and the few scattered victims who cannot be reached without some formality of evidence ; his decrees are his tribunals, a nation is his executioner, and he cuts off the heretics in the gross. He seizes the property of the Church, plunges her clergy into starvation, and banishes the laity by lighting in every quarter the flame of robbery, assassination and anarchy. With such a brilliant example before him, your Calvinistic minister, in his principal dissenting varieties, exhibits in the blaze of knowledge a more grim visage and a darker scowl ; the march of intellect has only rendered his tongue more fiery and his spirit more

barbarous. Although he now descends to the conviviality of public tea-drinking, it only makes him more unsocial and morose ; tea, instead of weakening the body and chastising the mind, seems to operate on him as a different liquid is reputed to do on other men. His civil and religious liberty, reformed by Irish instruction, can only know laws of his own enacting, and tolerate such rivals as his clemency may spare.”—pp. 246, 247.

“ We are not to infer from these appalling and mournful details, that ministers of religion are worse than other men, but we are to assure ourselves that they are no better. Like all other men, they draw character and conduct from profession and circumstance. Appointed only to teach, they imagine they are to rule. Calling themselves God’s ministers, they mistake themselves for his substitutes ; they think they occupy his throne on earth, and are to be obeyed like him. They make their will and profit his. Offences against them, they deem offences against him. To reject their fallacious opinions, is in their eyes to deny his revelations. They go to extremes which other men dare not think of, because they profess to do all things for him, and by his command. Wrapped up in the sanctity of their office, and accustomed to reverence and implicit obedience, they regard all who oppose them, as blasphemous sinners and rebels. Rendered sensitive, enthusiastic, inflammable and violent by seclusion and the nature of their studies, they can tolerate no equal, listen to no counsel, and bear no contradiction ; moreover, they must do every thing in heat and fanaticism. When they are placed above the ruler’s authority, they are made a lawless body, having at command the whole, or great part of a nation. They use such power as all other men do, to aggrandise themselves as far as possible ; but from their peculiarities of occupation, character and interest, they use it in a much more baleful manner than other men.

“ Conclusive demonstration is supplied by the history of religious ministers, that their errors and crimes always flowed from their independence of civil government, and exclusive authority over religious matters.”—pp. 95, 96.

In many places, indeed, of the book, we have to thank Mr. Robinson for his strenuous and hearty defence of the Church of England. He may allege, that the Papist party prompts the Radical one in its most important proceedings, and commands it in its own. Our feeling may be that, of the two, the Radical party rather governs the Papist party ; that the junction is an *accident* ; and that Voluntaryism is stronger and more dangerous than Popery. But Mr. Robinson and ourselves are agreed, that the Church of England is really the mildest and most tolerant of all religious communions ; that it is now labouring under peculiar disadvantages, and that it must be resolutely supported against all its foes. He even says—

“ Were I to speak merely as a religious man for the benefit of the Church only, I should equal the loudest in calling for her separation

from the State, from the reason, that her establishment amounts to nothing more, than her subjection to it. I should say, by this, break our chains and liberate our hands—then let our enemies do their utmost ! But I am the friend of civil good and equal right, therefore I wish my pastor and myself to be duly controlled by my sovereign. It is because I am so, as well as to obtain what my sovereign owes to me and my faith, that I insist on the extension to the dissenters, of the restrictions and disabilities which rest on churchmen.”—p. 239.

“ Enable the government to prevent Papist and Protestant ministers, as well as the clergy, from meeting to deliberate on any matter without its sanction—to restrict dissenters of all kinds, as well as churchmen, from being formed into treasonable and ungovernable combinations. Give it the power, which it possesses in one way or another over the clergy, to exclude any Papist, or other dissenting minister, of bad political character, from influential trusts, and keep all from pernicious intermeddling with politics. Endow it with the right to suppress vicious regulations and guilty laws in the chapel as well as church. And give it authority to prohibit as effectually Papist and other dissenting ministers from meeting, combining and acting, to deprive the church of possession and existence, as it prohibits the clergy from doing the same against the chapel.”—p. 240.

But while we applaud his zeal and admire his sincerity, we cannot but be of opinion that he is betrayed, by his warmth, into inconsistencies and extravagances. Is the spirit of the following quotation quite reconcilable with the foregoing ?

“ The government of England is allied with no sect. It is only united to a religion framed by its own direction, which declares that no man shall be required to believe what is not contained in, or cannot be proved by, the Holy Scriptures, that the church as one is liable to error, and that the King has supreme authority in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters. While it is bound to maintain this religion, it is empowered to regulate it, and to govern both the clergy and laity.

“ It is no more allied with the clergy, than with the judges, or the officers of the army. It created them and defined their powers ; it rules them according to law. They are compelled to subscribe and adhere to the religion, but they have no authority over it as masters ; they are as much restricted from changing it in any particular, as the dissenters. They and the civil servants of the State are under regulations, similar in principle.

“ Laymen form no sect, for they even are not required to subscribe to the religion, nor recognised as a separate religious body ; they differ as widely from each other, as from the dissenters. The religion in its rites and uses is open to the dissenters and them equally ; government makes no distinction.

“ This then, in plain language, is the Church of England. The civil ruler employs ministers to teach the religion of the Bible and it alone, disavowing as essentials all sectarian doctrines. They are under his control, and they are to teach the whole population alike. The people

are free from test and bond, they are left to their own judgment; means of instruction and worship are provided for them, but the churchman is no more pledged to the national faith, or armed with power over it, than the dissenter."—pp. 175-6.

Mr. Robinson does not enter upon the topics of divine commission and apostolical succession:—neither shall we. He makes his remarks, as we have said, in a spirit not of the slightest hostility, but, on the contrary, of kindness and attachment towards the Church. He holds the ministers of the different seceding communions to be worse than the regular clergy, because they are more independent of the state; and would have the whole religion of the country connected with the secular government, not as with a co-ordinate, but with a superior authority, in order that it may be regulated, coerced, and tied down by its control. To a certain extent, this mode of reasoning may be sound; yet it is one, which, unless it be employed with the utmost discrimination and caution, becomes extremely perilous to all parties. Mr. Robinson is hardly equal to his argument:—he is like a man with a large, inconvenient, two-handed sword, too ponderous, if not too sharp, for him to manage; and as he whirls round his unwieldy weapon to strike a prodigious blow at the Dissenter in his front, he is apt, in the course of his evolution, to smite the unfortunate Churchman who is behind him or at his side. We must confess, that for our own parts, we would rather stand out of his way.

In an account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, by Mr. E. W. Lane, we are told—

"The condition of the Imams is very different, in most respects, from that of Christian priests. They have no authority above other persons, and do not enjoy any respect, but what their reputed piety and learning may obtain them; nor are they a distinct order of men set apart for religious offices, like our clergy, and composing an indissoluble fraternity; for a man who has acted as the Imam of a mosque may be displaced by the warden of that mosque, and, with his employment and salary, loses the title of Imam, and has no better chance of being again chosen for a religious minister than any other person competent to perform the office. The Imams obtain their livelihood chiefly by other means than the service of the mosque, as their salaries are very small. Some of them engage in trade," &c.

Is this Mr. Robinson's *beau ideal* of ecclesiastical polity? It hardly answers, we conceive, in a Mahometan country, and with the religion of Islamism. But in what occurs among the lowest and least reputable sections of the Dissenters, and in a multitude of other obvious facts, we have abundant and overwhelming evidence that, in a Christian empire, and with a Christian faith, and in the midst of Christian freedom and Christian intelligence,

either we must have a body of professional clergy, learned, pious, armed at all points for defence, as well as for conversion, regularly trained and regularly appointed; or the soundness of theology, and at length the vitality of religion, must be in fearful danger of utterly perishing. But if there is a body of professional clergy, then—to put the matter on the lowest ground—they will insure respect, and through respect, influence; and through influence, authority; and through authority, power. Nor can this result be prevented, unless the position of the clergy is entirely changed; unless they are abolished as an order; unless they are altogether secularized, and have nothing to distinguish them from the rest of the citizens.

The degree of authority to be awarded to the priesthood is, indeed, a question, of which the theoretical difficulty, and the practical importance, can hardly be overrated; and it is one which affects at once both the polity of nations, and the thoughts and government of the individual mind. The philosophy of the question, like other parts of the science, which we would term *ecclesiology*, has seldom, if ever, been studied, at once with knowledge, with impartiality, and with temper. Thousands have gone to the one extreme, quite as much as Mr. Robinson goes to the other. The distribution of authority, to be apportioned to the different orders of the clergy respectively among themselves, has been canvassed rather than determined; but the division, as between clergy and laity, is a far more delicate and intricate consideration. In ancient times, the priest too often trod upon the neck of the layman; and as it was the ambition of the papacy to gather all authority to itself, and centre in Rome all civil, as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so it might have been the ambition of the clergy in general to take the direction of the whole world into their hands; and their ambition, again, severally, to enact the part of pope in their separate sphere, and subject nobles and people to their fast and irremovable dominion. At present, with hardly the exception of bigoted and benighted countries, such as Spain, the priests are really feeble in civil matters, unless they happen to be seconded by the energies of the popular will, when they may become resistless. In France, for instance, they are more likely to fall into contempt than to exercise supremacy, with the mass of the nation. Their best hope, strange to say, may be in Miss Martineau. For if that lady should carry her point, and obtain all political franchises and privileges for her sex, the clergy, by straining their influence upon the softer and more impressible part of the creation, cannot despair of becoming once more omnipotent. But, seriously, without entering into the more thorny and painful parts of the subject, we would now

rather make this comfortable deduction. As knowledge is power, and there must be a proportion between them, the priests formally enjoyed almost a monopoly of power, because they enjoyed almost a monopoly of knowledge; and, again, as guilt is weakness, the sense of guilt at last rendered men cowards at heart, and reluctant slaves to the clergy, producing continual alternations of impiety and superstition; but, in present and future times, the equalization of knowledge may generate, more and more, equalization of power; virtue may beget strength of character; and, in short, the advance of mankind in mental and moral improvement may, gradually and insensibly, not indeed draw the line with mathematical precision, for that may be neither possible nor even desirable, but adjust the balance with an accuracy sufficient for all practical purposes, and make the adjustment, without invidious comparisons, without collision, and without soreness on either side. We are quite sure that it is not the true interest, either of the clergy to exact too much, or of the people to yield too little.

Let, however, Mr. Robinson contend that the power of the priesthood is infinitely too great. This question we now leave. But he also seems to intimate, that it should be abridged, or even destroyed, by some new method of political arrangements. This is a dream. It is rather where human law ends, that men begin to quake and tremble at divine; and are actuated by motives and incentives which revolve in another sphere. The power of the clergy has its root, not in legislative enactments, but in human nature. As long as the hopes and fears belonging to eternity cast their shadows over the heart of man, so long it will subsist. And it is more likely to be enlarged than circumscribed, as all history assures us, by the ungodliness and profligacy of a people; for the more vicious men are, or have been, the more intense and abject are their ultimate terrors; and with the more devouring solicitude will they have recourse to the priest, in order that they may find or purchase, may gain either by superstitious observances, or by lavish bribes, expiation for their offences. Guilt is the parent of religious apprehension, and religious apprehension is the parent of sacerdotal sway.

Yet, on the other hand, a virtuous community will always pay deference to the ministers of religion; and so we hardly see any state or stage of society, in which Mr. Robinson's Utopia is likely to be discovered.

In its present shape, we could wish that the question had not been raised; because we must deprecate every thing which tends to provoke jealousy, or to put enmity, between clergymen and laymen. But really it is not a matter in which, on other accounts,

we feel any personal interest. We refer to what we have said, that, High Churchmen as we may be deemed, we by no means desire to see any undue exaltation of the clergy, much as we should deplore such chains of degradation as Mr. Robinson would impose upon them. We claim for their persons no prerogatives or powers more than belong to their office; and we claim for their office no powers or prerogatives more than the Author and Finisher of our faith has given to them in the Bible. The inquiry is in the main a scriptural one; and we are quite content that it should be put upon scriptural grounds.—Let the clergy, as an order, enjoy that reverence, and dispense those benefits, which were intended in the scheme of revelation, and we ask nothing more: but if, at any time, or in any place, in addition to the essential attributes of their functions, they possess accidents of authority, derived from superior endowments of information or moral character, these are influences, let Mr. Robinson be assured, which kings and senators, politics and politicians, can neither bind nor loose.

Do we mean to say, then, that state legislation can do nothing, or that public opinion can do nothing? Far from it. States may do something, and public opinion may do very much. States have sometimes committed to the hands of priests an authority with which not even superstition would invest them; and that authority states may help to take away. A healthy and enlightened condition of public opinion may set bounds to the jurisdiction of the priest, or hierophant, when he would remit sins, or impose punishments, of himself; when, by sacrifices and lustrations, the infliction of penances, or the exaction of gifts, he would pretend to remove iniquity from the soul. But Mr. Robinson, although he would not, in so many words, abolish the office of the religious teacher, is evidently ambitious to strip it of all influence. While any distinction is made between clergyman and layman, his objection must remain. Substantially, indeed, or virtually, he would have every man his own parson; as there are advertisements informing us how “every man” may be “his own doctor,” or “his own farrier,” or “his own lawyer.” But all experience refutes the practicability of this system. All times, all nations, civilization and barbarism, idolatry and theism, heathenism and Christianity, have had priests, or clergy, by *profession*. Men, in vigorous health, may compose stinging epithets on physicians and their wares; but as soon as a serious illness seizes them, they can fly to the veriest quack alive, and swallow medicine by the gallon; and still more, they may, in the season of youth and strength, deride an ordained priesthood as hypocrites or usurpers; but when death knocks at their door, and his

grim image stands before them, they can pant and gasp for the advice, and the comfort, and the other ministrations, which the clergy are appointed to dispense.

Mr. Robinson, then, we conclude, has hardly found the cure for any distempers under which the ecclesiastical condition of the country may be labouring. The Bible itself gives frequent accounts, as of holy times and holy places, so also of holy persons,—persons, we mean, invested with an official holiness, to the end that it should administer, not to their own pride, but to the good of others. And our reason may discern the necessity of this appointment, if only upon the obvious and comparatively unconsecrated principle, that the ordinances of religion should be observed, and kept up with regularity and propriety; that all things should be done decently and in order; and that there should be individuals made responsible for their performance by the most solemn obligations. A country without a priesthood would be the most awful of anomalies; and yet this is the actual goal to which Mr. Robinson's system would conduct us. But a priesthood, again, would be comparatively impotent and contemptible, unless it looked for the efficacy of its *spiritual* ministrations to a far higher than human authority, although the sovereign of the state may be supreme alike over its civil and *ecclesiastical* departments. History even bears witness to us that, in the worst of times, the largest amount of clerical rapacity and haughtiness never entirely destroyed the mighty benefits accruing from the existence of the clergy. The Romish ecclesiastics, if it could be proved that they aspired to be exclusive despots over the minds and fortunes of men, were likewise sole guardians of the most precious deposits. While keepers of European religion, they were also keepers of European literature; and without them the darkest ages would have been a tenfold darkness; and, together with piety and virtue, the knowledge, and philosophy, and enlightenment of the world, would have sunk—and, humanly speaking, might have sunk *for ever*—under a disastrous eclipse.

Yet we would part with Mr. Robinson on perfectly good terms. For, in truth, this is a volume which, often strange, wild, and inconsiderate as it is, we strongly recommend the clergy to read. They are depicted in it with no flattering pencil. But the home-thrusts, and even the droll misconceptions, and the odd crudities, having just some particle of truth at the bottom, may put them on their guard, and inculcate that lesson of humility and watchfulness, which it is good for all men to learn. They can indeed hardly fail to reap some benefit, if they calmly consider what a candid and well-disposed layman has to propose or to reprobate.

Opinions, in some respects similar, and in others very dissimilar, to those of Mr. Robinson, have been lately put forth in an *Address to the Members of the Church of England, both Lay and Clerical*, by the Rev. John Warren, Chancellor of Bangor. With the larger portion of the remarks contained in the following extracts we entirely concur:—

“ I will say a few words with respect to two plans which have already been proposed by persons who have seen the danger in which the Church is placed. The first plan is that of the Archbishop of Dublin ; viz., that the management of the affairs of the Church should be placed in the hands of a commission, consisting entirely of members of our communion. This plan is manifestly inadequate to the purposes for which it is intended ; for the commissioners would be appointed by his Majesty’s ministers, who would act under the influence of parliament in their appointments ; that is, under the influence of a body not wholly composed of members of our Church ; and thus little would be gained by the appointment of such a commission, except the acknowledgment to a certain extent of the principle, that persons who are not members of our Church ought not to have power in its internal affairs. The second plan is that which is advocated by very many zealous members of our Church ; viz., the restoration of the convocation to its efficiency ; but I must say I am not in favour of this plan, because it would place the whole power of legislating for the Church in the hands of the clergy, a thing which I consider by no means desirable, and by no means agreeable to the practice in the early days of Christianity ; for in those days the laity possessed considerable power in matters relating to the Church ; and they do not appear to have lost that power till the clergy were magnified in the eyes of the people by the invention of the blasphemous doctrine of transubstantiation.

“ Therefore I do not think it desirable that the convocation of bishops and clergy should be revived, as the only legislative body in the internal affairs of the Church, even if it could be revived. But there is another difficulty in this matter ; I do not believe that the convocation could be restored to its ancient powers, even if it were desirable that it should, for there does not appear in the laity of our Church any strong feeling in favour of that body ; in fact, I consider that an attempt to revive the convocation might give matters a turn very injurious to the Church ; for if the attempt should be made, a question would immediately arise, whether the whole power in Church matters ought to be in the hands of the clergy ; or whether the laity ought not to have a share in such power ; and the discussions which would arise on this point would set the clergy and laity in opposition to one another ; and thus, it is to be feared, the main question, whether persons who are not members of our communion ought to have any power in the internal affairs of our Church, would be forgotten ; the distinction in this dispute being between the clergy and laity, not between churchmen and those who are not churchmen, as it ought to be. On these accounts I am not in favour of an attempt to revive the convocation as the permanent legislative body of our Church.

"But in order to preserve the purity of our Church, and at the same time to give it energy and efficiency, it appears to be desirable that the management of its internal affairs should be placed in the hands of a synod, composed partly of clergy and partly of laity, but entirely members of our own communion."—p. 17—20.

Whether "such a synod," as Mr. Warren is anxious to see established, is essential, as he says, to the welfare of the Church, or whether its formation is at all practicable, is a question which we forbear to discuss. On more occasions than one we have expressed a wish that the Bishops, with the assistance, perhaps, of other dignitaries of the Church, should meet among themselves, and determine certain matters relating to internal discipline, which are now left in a most awkward state of variance, and want of uniformity; but beyond this point we entertain very serious doubts. Mr. Robinson, Mr. Warren, Mr. Nihill, and many others, have some particular and favourite plan of their own for adjusting all alleged anomalies, and rectifying all supposed inconveniences in the Church. For our own parts, we are little disposed to go in quest of novelties, and still less are we inclined to rely upon the potency of *some one* new principle, or to expect that it will work miracles. Our main hope, we confess, though we would by no means repudiate in the gross the possibility or the value of fresh discoveries, is in the *judicious combination of existing principles and agencies*.

By combination, let us say, we mean something quite different from confusion. In fact, no two things can be in reality more opposite. Confusion never perceives either the proper diversity of objects, or their proper unity; it never combines, because it never distinguishes. Combination first attends to the constituent elements of things, and discerns their separate usefulness, and afterwards proceeds to blend them together as parts of a whole, so regarding both the specific properties and the united efficacy. It is analogous to a chymical process, which having first analysed and decomposed, then mixes and harmonizes in the right method and proportion. Confusion is dim; combination is clear-sighted: combination obviates confusion; confusion prevents all proper combination.

The great matter in all proper combination is, of course, the union of just theory and just practice; but for this end there must be a right combination of knowledge, as preparatory to a right combination of action. Thinking, then, for the present, only of the Church, we reiterate, that one of the first and most necessary things is a knowledge, not partial and fragmentary, but a combined acquaintance with all its concerns. We say now, for about the twentieth time, and we shall go on with the repetition until we

have said it with some effect, that a just and comprehensive view of the ecclesiastical condition of the empire is a matter of surpassing moment; and that such a view can only be given, with weight and with completeness, by a *Church Report*, periodically published, and at least sanctioned by the highest authorities in the Establishment. The Kirk of Scotland has something almost equivalent to a Report in its General Assembly; Dissenting Communion have their authentic publications and registers; the Church of England continues, from year to year, without doing itself justice. Its members have no general statement, official or semi-official, to which they can confidently appeal; they have no full and fair opportunity, either of refuting the adversary by that overwhelming mass of evidence, which is producible without being produced, or of correcting and enlarging their own notions by a methodical conspectus of the *acta* and the *agenda*, the supplies and the deficiencies, the existing and the possible, the attained and the attainable; and so of stimulating their own exertions by at once beholding both the magnitude of the things achieved, and the perhaps almost greater magnitude of the things which remain to be accomplished.

But we proceed to the combination of principles and agencies. Our theology, for instance, cannot be sound without a proper combination, which involves a proper discrimination, of views:—unless, in other words, we have at one and the same time, a meek reverence for Scripture, an enlightened respect for the suffrage of Catholic antiquity, and a due regard for the unalterable constitution of the human mind, and the fundamental principles of inquiry, induction, and legitimate criticism. How otherwise, indeed, shall we ever rightly understand the purport and province of Christianity itself? Without views at once combined and discriminating, we shall not know what to blend and what to keep asunder; we shall not understand in what respects the scheme of the Bible is in itself a perfect whole; or in what other respects it is *not* a whole, nor even a substitute, but a consummation and a supplement; not supplanting, but adding; because attached, as the crown of all things, to the general system of the universe. We shall be scarcely able to take “all Scripture” together, and still less able, suitably and humbly, to unite the revelations of the Old and New Testament with the entire domain of reason and natural religion.

As to the spirit in which men should act, we need not urge again, in this Review, that duly-tempered moderation which consists, like the harmony of the material universe, in the just proportion and equipoise of different elements; and most especially that combination of energy and mildness, which are equally the

characteristics of the person, and of the Gospel, of Jesus Christ. We need not urge, after our strictures on Mr. Robinson, that the Clergy, in exerting their influence, will find their wisdom and their interest, not in terrifying the mind of a nation by fulminations and menaces, nor in seeking to govern it by the iron rod of superstition, but in humbly striving to guide it by uniting and exhibiting in themselves whatever is spiritual in holiness, or exalted in intellect, or amiable in demeanor. We might enlarge, too, on the combination of staunchness and firmness in the maintenance of our own principles with the exhibition of kindness and tenderness towards others; we might refer to what we have already said on the necessity of guarding truth without abandoning charity, and adhering to charity without sacrificing truth; but we have more pleasure in referring our readers to the admirable sermon preached by Mr. Tyler at the consecration of the new Bishop of Salisbury, on the Christian union of Truth and Love. The rector of St. Giles's has excellently said, being, of course, almost confined to the assertion of general principles—

“Perhaps there never was a time when such a happy combination of zeal and charity was more indispensable in the members and ministers, especially in the more exalted pastors and rulers of the Church, than it is in these days of our own pilgrimage; or when zeal without genuine love, and when the softer feelings of our nature, disjoined from firmness and integrity of purpose, would work more lamentable evil. The peculiar tissue of events by which we are surrounded calls with a voice intelligible to all who have ears to hear, for the exercise of firmness at once and liberality; for an unshrinking, uncompromising maintenance of the sound principles of religious principles, however unpalatable to the world; joined with a free and full forbearance and kindness towards all both within and without the Church.”—pp. 12, 13.

“It is not intended here to imply that by a steady, persevering exercise of these Christian graces the minister of the Gospel will secure the sanction and approval of all his brethren. On the contrary, the very virtues themselves may often expose him to suspicions and charges, and those of very opposite kinds. On the one hand, his firmness, and boldness, and unshaken constancy in adhering to principle, and speaking the truth, and maintaining the right, will be misrepresented as bigotry, exclusiveness, and illiberality. On the other, his love of Christian liberty, his sympathy with those who conscientiously differ from him, his candour, and considerateness and charity towards all, will be perverted into timidity, vacillation, a lukewarmness and indifference to the cause which he professes to espouse, a courting of public favour, a culpable readiness to become all things to all men.”—p. 14.

Again, instead of now insisting, ourselves, upon the combination of qualities, which ought to be displayed towards Dissenters, namely, perfect tolerance and charity on the one side, with per-

fect steadiness of attachment on the other, we have extreme satisfaction in recommending the tone in which Lord Mahon speaks of the Wesleyan Methodists, at the end of the second volume of his *History**—a tone, far wiser, and far more Christian, than either indiscriminate eulogium, or offensive reproach.

It were an endless task—to enter into all the illustrations which might be given. On the subject of Church patronage, for instance, we might urge the combination of a vigilant superintendence on the part of the dignitaries of the Established Church, and respect for a sound and enlightened state of public opinion, together with a regard to that regularity and uniformity which must repudiate the licence of popular election. We might carry up the inquiry into a higher and more general combination than any which we have named. We might attempt to point out the difference between *combination* and *compromise*; although, if men are determined, that combination of principles shall be called compromise of principle, we cannot help it:—for it is better not to shrink from an ugly word, than to ride the hobby of some single principle to death, and so act in a manner contrary to all the analogies of the natural, and all the uses of the moral and intellectual world.

Here, however, we have only space to repeat that, perhaps, the combination about which we are supremely anxious, is the cordial junction of religion and human knowledge; religion being required to moralize and consecrate knowledge, knowledge being required to bring out into the best and fullest light the evidences of faith, and to prevent religion from degenerating and contracting into a narrow and gloomy bigotry. We look upon social enlightenment as a cardinal point of social improvement; and our main object is to connect the Church with social improvement, and identify social improvement with the cause of the Church.

It is, therefore, with peculiar pain, that we have seen spiritual instruction and general education, the two great elements of human good, set up as rivals, both within and without the walls of Parliament. Two things so admirable, so excellent, and so congenial, ought not to be brought into conflict, in order to subserve the ends of political partisanship. We ought not to be compelled even to choose between them.

In a word, the spirit which wise and good men must wish to see introduced is not the spirit of Whiggism, or the spirit of Toryism, the spirit of sacerdotal domination, or the spirit of popular license, but the spirit of the Gospel. They will strive

* These volumes are written with great talent, and are very pleasant to read: but, for a history, they are, in some parts, too light and undignified. The style wants weight; and the matter sometimes descends too much into the anecdotal and the trivial.

not to foment animosities, but to allay them; not to embitter disagreements, but to reconcile them; not to widen breaches, but to approximate and intertwine opinions. Their aim will be not the exclusive triumph of one principle, but the amalgamation and interfusion of many. And this object they may assuredly seek without any abandonment of consistency, without any time-serving or unworthy surrender. And why? Simply, as we have already so often said, because truth, or right, speculative or practical good, when universally or generally considered, does not dwell in the disproportioned and mischievous supremacy of one particular element or one particular force; but in the junction of several elements and several forces, tempered, adjusted and harmonized together. It is only by cherishing and acting upon this conviction that we can ever consolidate and carry forward the welfare of mankind;—that we can preserve ourselves from being found among those whom the Germans call the *Obscuranten*, who would keep the world in the dark, or those whom they call the *Aufklärer*, who would irradiate it with a delusive and partial enlightenment: that we can be saved, on the one side, from obstructing the march of real improvement; or, on the other side, can prevent transition from being precipitated into revolution and convulsion. It is thus only that we can have sound and comprehensive views, either in theology, that divine science, which regulates our belief and conduct in our relation to Almighty God; or in ethics and politics, those great and sublime sciences which teach us our public, our social, all our human obligations, and regard the entire happiness of families and communities.

In the vocabulary of the present generation few expressions are more fashionable than “*opposing principles*,” “*antagonist principles*,” “*the war of principles*,” “*the antagonism of principles*.” This has become a conspicuous part of the established jargon of the day. The young writer, ambitious of distinction, stuffs his first essay full of *antagonisms*; and many, who might see the mischief of the promiscuous and indiscriminate employment of such a term are, by its very familiarity, betrayed into its use. From its constant repetition it has grown into a thing of course; and from the frequency of the word, the fact which it represents is taken for granted. Yet it very often happens that these principles are not principles of mutual repulsion or mutual destruction; that they are not repugnant and contradictory, like good and bad, justice and injustice, or, in the Scriptural meaning, flesh and spirit; that they are not unintermiscible, or even unaccordant; but that they are merely diverse, starting from a different point, and moving in a different orbit. Or, let it be allowed that there is a sense in which the assertion is true, and the antagonism has a real existence.

Thus an antagonism may be predicated between projection and gravitation; thus the centrifugal force and the centripetal are said to be opposite. But, practically, an Omniscient God, combining them in the government of nature, prevents them from being *hostile*, and has made the repose and the loveliness of the universe to depend upon their union. Thus, too, in the moral, and political and religious world, opposite principles may be found. That is, the principles are opposite in their abstract theory, in their separate essence, and as notional entities of the mind. But, because they are different in their respective properties, they are not, therefore, incapable of combination, or irreconcilably at variance, more than chemical ingredients which may be either mingled or decomposed. It is rather our appointed province to educe beauty and harmony, as in the glorious panorama of nature which is around us, out of their mutual influence and their reciprocal counteraction.

Such, however, is not the conduct of men in general. They perceive that the principles are opposite, or, if they please, antagonists in themselves; and then proceed actually to set them in array each against each with an unmitigated hostility. Those things which ought to be studiously and sacredly conjoined, things which ought to walk side by side, since it is not necessary that the one must be a vice because the other is a virtue, are confronted in an attitude of menace and enmity. The principle of education is arrayed against the principle of religion; the principle of conservatism is arrayed against the principle of reform; the principle of order is arrayed against the principle of liberty; the principle of stability is arrayed against the principle of progression; the principle of reverence and faith is arrayed against the principles of free and broad inquiry.

The mischief of this *practical* antagonism is enormous, is incalculable. Now, there is a lamentable disruption; now, there is a collision and a concussion, as of two thunder-clouds dashed together. Throughout too large a portion of the continent of Europe, moral element is opposed to moral element, and principle frowns with adverse rivalry upon principle, and intelligence is ranged against devotion with a pretended antipathy, until scarcely on any side, scarcely in any quarter, can we look, with hopeful expectation, for the blended elements of permanent and substantial good. Alas, men know not, or care not, or will not bear in mind, with how wondrous a wisdom Christianity combines the principle of the equality of mankind with the principle of social distinctions, the democratical element with the element of honour to kings and obedience to constituted authorities.

Guizot has stated as *the historical fact*, "it is plain enough that *no single principle, no particular organization, no simple idea, no*

special power, has ever been permitted to obtain possession of the world, to mould it into a durable form, and to drive from it every opposing tendency, so as to reign itself supreme. Various powers, principles, and systems, here intermingle, modify each other, and struggle incessantly, now subduing, now subdued, never wholly conquered, never conquering." Why, then, will nations persist in worshipping their single idol, and endeavour to enthrone some "special power" in a pernicious autocracy, setting at nought the arrangements of Providence, a id going against the whole stream of history and civilization.

In our own country, too, men are dedicating themselves to some single principle, with the blind and extravagant, or, it may be, the affected and ostentatious, attachment of a knight-errant to his mistress, when he would challenge all persons *à l'outrance*, if they should venture to suggest that any other face was fair. Then, moreover, because principles are antagonists, men must be antagonists. Adverse watch-words must be inscribed upon adverse banners. Hostile factions must be formed to represent and embody the hostile names. And, at last, men, instead of confederating and associating in salutary combinations, and co-operating for the advancement of their mutual happiness, split themselves into parties, of which the ruling spirit is a spirit of antagonism and exclusiveness—a spirit fatal alike to wisdom and to virtue, to truth and to peace;—a spirit which has rottenness at its root, and poison for its produce. God himself, throughout all his dispensations and dominions, utters his solemn warning against it; and our common humanity, if it could find a voice, would be vocal with a cry of lamentation. The world which we inhabit can never arrive at any advanced state of improvement, until this spirit of exclusiveness shall be superseded by a spirit of combination; until men shall be taught to rise above their narrow and partial views, and so above the illiberal, uncharitable, unchristian feelings which are inseparably connected with them, and have in them indeed their source and aliment; until they shall survey, with an enlarged yet distinguishing vision, the mighty whole, and all things in it acting upon all; until they shall admit a combination of principles and a combination of agents; until they shall *regard* all things, and in their humble sphere of instrumentality strive to *make* all things, working together for good.

But we ought to apologize to our readers for having been betrayed, prematurely and perhaps irregularly, into a partial discussion of this unspeakably momentous matter. We hope to pursue it hereafter, closely and fully, into its details.

ART. XI.—*Prospectus of The Church of England Gazette.*
London. 1837.

THIS article may be extraordinary, not only for its brevity, but for its subject. Already, perhaps, in this number, we have deviated into some irregularity; because it is against established custom, that reviewers should directly propose to criticize reviewers. But it may be deemed still more irregular to criticize a newspaper—no, not a newspaper, but the *title* of a newspaper, or, *The Church of England Gazette*. Our article, we confess, is *on a name*:—*but the name constitutes a system*. This fact—this, in our view, *most important fact*—must plead our excuse.

Other features of the same system have been before exhibited: and we have entered our protest—the *only* protest, by the way, with which we are acquainted—against sundry publications and enterprises, which have assumed to speak or act, not merely on the behalf, but *in the name*, of the Church of England. We have asked, and we ask, by what right, by what charter, by what authority? What patent have the adventurers to show; or how were they appointed as champions, of whose triumph or discomfiture the Church itself is to be a partaker? When individuals think, that they can be instrumental to the defence or the improvement of the Church, and would devote their efforts and energies to such a purpose, we would encourage them with our warmest wishes. But then, let them step forward *as individuals*; let not the Church, *as a Church, or general communion*, be implicated in their sayings and doings. We, as simple members of the Church, should not like to be regarded as bound or concluded by their writings or their acts;—for we are not their constituents: we have not chosen them as our delegates:—and still less should we like the Church itself to be regarded as so bound and concluded. We know that the *enemies* of the Church will take *some* advantage of every failure, every slip, every blunder, which they may make; although we can, none of us, foresee the whole consequences, or calculate the entire sum of eventual evil.

And here we speak not *personally*, but *universally*. Constituted and circumstanced as our ecclesiastical establishment is, it is manifestly impossible, that the Church of England should have, in the press, or in promiscuous associations, *any* authorized organ, *any* proper and adequate representative, of its views and sentiments; more particularly, in those ten thousand matters of complicated policy, which are involved in the general progress of events. Wherefore, it is lamentable to observe, that the Church is committed to all sorts of *opinions* in all sorts of publications, while it

is deficient in *that*, which alone it is most competent and most concerned to undertake and execute, namely, a digest of *its own statistics*, a regular and systematic synopsis of *facts and figures* relating to itself.

The last few years—we might say months—have witnessed the rise of such phenomena as *THE Church of England Magazine*, *THE Church of England Quarterly Review*, *THE Established Church Society*, &c. &c. &c. Our complaint, we must repeat, is simply of the *system*, which connects the Church of England with the particular speculations of unauthorized individuals. The speculations themselves we have no desire to disparage. The objects at least, of the *Established Church Society*, we believe to be laudable. *On the Church of England Review*, we have obvious reasons for not offering a word, in the way either of praise or blame. To *The Church of England Magazine*, as to all cheap, popular, and easily accessible publications, advocating religious principles, and diffusing Christian knowledge, we would most cordially hold out the right hand of friendship and encouragement. If, like all other productions, it is unequal, still it contains, we understand, much good and useful matter; nor have we ever urged any objection against it, save and except the name which it has assumed and the high pretensions to originality with which it started; whereas it seemed to us, nevertheless, a palpable imitation of *The Scottish Christian Herald*. But the *principle*, the *system*, we have deprecated, and we do deprecate, as *pessimi exempli*. The publications, or the associations, would be just as good under any other title; while a great and sacred body would not be compromised.

Now, however, we have a Church of England newspaper; nay, *THE Church of England Gazette*. The first expression which suggests itself is, "*what next?*" But this is itself the climax. If we are, tamely and tranquilly, to see the Church of England mixed up with a newspaper;—or, if there is to be not merely passive acquiescence, but active patronage;—we must never again remonstrate, when anti-churchmen attack and misrepresent the Church, founding their attacks and misrepresentations on the statements, or the conduct, of its professing organs and representatives.—*The Church of England Gazette*, to be published twice a week! Why, when we consider the very atmosphere of conflict and collision in which a newspaper has its being—the haste and agitation in which the articles must oftentimes be written,—the nature of the subjects, connected, as they are and must be, with *persons* no less than *principles*,—the infectious quality of party spirit and party violence,—and, moreover, the vitiated appetite of newspaper readers, who demand, for the most part, strength and ex-

citement rather than calmness and moderation, we must discern the utter improbability,—and *impossibility*, perhaps, would be the fitter term—that such a journal should not, even under the most pious, and cautious, and skilful management, be betrayed into frequent mistakes, and intemperance, and apparent uncharitableness:—mistakes, intemperance, uncharitableness, *to which the Church itself is to become a party by name.*

These remarks are written, be it remembered, before one line of *The Church of England Gazette* has met our eye. The Prospectus appeared some time ago: but we had hoped that such representations would have been made as to cause the abandonment of the project, or at least of the title. In this hope we have been disappointed. The publication of the first number is just announced by advertisement. Yet the words of warning which we have hazarded may be of some service both to writers and readers; and, perhaps, if the journal itself is continued, some less injudicious, less obnoxious, appellation may still be substituted. Who is the editor, or how far he may be qualified, by temper and acquirements, by previous habits, and station, and education, to personify and embody the Church of England, we shall not inquire. The inquiry would be quite foreign to our purpose: for our objection goes far beyond the mere individual person of an editor, or, indeed, the columns of any particular gazette. Our argument strikes at the very root of a system—and unless it be stopped or checked in time, who knows how far it may spread and ramify?—which would associate and even identify *the Church of England* with any controversial publication, and most especially with any stamped newspaper, set up by private adventurers for their personal gain or credit, and using the name of the Church for an attraction and a bait. We will not say that the connection unconsecrates the Church; but it at least tends to place it in a low and undignified position. Under no circumstances could an advantage be secured at all commensurate with the risk; while, under *unfavourable* circumstances, the mischief may be vast, irremediable, and fatal.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

A VERY few words will suffice, on the present occasion, for this department of our labours; for it is idle to multiply sentences, when there is really nothing to be said. During the recess of Parliament, there can be no legislative measures to detail: the religious societies are suspending their oars, or else sending their agents into the provinces, on missions of which, whether they bear much fruit or little, the results will be apparent in the approaching season: and, with a few exceptions to be hereinafter specified, there has been almost a vacation in the publishing department. The elections, too, present a subject which, though copious and exciting, has been worn almost threadbare; and one which affords matter rather for conjectural speculation than for present history. We look forward with good hopes: for we believe that the majority of the House of Commons will consist of persons, who will neither throw vexatious obstructions in the pathway of beneficial changes, nor rush, with daring and hazardous steps, on a career of frightful violence, to the ruin of sacred and long-cherished institutions. The returns, upon the whole, offer a guarantee against licentious precipitation, and against exclusive ascendancy: whoever may be our rulers, their policy must be confined within certain bounds by the composition of the Parliament; and, if our safety could not lie in the strength of an administration, it may lie in its weakness.

Yet, for our own part, while we do not want a Government so firmly grounded upon a subservient majority in the legislature, that it could afford to try experiments upon the public forbearance, we *should* rejoice to have a composed and steady administration, which, while it is energetic, can afford to be patient; which, instead of being engaged in a perpetual struggle for its own existence, should have leisure to attend to objects far nobler and more comprehensive than mere partisanship can imagine; objects embracing nothing less than the broad, solid, and permanent improvement of mankind, in all branches of political and social economy; and which should also be enabled to take along with it the element of *time*, that most important and most necessary of all things for the conception, formation, introduction, and completion of all great and salutary enterprises. For certainly we are not among those, who expect or wish that every thing should be done at once; or who could see, with any sanguine anticipations of eventual good, a *programme* of magnificent measures, which should pretend to settle the whole interests of an empire in a single session. It is, indeed, one disadvantage of a weak government, which feels its tenure of office to be at best uncertain and precarious, that either it must leave the highest designs untouched and unattempted from the fear of promising without being able to perform; or else it must precipitate its plans, and bring them forward before they are matured, and force them upon a country,—perhaps unprepared to receive them, because unfamiliarized with their scope and details,—either in the hope of winning over the public confidence by one lucky stroke, or in order to escape the accusation of having achieved nothing.

Under this disadvantage the present administration is obviously labouring. We shall neither flatter nor abuse it. Without pretending to regard all its measures with an eye of satisfaction, we repeat our solemn conviction, that it will be a most lamentable evil to have the Church of the country and the Government of the country regularly arrayed against each other. And, while it is preposterous to contend that clergymen should have nothing to do with politics; because in the true sense of the word, politics, is included all that regards the welfare of a nation, and therefore politics and religion are actually identified; still we cannot, with any pleasure, see clergymen obtruding at public meetings and public dinners speeches highly seasoned with partisanship;—whether the name be Mr. O'Sullivan or Dr. Knox, Dr. Croly or Dr. Joynes.

One mischief of such a course is its tendency to split the British nation, still more and more, into two hostile factions. But the great requisite, as all things bear witness, is not furious division, but charitable approximation. The times emphatically require,—as we undertake soon to show at large,—a COMBINATIVE SYSTEM; we say again, a combinative system, as contradistinguished from that fashionable jargon about *antagonist principles*, which we have reprobated already. We *must* have, unless Providence has decreed our ruin, a combination of principles; it is desirable to have a coalition of public men.

A coalition of persons is, indeed, now beginning to be mentioned in many quarters as a thing desirable and almost indispensable. We have ourselves, long ago, recommended such a coalition, but chiefly with a view to a combination of principles. The latter is necessary for its own sake: the former is, we believe, necessary for the attainment of the latter. We are not, however, blind to the many inconveniences which must beset any coalition of public men; but then, in the present case, when the Duke of Wellington and Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Spring Rice, are openly expressing the same opinions on the most important points of policy, it can hardly be fraught with the moral evils, and the just imputations upon personal character, which have too often attended it. At any rate, it seems probable, that, if principles are to be combined with success, persons, who have hitherto been divided, must consent to act together. For the truth practically is, that men in general attach themselves to persons much more than to principles, or, perhaps, we should rather say, to those whom they consider as the representatives of principles than to the principles themselves. Hence, they will hardly be brought to accept even a system which they approve, except from the persons whom they regard with affection. They are inclined to vote *with* such and such a man, or *after* such and such a man: and thus any political leader of eminence holds, as it were, in his hands a thousand proxies. It follows, of course, that persons as well as principles must be, in most instances, combined, in order to obtain that number of suffrages which can alone give practical effect even to the best-laid plans of national advantage.

Be this, however, as it may, the motto of any strong or serviceable administration, which can now direct the empire, *must be conservative reform*. The

places on the poll, occupied by Messrs. Hume, Grote, Roebuck, Ewart, and so many others of the same school, are a demonstration that the country is at least not ripe for the realization of their theories; while, on the other hand, if Churchmen and Conservatives, full of zeal without discretion, would seek the repeal of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and would think—not to swim against the stream—but to carry the stream itself backward and upward to the mountain of exclusive domination, they will be attempting a scheme of mad and mischievous impracticability; and the heads of their own party will eventually turn against them; and the very newspapers, on which they are at present placing their reliance, will assuredly laugh them to scorn.

The facts, then,—the obvious and instructive facts,—ought to be our guides. They are so plain, that they can hardly be mistaken, so important and so monitions, that they can hardly be disregarded. And they are simply these:—The moderate, or—what is equivalent in this case—the intermediate and mediatory party, is the strongest in the empire. A moderate, or intermediate system, is the only system on which the affairs of the nation can be conducted. And any set of men, who should throw themselves fairly upon the country, as the administrators of such a system, would almost engross the suffrages of the respectable and intelligent classes in their favour. Any attempt to carry into practical operation extreme principles on either side, must, whether those principles be in themselves wise or absurd, be regarded as hopeless.

But then this moderate system must be a positive and palpable thing. It must be a clear, straight-forward, intelligible line of conduct, which the public mind can follow and understand.

It appears to us, that a Whig Ministry might have taken up—perhaps they may even yet take up—the position which is required. Some of the publications attached to the Whig party represent it as peculiarly theirs. But then they must have their proper system and must pursue it: they must exemplify and embody it, not in words only, not only in addresses from the hustings, or speeches from the dinner-table, but in their actual measures submitted to the Parliament and the country. If, instead of standing on their own ground, and proceeding on their own principles, they shape their projects to catch the support of a section with whose views they profess to differ, they may be sure that, sooner or later, and probably very soon, their supporters will be their ruin: if they desert their own creed, and commit that most preposterous treachery of being untrue to themselves; if the men, who have been accustomed to follow them, can no longer know through what bogs and over what precipices they are to be led; if they show that they are no longer their own masters, but must consent to be dragged, with whatever headlong velocity, at the chariot-wheels of the *Movement*; if the very writings which recommend a Whig policy become almost a satire upon the Whig administration; then, really, they must not wonder if the national confidence should totter and fall away. Their acts will be suicidal; and their political destruction, however speedy, will be their own work.

NOTICE OF BOOKS.

THE quarter which is just past is usually reckoned an unfavourable one for publication; and, therefore, between July and October, we cannot expect many novelties of importance in the literary world. The last three months have been, perhaps, peculiarly unprolific; and while we have literally scarce a single page left for animadversion, we regret the circumstance not so much on account of any productions which have come immediately before us, as because we must still postpone our criticism of some other works which we had intended to review, and among them the "*Book of the Patriarch Job, by the Rev. Dr. Lee,*" and the Life and "*Correspondence of Mr. Knox.*" The *Duties of the Protestant Churches, a Sermon by Mr. Bickersteth,* and the *Speeches delivered by Messrs. McGhee and O'Sullivan at the great Protestant Meeting at Bristol,* we purposely reserve.

The most prominent volumes of the quarter are, we think, either Translations, or Reprints, or Extracts and Compilations. We may specify, for instance, the Version of Luther's "*Manual of the Book of Psalms,*" by the Rev. Henry Cole, forming part of the *Christian's Family Library*; selections from the *Theology of Calvin*, with a Life and Preface by Mr. Dunn; a work interesting, attractive, and instructive, as far as it goes, but most incomplete and unsatisfactory, from its strange and injudicious omissions; and the *Index Expurgatorius Vaticanus*, or "*An exact Reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, the only Vatican Index of this kind ever published;*" edited, with a preface, by Richard Gibbings, B.A.; a production, of course, to be consulted rather than read, but still singularly interesting on many accounts. The preface, which contains much curious matter, thus concludes, "I have now written much more than I intended, and that in a very promiscuous manner; but I may have one consolation—'*Quis leget hæc? Nemo, hercule.*'" Will not the writer wish the Reviewer to add, *Absit omen!*

We have also Dr. South's "*Sermon on Adam in Paradise,*" with a somewhat enthusiastic introduction by Mr. Basil Montagu, and a tabular Analysis; *Select Passages for a Morning Portion, from the Sermons and Conversations of a Clergyman, by one of his Hearers*; a little work honourable to both parties, very prettily got up, and full of pious and touching reflections. Of a larger and more ambitious publication, called "*Gleanings, Historical and Literary; comprising numerous Selections from Standard Authors, Original Letters, Diaries, Correspondence, Chronicles, Manuscripts, Tracts, Sermons, Speeches, Poetry, &c.,*" what can we say? The collection is as confused as the description of it is illogical. In the jumble of 400 pages, some good pieces are, undoubtedly, to be found; but if every man or woman in the kingdom were to publish his or her common-place book, the average, we conscientiously believe, would be found better than this compilation. The *Christian Warrior of the late Isaac Ambrose, arranged, methodized, and improved, by the Rev. Thomas Jones*, is sometimes written in questionable taste, but includes many exhortations and directions well calculated to animate and fortify the believer, while "*militant here on earth.*" "*Im-*

proved," by the way, is an odd word for one man to use, when putting forth, in a new shape, the composition of another.

Of original works, relating to general theology, our list must be indeed meagre and scanty. *The Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, as it has been stated in some recent Tracts, weighed in the balance of the Sanctuary*, by the Rev. Thomas Biddulph, almost invites us to some controversy. But we will not enter upon a subject, which is, in every view of it, so important and delicate, when we have only room for a brief and rapid notice. We would merely express our hope, after the words of Mr. Biddulph, that "nothing presumptuously dogmatical, and nothing savouring, in the least degree, of an unkind or uncharitable spirit, will be ever found to deface the discussion, with respect to brethren with whom we are obliged, by the dictates of conscience, to differ, and to whom we give full credit for sincerity in the course which they pursue." "*The Table of the Lord, by the Author of the Listener*," might also tempt us to dispute some of its positions; but it may be read with edification. We have pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to the *Apostolic Church, &c.* by D. Falloon, and to a short essay on the *Ordaining Influence of the Holy Ghost*, by the Rev. John Hamilton Gray.

Among volumes of Sermons, we ought to particularize *Plain Sermons on the Ministry, Doctrine, and Services of the Church of England*, by the Rev. Francis Fulford; and *Eighteen Sermons on various Subjects*, by the Rev. Charles Henry Minchin.

Of single Sermons and Tracts, the supply is, as usual, tolerably abundant. It must, however, be needless to mention the admirable Sermon on *Confirmation*, by the Bishop of Lincoln; the Sermon preached before this Prelate, on occasion of his Triennial Visitation at Caistor, by the Rev. Edward Garrard Marsh, and the very ably and forcibly written charge of Archdeacon Lyall, which is cogent and practical throughout, and ends with a very pithy warning to all, who shall be disposed to question the Archdeacon's authority. The Visitation Sermon of the Rev. W. G. Moore, and Mr. Bennett's three Sermons on the Divine Appointment of Marriage, ought also to be marked out for commendation.

The most recent importations which we have seen, from North America, are two Sermons, one of which we have mentioned elsewhere; while the other, entitled "*The Children of the Resurrection*," might as well, perhaps, have remained on its own side of the Atlantic; as it does not appear to us a very favourable specimen of either the theology or the pulpit eloquence of the United States.

Several works have reached us—and some among them of considerable merit—connected with education, general as well as clerical. *Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon*, edited by Dr. Bloomfield, hardly requires our warm and sincere praise. It must prove of great value and advantage to every clerical student who is wise enough to procure it. Neither the *Eclogæ Ovidianæ, being the fifth Part of the Lateinisches Elementarbuch*, by Professors Jacobs and

Doering, nor the *Memorietta Italiana*, useful as they both seem, can be said to come fairly within the scope of our criticism.

The *Sacred Poetry of the Quarter* is represented by a new edition of the poem of Bethlehem, and the *Lyrics*, partly from the Pentateuch, of Mr. Bagg, which are certainly extraordinary productions for a "*Nottingham Mechanic*."

Among several selections of *Psalms and Hymns*, it is impossible not to distinguish the one which has the vast advantage of being brought out under the superintendence of Mr. Milman, together with the accompanying *music*, and system of chanting, by Mr. Sale, of which better judges than ourselves speak in the highest terms.

The illustrative works, whether delineating *Churches and Cathedrals*, or the scenery of various countries, or their *Ports and Harbours*, we are almost wearied with praising, because our readers must be tired of hearing Aristides called the Just.

As we conclude this Number, some very recent communications urge us to add just one or two words, in order to prevent misapprehension. Be it observed, then, that on the policy of the *Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill* we offer no opinion *now*. It is too late. We only contend against *agitating for its repeal*. Let us look to the past for our admonition; but let us not confound the *past* circumstances with the *present*. For the rest, we are prepared, as Lord Grey said, to "*stand or fall with our order*." But intemperance, we are sure, can do no order any good. All extravagance ruins its own cause; all violence defeats itself, and inflicts a deadly wound on the party which it espouses. If there be men, who, not content with speaking as individuals, will insist on identifying the Church of England at large with sentiments adverse to the cause of civil and religious liberty, rightly understood, to the improvements of social economy, to the general instruction of the people, to the extension and multiplication of the various branches of science, and, most of all, to the freedom of the human mind itself, and to the broadest amplitude of its legitimate investigations, we can only declare our unalterable belief, that their exertions, as far as they have any effect, will bring the same kind of loss and dishonour on the Ecclesiastical Establishment, which Mr. O'Connell is bringing on the ministry. We cannot laugh at this deplorable error; it is, however, a madness which is only saved from ridicule by the magnitude of its mischief,—is only not ludicrous, because it is so tremendously injurious.

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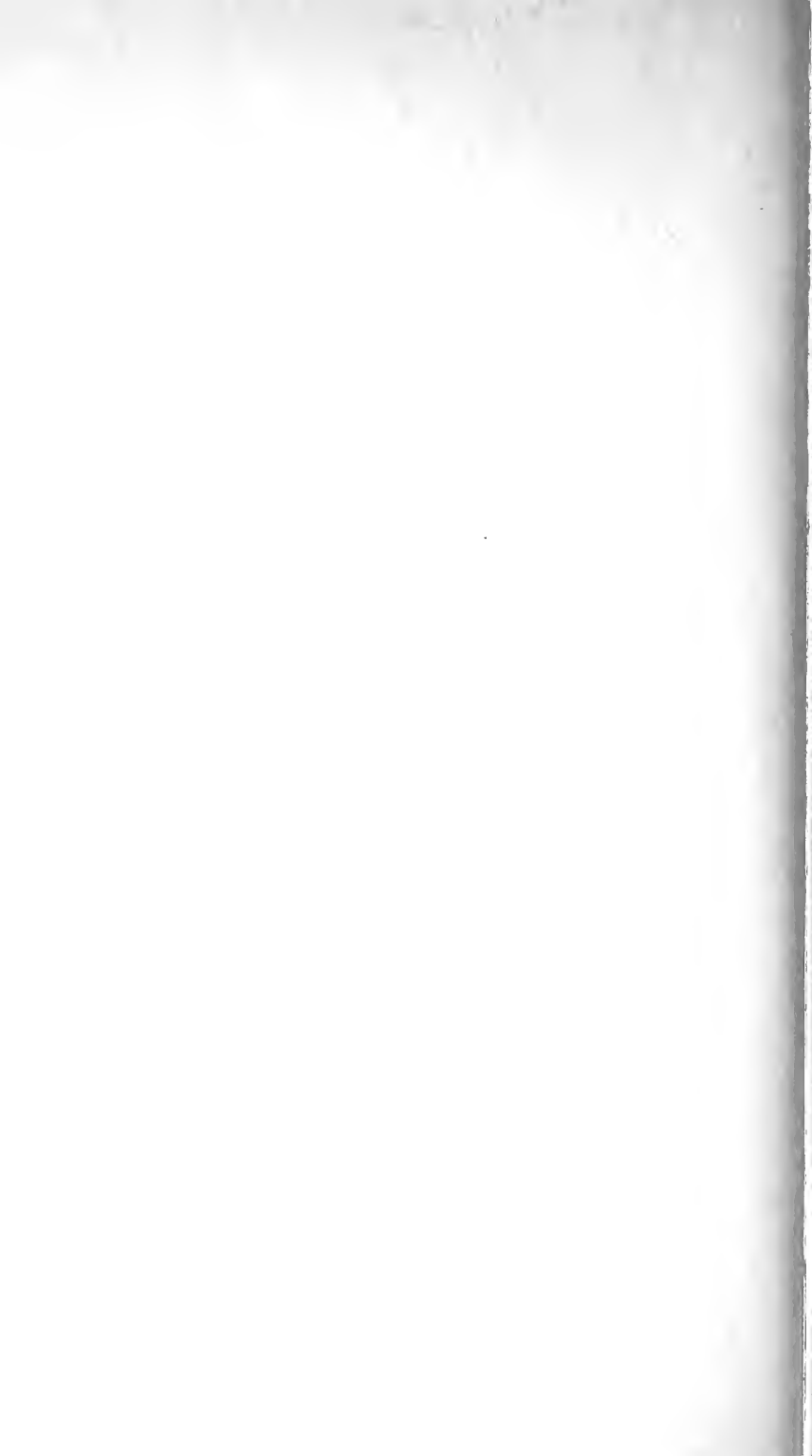
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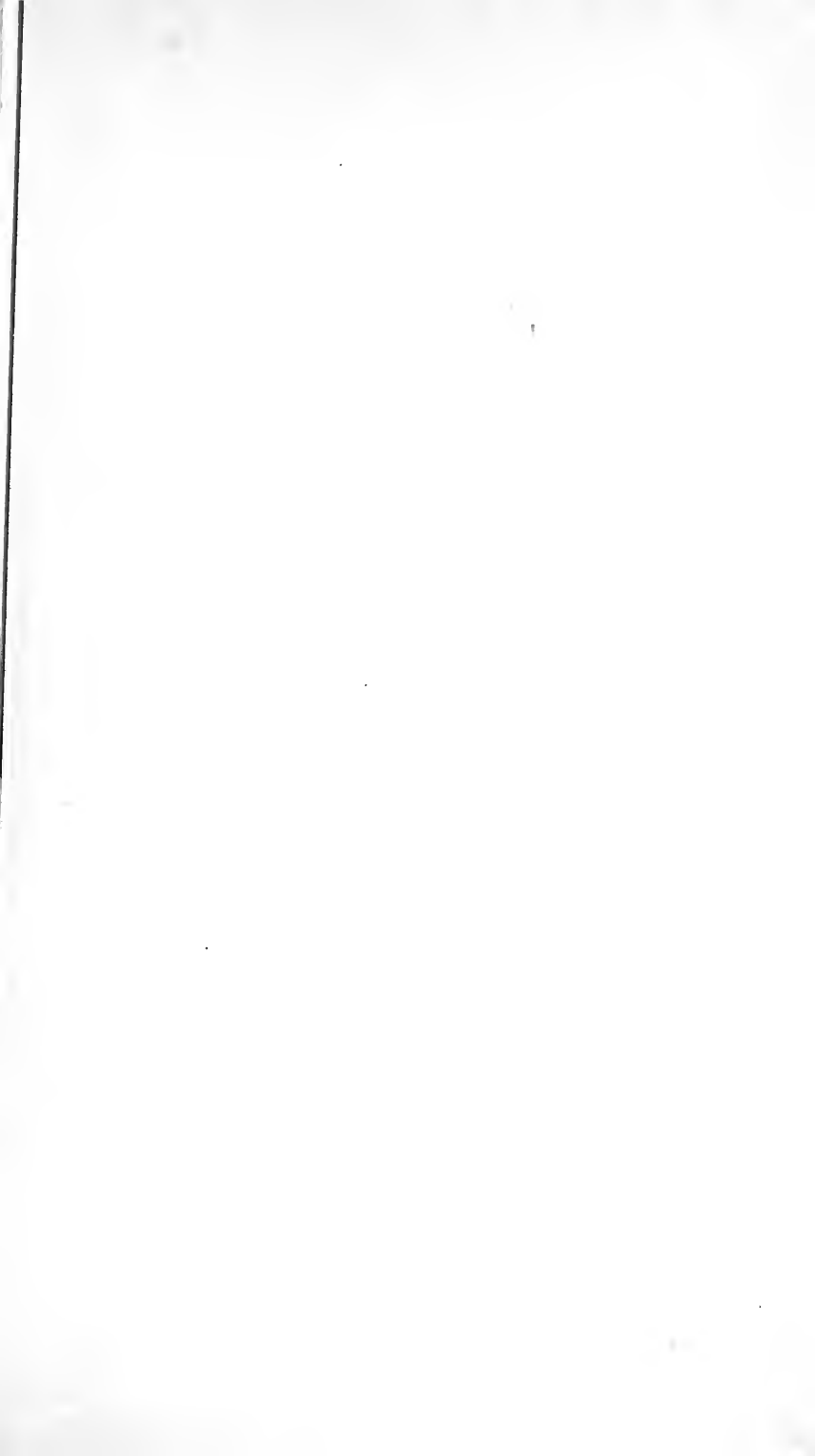
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